The American poet Ezra Pound (1855-) and mediaeval provencal poetry.

Makin, Peter Julian

Ph.D DEGREE

LONDON UNIVERSITY

1972

PETER JULIAN MAKIN

THE AMERICAN POET EZRA POUND (1885-1972) AND MEDIAEVAL PROVENCAL POETRY

ABSTRACT

This study tries to discover all information necessary to the understanding of how Pound used mediaeval Provençal poetry, both as material for his own poetry and as evidence for his theory of poetry as a component of civilization.

The introductory section discusses Pound's use of sources. It argues that his early grip on the language was weak, and that his early understanding of the history was largely restricted to an appreciation of Provençal vigour. His later competence is discussed in Section Two. A chapter on critics' approaches to Provençal material in Pound concludes that they have often used third-rate Provençal scholarship as an inappropriate measure by which to judge Pound's poetic method. They have at the same time ignored his broader contirbutions to our understanding of the Provençal civilization.

The second section argues that Pound's Canto VI offers a coherent historical view of Provençal verse, in which personal contact between individuals plays an important part; Pound suggests a continuity of cultural awareness from the first troubadours through to Dante. Starting from Canto VI, the section discusses in detail five major Provençal poets, both as to their own achievement and as to Pound's use of it in all his works. The conclusion is that Pound's mature appreciation of them is extremely sound, however shaky his knowledge of detail.

The final section discusses the Provençal heretics, held

by Pound to have shared with the troubadours an Hellenic religious awareness. He asserts that they were not, as has been claimed, neo-Manichaean and ascetic, but gave the troubadours their life-enhancing outlook; my conclusion is that this is highly probable.

Appendices deal with the documentary sources for Canto VI and for Pound's major prose-pieces on Provençal poetry; and with Scotus Erigena, whom Pound links closely with the civilization of Provence.

A NOTE ON PROCEDURE

Cross-referencing and note-numbering is by Section, Chapter and paragraph; thus 2.6.16 = Section 2 Chapter 6 paragraph 16; App.3 par.10 = Appendix Three paragraph 10.

All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. The five major troubadours discussed (Guilhem IX of Aquitaine, Bernart de Ventadorn, Bertran de Born, Arnaut Daniel and Sordello) are always translated in text or notes where quoted *in extenso*; as are the Provençal *vidas* and *razos*.

Further information is in 'Bibliographical Procedures', p.745.

CONTENTS

SECTION ONE : INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: POUND'S USE OF HIS MATERIALS

1. The object of this study is to describe the use Pound made of mediaeval Provençal poetry and the culture it sprang from. I do not set out to determine the value of Pound's total contribution to our own culture; many distinguished critics have done that (1); but it will be possible to draw certain limited conclusions from what I am discussing.

2. This study does not begin with ready-made decisions about the categories of evidence that should be considered in such a question. For instance, I have in no case gone to original manuscript sources. This would have been desirable when considering Pound's own direct transcriptions of _vidas_, _razos_ and, possibly, poems; but though Pound might conceivably have improved on occasional readings given by the authoritative editors, the labour involved in establishing such a trivial point would have been disproportionate when so many more important questions remain to be considered. As regards my own understanding of texts, to insist on going back to MSS or diplomatic editions at each reconsideration of a poem seems very like denying the value of a hundred years' patient labour performed by learned editors. Rather, in both literary and historical matters I have waited to see what evidence seemed necessary to settle particular questions before attempting to track that evidence down at whatever level it existed: at the level of the diplomatic edition in the case of some Cathar material, at the level of the general survey in the case of some points on the troubadours in Italy.

3. I should make clear what I mean by the terms 'mediaeval Provençal poet' and 'troubadour', which I am using as direct equivalents: I refer to the authors of that verse which appeared between about A.D. 1100 and 1250 in a literary language known for purposes of convenience as 'Provençal'. The earliest date is easy enough to settle, being about the time when William of Aquitaine, the first known of these authors, 'floruit', though it is possible that some surviving material antedates him; the second date is a date of convenience, since it involves a decision not to study the various institutionalised continuations of this writing, in Italy and in Toulouse, but to stop rather in the time of the last great authors, Cordelle and Guiraut Riquier. The term 'Provençal' in this context does not relate to the pre-Revolutionary province of Provence (the Roman Provincia, very roughly southern France east of the Rhone), but is the name given to the literary language that grew from the langue d'oc, which was and is spoken in various forms in most of southern France, including both Provence and Languedoc. The reader should be warned that, for similar reasons, I normally use 'Provence' for the civilisation associated with this literary language; when I intend the former province of Provence I shall say 'Provence proper'.

4. I do not intend here to give a general history of this unique cultural efflorescence; aspects of its history will be discussed as necessary, and a reasonably coherent picture will thus be built up, but for a comprehensive view the reader is referred to other studies (1). But distinctions between the types of information that survive are necessary in order to see what Pound did with it all. I therefore divide this information into these three categories: songs or other versified material; vidas and razos; and historical material (including

archaeological remains, possible spoken tradition and indeed all material that does not come within the first two categories).

Songs

5. The authoritative bibliography of Pillet and Carstens (1) lists 461 known troubadours (including 'Anonymous') with surviving personal outputs varying from perhaps 94 songs (Bertran Carbonel) to one, or a fragment of one, or even none (Gonzalgo Roitz, etc.). These songs or fragments of songs are contained in 95 manuscript song-books (or fragments of song-books), of which the most important are held in Paris, at the Bibliotheque Nationale, and in the great libraries of Italy (2). Of these

> 95 chansonniers, 52, that is more than half, come from Italy, and... of the others, 10 are of Catalan and 14 of French origin, so that very few, 19 in all (exactly a fifth of the total) can be called truly Provençal. The observation is undoubtedly important and added to the point that none of these manuscripts goes back earlier than the thirteenth century [that is, to a point contemporaneous with the last two great troubadours, Sordello and Guiraut Riquier], seems to support those who contend that the success of the troubadour lyric in southern France was based on an oral diffusion, and that from this diffusion became written only much later especially in countries like Italy, northern France and Catalonia, where obvious linguistic reasons suggested that its survival should be entrusted to the pages of manuscript books. (3)

6. At any rate, the exact function of these manuscript song-books or chansonniers is doubtful, and even more doubtful is their relation to the activities of the troubadours in their heyday. I shall go deeper into this question when I examine the transmission of the troubadours' culture into Italy (1). These manuscripts contain almost all that remains of what the troubadours produced.

7. As we have seen, most of the surviving manuscript song-books come from Italy; and it seems that at least one of them was produced at a court which was in the thirteenth century welcoming the remnants of the troubadours scattered from southern France. I shall discuss the role of these courts of northern Italy in a later section (1). It was the Renaissance successors of these courts, and the cultural vanguard that they sustained (families like the Medici, the Strozzi and the Gonzagas of Mantua, and scholars like Pietro Bembo, Aldus Manutius and Benedetto Varchi (2)), that preserved, copied and exchanged the manuscripts and studied their poetry. After this period interest in the subject seemed dead until a nineteenth-century combination of Romantic interest and philological research produced a sudden spate of editions: Raynouard, for example, looking for evidence to support his theory that Provençal was mother to the other Romance languages, and the young German scholar Diez inspired to look into Provençal by Goethe at Weimar who had just seen Raynouard's new publication (3). It is by and large these two currents that have sustained work on the Provençal poets.

8. The Romantic interest has been fed by the elements of the soul's triumph over situation that exist in this poetry, whether in love-and-death stories like that of Jaufre Rudel or in the prevalent glory-in-dedication theme that led to Dante's treatment of Beatrice in

the Vita Nuova. The anti-authoritarianism that is essential to Romanticism has been fed, as with the Celtic languages, by the possibilities of linguistic nationalism. The product of all this has been, notably, a number of adaptations of Provençal themes by poets, though these have never reached the stature of the great treatments of Celtic themes like Tristan and Iseult; and a great quantity of books popularizing Provence, in anecdotes about the troubadours, as a land of gentility, robust laughter and refined romance. But the sources of this material have been the vidas and razos as much as the songs (both treated as a kind of history), and so I shall leave Pound's use of it until I come to the vidas and razos.

9. Philological research into Provençal songs dates back, as we have seen, as far as the first editions of those songs, and it established itself on a sound footing early, with the work of men like Rochegude and Diez. Its aims have been to produce texts of the songs as near to the originals as our knowledge permits; and to ascertain the structures of language in which they were composed, both for possible historical purposes and as a weapon in general linguistic research. The two aims have often been combined, in that editions of the troubadours often contain lengthy analyses of the language used therein.

10. A good quantity of this type of material was available to Pound at the time when he began to study Provençal poetry, but by and large he chose to ignore it except as a source of texts, of what linguistic quality he seems not to have cared. He was quite content to use anthologies, though good ones, limiting himself for the entire Provençal source-material of the 1910 Spirit of Romance to the following (1):

Appel's anthology Provenzalische Chrestomathie; Canello's edition of Arnaut Daniel; Stimming's edition of Bertran de Born; and possibly Bartsch and Koschwitz's anthology Chrestomathie provençale. He owned the Appel (2), and possibly Canello's edition of Arnaut, being obliged to consult the British Museum's copy when he wanted to do the 'Sestina: Altaforte', 'for I was then living in Langham Street, next to the 'pub', and had hardly any books with me.' (3) He probably also owned Ida Farnell's Lives of the Troubadours, which contains translations (but no texts) of a fairly-extensive selection of vidas and razos, and some songs; he borrowed many phrases from it.

11. That these sources, except for Farnell (1), are textually sound was probably accidental for Pound's purposes, in view of his continued disgust with the effects of scholarly editing, from 1910:

> I have floundered somewhat ineffectually through the slough of philology, but I look forward to the time when it will be possible for the lover of poetry to study poetry--even the poetry of recondite times and places--without burdening himself with rags of morphology, epigraphy, privatleben and the kindred delights of the archaeological or "scholarly" mind. (2)

--to 1925:

> pots-de-loup, sitting on piles of stone books,
> obscuring the texts with philology,
> hiding them under their persons (3)

12. It can plausibly be argued that for the kind of general survey Pound produced in the 1910 version of his Spirit of Romance, and for the 'poetic equivalents' given in his early poems, little

exactitude of text was necessary. I have not bothered to compare his translations in detail with the originals, taking it from certain examples that Pound's Provençal at this period was shaky. Thus in the chapter 'Proença', which simply discusses the troubadours dealt with by Dante in the De Vulgari Eloquentia, there is a translation of Bertran de Born's 'Be·m platz lo gais temps de pascor' (1). In it there are the following points which appear to stem from a misunderstanding of the text:-

—'on his armed charger': it is the lord who is armed. (?)

—'he thinks no more of (merely) breaking heads and arms': although for example Levy (3), because of the etymology (L. magis), puts mas and mais in the same entry, there are two quite distinct groups of meaning, and to my knowledge the spelling usually follows the distinction. Here it comes in the mas ('but') group, as the spelling indicates, rather than the mais ('more') group, and means literally 'thinks not but of splitting heads', that is 'thinks only of...'

—'I find no such savor in eating butter and sleeping': beure has nothing to do with the French for 'butter' but means 'to drink'; I do not know what Pound has done with the ni of the original. The meaning is 'I tell you [neither] eating nor (ni) drinking nor sleeping has for me such savour as there is for me when I hear [men] shout "To them!"'

Nor is Pound here intentionally using the type of mistranslation isolated by J.P. Sullivan in the Homage to Sextus Propertius (4); in almost all respects the translation is literal.

—'and from both sides hear horses neighing through their head-guards': the Provençal has '(when I hear [men] shout "To them!") from both sides and hear ridorless horses neighing in the shade'. I do not know what words Pound has confused with vuoch 'ridorless' and ombratge 'shade'.

—'before anyone makes war on us': the original has 'before you all make war on each other'.

13. It is probably this kind of translation to which Robert Graves applied the test of showing it to his Majorcan-speaking child; 'he laughed and laughed and laughed'. I shall discuss later the merits of such a test.(1) But it can certainly be argued that this kind of mis-comprehension disqualifies a critic like Pound from making a true evaluation of the poetry he is discussing.

14. I do not think the argument is valid. To quote further from the 'Praefatio' to <u>The Spirit of Romance</u>, a man can, with any period,

> study its antiquities, phonetics or palaeography and be, at the end of his labours, incapable of discerning a refinement of style or a banality of diction.

That this is so will be argued in more detail when I examine in detail Pound's later arguments about the text of Arnaut Daniel (1). There is a kind of empirical proof that Pound's linguistic incompetence (2) was no disqualification for the highest kind of perception in the fact that now, in many cases fifty years later, are being upvalued precisely those writers Pound enthused about: Gourmont, Laforgue, Propertius, Cavalcanti and so on.

15. Be all that as it may, it is obviously an advantage to understand the text in as many ways as possible; and Pound did not leave his knowledge of Provençal at the level of 1910. He had need of a better command if he was to make the kind of assertion about a particular line that appears in the 1912 addition to <u>The Spirit of Romance</u> (1); which he did increasingly. On-and-off for the next ten years Pound devoted part of his enormous energies to studying Provençal, or at least Arnaut

Daniel, and I shall assess the results of this study in a section on the Arnaut translations (2). The conclusion of that section is that Pound was by 1920 as competent as Canello, Lavaud and Toja (earlier and later editors of Arnaut) to discuss any aspects of the meaning of Arnaut's text, though he was still capable of making mistakes. Detailed treatment of the way Pound used the songs of other troubadours will be found in sections devoted to those troubadours. Though he returned to the others in later years as he did to Arnaut, it was for what one might call particular 'atmospheres', and little evidence can be shown as to just how much knowledge of Provençal he brought to bear on them, as we shall see. After 1910 the only detailed treatment by Pound of a troubadour other than Arnaut is the piece on Peire Cardenal in the 1913 'Troubadours—their Sorts and Conditions', which I shall mention briefly later in this section (3). What it chiefly shows about Pound's handling of Provençal, as may be seen in my Appendix on sources (4), is an extraordinary individuality in manuscript-readings, such as can be found also in the part of that article on <u>vidas</u> and <u>razos</u>.

<u>Vidas and Razos</u> (1)

16. When I come to discuss the transmission of the troubadour culture into Italy, I shall examine in some detail the function of the <u>vidas</u> and <u>razos</u> and the way they attached themselves to the troubadour poetry (1). Here it may be said briefly that the <u>vidas</u> (Provençal for 'lives') are the short biographies of troubadours which appear in the earliest manuscript anthologies of their poetry; while the <u>razos</u> (Provençal 'arguments', 'subject-matters') begin to appear in the fourteenth-century manuscripts. The earliest manuscripts, which as we have seen date from the thirteenth century, contain the most <u>vidas</u>, but the

latter give way before the advance of the razos which grow in length, both forms of prose growing in importance as they are shifted from 'headline' positions in the earlier manuscripts to a sequence growing in the later ones. (1)

17. Doubt has recently been cast on this precedence of the vidas, by Jean Boutiere, in his later edition of the prose-material (1). In my opinion as we shall see, there is little useful evidence as to the relative dates of origin of this material. I shall discuss in a later section the type of tradition that, it seems to me, produced and preserved all this material. Meanwhile I would conjecture that the old hypothesis that the vidas came first could still stand. The literature began without prose, and ended perhaps dominated by prose, if we include in its tradition the Novellinos that later Italians produced from the Provençal prose. When the poetry was born, non-technical prose tended to be dominated by the Latin lives of saints, of which the vidas are an obvious extension. The 'life' is normally a very loose form, without much possibility of dramatic concentration. The lyric on the other hand in Provence tended to be a concentrated encapsulation of the essence of drama: a conflict, with no foreseeable way out (see my section on Bernart de Ventadorn (2)). The marriage of these two produced the razo, which was dramatic, pithy, and permitted a denouement. It is, as has often been said, the direct ancestor of the modern novel, and the rise of its immediate successor the Novellino coincided with the decline in importance of the semi-fictional 'life'. It is possible that the long-term tendency back towards the 'life' (which reached its apogee in the nineteenth-century novel-cycle, from Balzac to Galsworthy) is the result of the same impulses that made the 'life' dominate in the first place: a lack of interest in the essentials of human situation, and a cor-

responding fascination with external apparatus; in Pound's words, 'The dinner scene is more frequently introduced, we have the characters in definite act of absorption; later they will be but stuffing for expensive upholsteries.' (3)

10. It will be apparent from all that has been said that the _vidas_ and _razos_ are not to be regarded in the same light as modern literary biographies and works of criticism; the relation of these latter to 'truth' may often be obscure, but in the case of the Provençal prose it often seems nonexistent. (In the following discussion terms such as 'historical fact' will refer to some such provisional norm as 'that which is verifiable', or 'that which we accept as having happened in a sense that we can normally agree on to a useful extent, like the French Revolution'.)

19. All those who interested themselves in the troubadour poetry between its demise and the end of the nineteenth century accepted in large part this prose-material as sound historical source-matter (1). This applies even to the pioneer scholars from Rochegude (died 1834) onwards, who subjected the songs to textual criticism. Like Ezra Pound (2), they believed the authors of the originals of manuscript-groups IK3gR and IKd, who claim (3) to be Uc de St Circ and Miquel de la Tor respectively, personal witnesses in some degree to the events they relate. However, since the detailed studies of certain great scholars, notably Gaston Paris (_Jaufre Rudel_, 1893) and Stanislaw Stronski (_La legende amoureuse de Bertran de Born_, 1910), the pendulum has swung heavily the other way, to a point where critics sometimes seem disappointed when unable to prove that a given _vida_ or _razo_ is pure fiction (4).

20. Stronski makes this distinction:

> As regards general data on the lives of the troubadours (origin, name, family, status, abode, career and death) the biographies have succinct but sound information... But for the poetic career and above all (this is the point) for the love-stories of the troubadours and for their alleged amorous adventures, the old biographers know absolutely nothing and content themselves with embroidering naïve tales... (1)

The first part of this distinction was strongly supported by Stronski's brilliant work in the book this is taken from, where he demonstrated conclusively that what the vidas had asserted, but had long been contested by scholars, was true: 'Folquet de Marsceilla' (2) the troubadour was the same person as the 'Fulco Tolose episcopus' (3) who persecuted Albigensian heretics (4). And the kind of geographical information about Provence in this prose that Boutiere mentions was verified, for example, by Pattison, in his closely-researched edition of Raimbaut d'Orange (5).

21. This raises the question as to how the same biographers, who know the region and times of the later troubadours intimately, can be so wrong about their love-histories. Answers are easy to find: love-stories are personal, and so cannot easily be verified by the audience, and are easily made up by the writer. It has been demonstrated in many cases how all the inspiration for this labour of fiction came from the poems of the troubadours in question (1). The strict historian therefore, having demonstrated that the content of the story is not historical, tends to regard it as having no importance:

> It is high time we abandoned fantasies about the role

> of 'free love' or the 'cults of love'... Simple good sense played about the same role as at any other time...(?)

22. But historians of culture-morphology have shown that the 'simple good sense' of one age is not necessarily that of another; and that the predominating needs of an epoch tend to be expressed in just such fantasies as these <u>vidas</u> and <u>razos</u> (1). After all, as Gaston Paris pointed out:

> ...we can only consider them as showing us how, at the time of their successors, the history and character of the principal heroes of the golden age of Provençal poetry were imagined. (2)

The poems themselves hardly offer us much more than that; their sole advantage is contemporaneity; one can hardly imagine, for a comparison, the words of a blues-singer as a balanced reflection or indeed as any direct evidence of his way of life, for all humans sometimes laugh.

23. Neither songs nor prose are 'true' in that sense; but that does not mean they have no causal relation to the shapes of their authors' lives, and those of their audiences: Such a relation is bound to be complex, involving the interreaction of economic factors, such fantasies as the <u>vidas</u> and <u>razos</u> themselves, inherited doctrines and indeed everything else that influences our lives. That it can nonetheless be traced has been shown for example by Norman Cohn, in a study to which I shall refer later (1), where he demonstrates that a powerful and recurring factor in the social upheavals that shook Europe in the Middle Ages, and after, was a belief that the Millenium was at hand, and that the toiling masses were to be its principal heroes. I cannot undertake questions of such a magnitude in this study; but the relation of fantasies to people's

lives is the principal question in every study which tries to explain why the troubadour culture sprang up at this place and time, a problem which I shall perforce touch on. Before these great problems can be tackled it is necessary to 'define' or delineate the fantasies in question, just as much as to know what happened historically; and this is something that I can reasonably undertake in the case of the vidas and razos.

24. The general tendency, as differentiating them from the songs they grew from, is for the vidas and razos to concentrate on those aspects of the troubadour psychology which emphasised elaborate game-playing as an escape from emotion. Woman is the arbitress of the activities they relate. Frequently we find that 'so-and-so, desirous of fame, cast about her for a troubadour':

> ...his friends...pointed out to him a lady of Gascony who was... young and beautiful and pleasant, and desirous of esteem and of seeing Sir Savaric... (1)

It seems sometimes that troubadours are only lucky when they happen to cast their eyes on such a lady:

> And the lady was noble and beautiful, and gay and pleasing, and very desirous of esteem and honour... And she, with sweet loving looks, accepted his pleadings, and received and listened to them, as a lady who wanted a troubadour to compose about her. (2)

Occasionally a troubadour is so brilliant that he can harness this desire for fame and make himself a seller's market:

> And there was no great or esteemed lady in the whole region who didn't wish or try to make him want her, or to wish her well as an intimate friend, because he could

> give them honour and make them adored more than any other man; so that no woman thought herself valued, if Raimon de Miraval were not her friend. (3)

But this situation is rare, and in Raimon's case does him no good:

> ...he...made many good songs about [Alazais de Beiuzo], praising her fame and worth and courtliness; and he put her in such honour that all the worthy lords of the region wanted her...the king had all he wanted of her... Wherefore Raimon repented... (4)

25. So, if the troubadours can fulfill certain needs of the ladies, it is nonetheless the ladies who decide both the success of the troubadours and what use they may make of it. It might seem that the common practice (as reported in this prose (1)) of falling in love with a lady without seeing her, because of the good report that troubadours had made of her, made the whole thing somewhat independent of the wishes of the lady herself. But, as we have seen in the case of Raimon de Miraval, this reporting, which in effect was the sole function of the troubadour, placed him even more at a disadvantage. It undermined at least his ostensible purposes, which were (a) to be 'permitted as a suitor', and (b) 'accorded pleasure in the matter of love':

> ...and she permitted the requests of Sir Giraut, because of the way he enhanced greatly her esteem and honour... (2)
>
> And he loved a noble lady of Gascony, wife to Sir William of Duovilla, but it was not thought that the lady ever did him pleasure in the matter of love... (3)

This 'pleasure in the matter of love' is sex; but it has to be accompanied by secrecy:

...and she had given him pleasure. And it happened that she considered that her fame had fallen too far, because she had wished what he wished; and she sent him away...(4)

...and she favoured the count of Foix, to the extent of making him her lover. And their love and loving were known through all the region of Carcasses; for which she fell from esteem and honour, friends and lady-friends...(5)

It should also be accompanied by discretion:

> Gaucelm Faidit went across the sea and took with him Guillelma Monja, who was his wife and had been a whore, and was bigger than he was. And he thought he would have a son by her, being a most unpleasant man in all things. And he came back very poor and homeless. (6)

26. Gaucelm Faidit is one of the few troubadours in the vidas and razon who have anything to do with a wife; other, that is, than another man's wife. Marriage clearly does not help:

> But after he had a wife he made no more songs. (1)

Husbands sometimes approve of what their wives are up to with the troubadours, at least when they think no sex is involved; even brothers approve:

> "Sir Raimbaut, what is the matter, that you don't sing and aren't happy, when you hear such beautiful sounds on the viol and see here such a beautiful lady as my sister is, who has received you as a servant and who is the most worthy lady in the world?" (2)

But sometimes they do not:

> And the love of the lady and of Peirol increased so much that the Dauphin [her brother] became jealous of her, because he thought that she did more concerning him than she ought... (3)

27. More the Dauphin seems to be concerned for the lady much as a husband would be, that is in a sexual way; and it seems that such a figure is essential to a troubadour affair, at least in this prose, since we find that they pay court to few unmarried ladies. Sometimes husbands find things have gone too far:

> Their love lasted a long time before the viscount or anyone else perceived it. And when the viscount perceived it, he grew unfriendly to him, and had his wife locked up and guarded. And the lady sent Sir Bernart away... (1)

And this was told to Sir Raimon de Castel Rossillon; and he, like a jealous and angry man, searched it all out and found it was true, and had his wife guarded. And one day, Raimon found Guillem eating without many companions

> and killed him... (2)

28. Husbands are not then, in principle, willing cuckolds in the vidas and razos; the whole business is the better for their not knowing of it, though their presence seems equally essential. Women are independent of them; they are also very independent of their would-be lovers, as several razos are at pains to demonstrate. This is the point of one recurrent plot, where the troubadour, unsuccessful with his lady, is approached by another lady with large promises; but after taking leave of the first finds himself abandoned by the second. This happens in the razo for Richart de Barbezill, and the second lady explains as follows:

> ...he was no man to whom any lady should do or say any pleasure, because he was the falsest man in the world, having left his lady, who was so beautiful and gay and

> who wished him so well... and as he had left her, so he would leave another woman. (1)

As if the moral were not clear enough, there is another plot in which the troubadour wants to test the love of his lady, and leaves her; whereupon she ignores him and he is reduced to pleading for mercy. (2)

29. The woman is therefore goddess, and submission to her the first requirement. She appears somewhat in the *vidas* and *razos* to be goddess as a corporate entity; as it were, an 'Allied Union of Ladies', in the persons of those women who are able to make a name for themselves and their salons, deliver what is almost a collective opinion as to possible infringements of rights:

> And when the ladies and the knights heard that he might have mercy of his lady if a hundred knights and a hundred ladies (in love with each other) went to beg mercy of Richart's lady, that she should pardon him, and she would then pardon him, the ladies and the knights all assembled and went and begged mercy of her for Richart. And the lady pardoned him. (1)

We have seen a certain kind of legalism in this case of Richart de Berbezill, here and in the opinion delivered above by the second lady; and similarly Pons de Capdoill, who was the one that tried to test his lady's love by leaving her, is condemned here almost by a law-book definition from the writer:

> And he, being in this honour with her and this happiness, wanted, like a foolish lover who is incapable of enduring great good fortune, to test whether she meant him well...(2)

The proscriptive nature of this typology is even more obvious with Bernart de Ventadorn:

> Then he thought, like a man overcome with love, that he was better off having half of her than losing her altogether. Then, when he was with her, where there was her other friend and other people, he thought that she looked at him more than all the others. And many times he disbelieved what he had believed, as all true lovers must, who must not believe what they see with their eyes, if it is a failing in their lady. (3)

And if the 'common law' corpus of doctrine is unclear at any point, a disputation in form may settle it:

> And one day, he was paying court to her, and they had a disputation: the Count of the March said that every true lover, when his lady has given him her love and taken him as a knight and a friend, as long as he is true and faithful to her, must have as much lordship and command over her as she over him. And lady Maria argued that the friend should have no lordship and command over her... (4)

30. The troubadour is thus reduced, in the vidas and razos, to a role of the greatest insipidity. The world is completely one of female fashion; that is, a world where activities relate not to efforts to change things but to arbitrarily-inspired modifications in an arbitrarily-established system of norms and procedures. It is directly comparable to the raison d'etre of Vogue and the King's Road; or, as in this piece about Ue de Saint Circ, to the salons satirized by Fielding, with the troubadour acting the part of Samuel Richardson, the compleat gentool correspondent:

> ...and she had a great desire for esteem and to be heard of far and near, and to have the friendship and the intimacy of the respectable ladies and gentlemen. And Sir Uc knew of her desire and was able to give her what she most wanted; so that there was no respectable lady of the whole region with whom she did not have friendship and intimacy, and to whom she did not have letters and salutations and presents sent, to please them and do them honour. And Sir Uc executed well the letters of reply that should be sent to the ladies for the nice things that they sent her... (1)

31. The striking characteristic of all this is that, while it claims to be concerned with love, it is not a direct expression of, or direct aim at the fulfilment of, sexual needs or those 'higher' developments of sexual needs that go under the name of love. I have referred to two 'ostensible purposes' of troubadours in this material: to be 'permitted as a suitor', and to be 'accorded pleasure in the matter of love'. The first aim is not as straightforward as it might seem. Though all love-affairs can in a way be regarded as unresolved and unresolvable, the sexual process does give a kind of cyclical resolution; the state of 'being permitted as a suitor' does not allow for that, yet it is here regarded to a large extent as a good in itself. As for the second aim, sex, points already noted suggest that it is not a fundamental need in these fantasies. When Guiraut de Bornelll's lady had 'wished what he wished', that is let him make love to her, we find that society condemned her so much she had to send him away; yet this is the same noble and fashionable society, one assumes, that participated in the elaborate love-games we have seen elsewhere in the vidas and razos.

Again, the habit in this material of only becoming involved in relationships with married women suggests a desire to be frustrated and/or discovered.

32. There are two possible explanations: one is that some variation on the male-female sexual relationship is here fulfilling its needs; sex remains the fundamental driving force, but elaborate situations are being constructed to satisfy the particular desires of the age. The other is that the whole thing was a meaningless game; that as soon as anyone fell genuinely in love, it all turned sour, as we have seen with Raimon de Miraval:

> ...he made many good songs about her, praising her fame and worth and courtliness; and he put her in such honour that all the worthy lords of the region wanted her... Wherefore Raimon repented... (1)

33. It seems to me that these explanations must both be true to some extent, and depend on each other. I should like to explain why, when I touch on the problem of the significance of the troubadour culture (1). For the moment I would suggest that a 'variation on the male-female sexual relationship' is the motive power behind the phenomenon of the troubadour culture, and that it is an important variation, and one which has remained a persistent force in our culture; that we see it in its most powerful formulation in the works of the great troubadours, such as we shall see found studying; and that a horde of followers-on took the manner and felt no relation in it to important needs in themselves, so that both in the Provençal lyric and in the *vidas* and *razos* the elaborate game-playing far out-bulks the meaningful expression.

34. In this discussion of the vidas and razos I have in fact taken an 'average view'; I have paid attention only to those treatments of themes that predominate in their length. Very little of the neuroses (that term in psychology has no pejorative meaning) that I have been describing shows through in the vidas and razos Pound used, and those vidas and razos are by far the most powerful that survive (though there are other powerful ones), because in them the behaviour-patterns that are peculiar to this fantasy-world remain visibly tied to the rest of the human organism. I shall describe this group of vidas and razos in describing Pound's use of them.

Vidas and Razos (ii): Pound's use of them

35. Pound made little use of the vidas and razos before 1913; and what use he did make of them was based on the romantically-orientated popularizations of Provence I have mentioned. The chapter 'Proença' in the 1910 The Spirit of Romance refers frequently to the vidas and razos, but only one reference contains material that was not available in Ida Farnell's Lives of the Troubadours, which Pound mentions (1). Even that reference, a translation of Aimeric de Pegulhan's vida (not his razo, contra Pound (2)), differs only verbally from Ida Farnell; the pieces of Provençal in it would be easy enough to intersperse. That reference is the only sign of Pound's having seen an original, and but for it one would have concluded that he had seen none, since the translation of the Bernart de Ventadorn vida is copied verbatim from Ida Farnell (3). A look at my Appendix on sources will show that the Spirit chapter, in its construction, is based on Farnell's Lives, followed by Dante's De Vulgari Eloquentia, then by the chrestomathies of Appel and possibly Bartsch, and again by Farnell's Lives and Appel's Provenzalische Chrestomathie. (4)

36. Pound therefore, at this period, probably got most of his information from popularizations. Such works were very numerous in the nineties and later. Their main effort was to interest the reader, and the chief means of doing this was to present a maximum of emotion being inflicted or suffered, of what precise nature it was not necessary to say. They suffered enormously from the nineteenth century's failing of critical involvement with one's own ego. The only way to persuade the reader's ego that it was experiencing an admirable degree of passion was to convince it that the people involved in the situation presented were experiencing that degree of passion. Hence the emphasis on describing the reactions of protagonists, rather than on describing the situation they were in, and hence this kind of writing:

> The viscountess had not been mistaken: it was Guilhem de Sain Leidier. Covered with a mantle of black silk, he wore a long dagger sheathed in his belt; and a coat of mail, clinking softly beneath it, showed that he, too, understood the peril of his enterprise. But no hint of that appeared in his face, and lightly throwing back the pointed hood of his mantle he advanced with eyes cast down, and fell on one knee before the viscountess.
>
> I need not say that she looked gently down upon the daring troubadour. But she was the mistress of Polignac; and her lord, though he could not gain her heart, commanded her duty and had overawed her will. "Sir Guilhem," she said, "unless the viscount my husband commanded me and besought me, I would not accept you as my knight and servitor."
>
> Without a word Sain Leidier rose, made a low obeisance, and withdrew, for he felt that whatever

> tenderness might lie behind it, the answer could not have been more hopeless; and so will you think when you know what manner of man the viscount was. (1)

37. These substitutes for emotion, which might go under the collective name of 'drama' (used pejoratively), dominated Romantic and sub-romantic treatment of the troubadours; they in fact dominated the artistic environment generally in 1910, as they still shape the popularised versions of 'high culture', whether in lectures to the W.I. or in the records sold as 'Popular Classics'. They were a powerful influence on Pound; thus the emotional content of many of his early poems was a number of more-or-less 'dramatic' poses, as we shall see from those inspired by Bertran de Born. (1)

38. This version of Romanticism was a powerful weapon in the hands of a young anti-Puritan: dramatic substitutes for emotion were better than the total suppression of emotion, as we shall see again in his use of Bertran de Born (1). And this search for a weapon against the motherland's stifling Puritanism was what drove American popularizers to the troubadours' France, for there, among a people whose irrational Catholicism and disdain for the worldly goods they 'ought' to be seeking was itself infinitely suggestive, they found murky ruins that belonged to an era when pure uncontrolled passion (it seemed) was king. In Smith's version:

> Life was a drama. The crusades were launched in a troubadour city and their war-songs were composed by troubadour poets. Nothing was "sicklied o'er." Not even the shadows of Cervantes, Rabelais and Voltaire

had come in sight. Nobody doubted, everybody looked forward. (2)

To pun unforgivably on Smith's quotation, what life was really (for Protestant civilization) 'sicklied o'er' with was the 'pale cast of "ought"' rather than the worries of sceptics; and in the troubadours Americans found the total dedication to passion that was necessary to a belated Romantic revolt.

39. The popularizations that fulfilled this need varied extremely in their scholarship. One anecdotist in this field managed to show his ignorance of two languages at once by referring to the famous troubadour as 'Bertran von Born' (1). Another had a drawing of 'a Troubadour on his Travels', accompanied by two pages and a jongleur on foot and no baggage, wearing full fourteenth-century armour (2). Francis Hueffer, father of Ford Madox Ford (who was already publishing work by Pound in 1909 (3)), had brought out a book called The Troubadours in 1878 (4); and this by contrast, besides a number of the usual dramatized _vidas_ and _razos_, contained some very expert material on the music of the period; for Hueffer was a music critic, and a friend of the poet Mistral in Languedoc (5). For the history of the troubadours perhaps the strongest was Justin H. Smith's Troubadours at Home, from which I have already quoted, despite its weaknesses in the matter of 'bringing to life'; the great Provençalist Appel called it a 'liebenswurdig und fleissig, aber unkritisch Buch' (6), and it certainly has the virtues of its faults. Pound drew perhaps from this book, which he used (7), his intensely dramatic approach to the _vidas_ and _razos_, a strong feeling for the geography in which the troubadour culture existed, and confirmation of his absolutely uncritical approach to the historicity of the Provençal prose. (8)

40. For Pound in fact always insisted that what was related in the vidas and razos had taken place, though in what sense it is not easy to say. His 1913 article on the Provençal prose, which I shall shortly discuss, treats it as a source of historical realism (1), even though Gaston Paris, a scholar whom Pound greatly respected (2), had been the first to show that it is to a large extent fiction (3). Nor was this attitude temporary; in 1920 Pound strikes from the Arnaut canon the song 'Ane ieu non l'aic', which to me is unmistakably Arnaldian, because the Arnaut razo says that he cribbed it from a jongleur (4). As we shall see, this idea was probably derived from the song by the razo-writer (5). Again, in 1924 Pound protests against attitudes towards this material: 'Monsieur Langfors has treated this tradition in an, alas, all too scholarly manner'(6). He refers to the story of Guilhem de Cabestaing, of which Langfors had noted laconically: 'La biographie de G. de Cabestanh est la mise en oeuvre d'un conte très répandu, le conte du "coeur mangé", sur lequel on a beaucoup écrit.' (7) The strange thing is that once more the chief authority quoted against the vida's historicity is Gaston Paris (8), who traces the story back to Indian originals—the kind of correspondence that, one would have thought, Pound would have seized on. But by this period Pound was deeply involved in questions of myth, tradition and history, and was soon (perhaps already) reading Frobenius (9); this is a complex matter to which I shall refer when I discuss Pound's use of Provençal historical sources (10).

'Troubadours - their Sorts and Conditions'

41. In the early months of 1912 Pound got down to studying the vidas and razos in detail, direct from the manuscripts in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris (1). The scholarly results of this work I

shall examine in the Appendix on sources (2); the results for Pound's thinking were published in the essay 'Troubadours--their Sorts and Conditions' in 1913 (3). This essay is very well adapted to the journal in which it was printed, of which Pound said in 1920:

> I need scarcely say that The Quarterly Review is one of the most profitable periodicals in England, and one of one's best 'connections', or sources of income. It has, of course, a tradition.
>
> 'It is not that Mr Keats (if that be his real name, for we doubt that any man in his senses would put his real name to such a rhapsody)'—
>
> wrote their Gifford of Keats' Endymion... (4)

Pound's essay suffers from all the faults that the public of such a journal could desire, and notably a failure to break away from the language consecrated for mediaeval subjects some 70 years before, by Browning. Pound protests that he will not write like Keats:

> The mirth of Provençal song is at times anything but sunburnt, and the mood is anything but idle. (5)

—and that he has kept his critical senses:

> ...there was a life like our own, no mere sequence of citherns and citoles, nor a continuous stalking about in sendal and diaspre. (6)

42. Certainly much of the archaic language in Pound's essay comes from an attempt to bring over the naïve feeling of the Provençal prose by keeping its syntax; yet people are 'folk' for no visible reason, and manuscripts 'old books'. The latter mannerism is probably inherited from the tradition of Gosse and Sainte-Beuve, who posed as gentlemen for whom no sort of work was proper, certainly not the minute

labour that bends the literary historian's back; so that no references to sources are given, and there is a studious vagueness about the whole process of discovery, which is masked as a gentleman's foible. Thus Pound:

> If a man of our time be so crotchety as to wish emotional, as well as intellectual, acquaintance with an age so out of fashion as the twelfth century, he may try in several ways to attain it. He may read the songs themselves from the old books--from the illuminated vellum---... (1)

43. Browning of course remained Pound's model until a surprisingly late period. One can imagine Pound's mental agony when he discovered that the epic on which he had meditated for 20 years was forming itself, in the first drafts, with all the characteristics of a reincarnation of the 'old mesmerizer' (1). Wyndham Lewis's charges that Pound had no understanding of his own time, as far as his creative activities were concerned, were certainly out of date by 1927 (2); but the 'Troubadours' essay is proof that Lewis had once been right. Pound however is obviously aware that he is out of date. He protests, as we have seen, that this material is realistic; and suddenly, halfway through the essay, it changes direction entirely. It is as if he were shocked by his own language, like this:

> Know ye the French are stiff in stour... (3)

Suddenly he drops what is, despite his own efforts, a tapestry, and takes up a subject on which his revolutionary credentials are much sounder: the history of literature, and particularly melopoeia. He outlines briefly the decadence of Provençal poetry, and then moves on to discuss a troubadour who would be much more to the taste of Lewis' Rebel Art Centre: Peire Cardenal. But to what extent this attempt at

modernism is self-conscious may be judged from the Cantos, from which all that was not important enough to Pound to 'leave a trace in the memory' has dropped away: Peire Cardenal is mentioned twice (4).

44. It is only regrettable that Pound did not do a better prose treatment of the _vidas_ and _razos_, because so many of the readers (often very distinguished ones) to whom he was trying to 'sell' the troubadour culture (1) could only refer to an article which would confirm their impressions of it as something for the previous century. But there are other things in the _vidas_ and _razos_; for instance, this blunt treatment of the wars that ended the civilization of Provence:

> When [Perdigon] had this esteem and honour, he went with the Prince of Aurenga, Guillaume des Baux, and Folquet de Marseille, Bishop of Toulouse, and the Abbot of Citeaux, to Rome, to ruin the Count and to organise the Crusade. Because of this the good Count Raimon of Toulouse and his nephew the Count of Beziers were disinherited, and the Toulousain, Quercy and the Biterrois were ruined and the Albigeois destroyed, and King Peter of Aragon and a thousand knights were killed before Muret, and 20,000 other men died. (2)

In the _vidas_ and _razos_ the Albigensian Crusade is always dealt with in this direct manner, with no pretence that it was primarily a religious affair:

> And when the French had taken Toulouse, he went off to Lombardy... (3)
>
> When the Count of Toulouse had been disinherited by the Church and the French... (4)

This last quotation is taken from a powerful account of the destruction

of Provence, moving because of its simplicity. A similar directness is achieved not only in dealing with King John, whom of course nobody loved:

> ...and he had his nephew Arthur killed... (5)

—but also with Richard Lionheart, whose treacheries are usually forgotten:

> As soon as Richard heard that the two Counts of Auvergne, his cousins the Dauphin and Count Guy, had declared war against the King of France, he made a truce with the King of France and abandoned the Dauphin and Count Guy, and went off to England. (6)

Pound's picture of Provence might have been the truer for some of this; and it would have thrown more light on what he had to say about the blunt social awareness of Peire Cardenal.

45. Pound's treatment of Peire Cardenal in the remaining pages of this essay (1) consists of little more than the <u>vida</u> followed by a series of quotations from the songs. But what Pound has chosen from Peire's great <u>corpus</u> is significant: in almost all cases it relates to the Confucian doctrine of personal responsibility that Pound was then formulating for himself. Pound was by 1913 at the end of his 'aesthetic' period, a period when the destruction of useless forms seemed a sufficient aim, and was formulating the criticism of British society that was uttered loudly in <u>Blast</u> (1914 and articulately in 'Hugh Selwyn Mauberley' (1920) and 'Homage to Sextus Propertius' (1919). What he gets from Peire Cardenal is a series of attacks on personal abrogations of responsibility: by the Church in Rome, then directing the Crusade against Provence; by the local clergy, with its rapacity; by the rich and the noble, taking only the advantages of their position; and by women, following the spirit

of the age into irresponsible greed. The hero, as for Confucius, is the man who does what his position calls for: in this case 'the Duke of Narbonne, who was apparently making a fight for honest administration' (2). And though Pound was not able to find in Peire the exactitude of utterance that makes a social critic like Dante most permanent, nonetheless he places them both with 'those who warn' before the gates of hell:

> And the running form, naked, Blake,
> Shouting, whirling his arms, the swift limbs,
> Howling against the evil, (...)
> and like him Peire Cardenal.
> And in the west mountain, Il Fiorentino,
> Seeing hell in his mirror,
> and lo Sordels
> Looking on it in his shield;
> And Augustine, gazing toward the invisible. (3)

Metamorphosis - Cantos

46. I do not intend in this thesis to discuss in detail how Pound used the vidas and razos in the early Cantos concerned with metamorphosis. This may seem strange in view of the fact that, of the not-so-large part of the Cantos concerned with the troubadours at all, these 'metamorphosis-Cantos' form a large proportion. But it will be seen from my analysis of the critics who have discussed Pound's troubadours (1) that a similarly large part of what they have discussed is concerned with precisely this material, and that it is well treated; to use the presence of the troubadours as an excuse for another repetition of the same ideas seems a denial of the purpose of criticism. But I shall refer to and comment upon what has been said, in discussing these Cantos briefly.

47. I have said that the best vidas and razos, many of which are used by Pound, do not share in the elaborate idiocies I have described, but have other and powerful qualities. Leaving aside the sexual relationships on which they are based, which partake in the general Provençal structure to varying degrees and which I shall discuss in a later section (1), I shall try to define these qualities. They are qualities shared by all good writing; they follow Pound's dictum 'Get it across o poi basta' (2); there is perfect economy of means. What is presented is human situation; whatever imagery or setting is necessary to convey the exact nature of that situation is used; beyond that there is nothing at all, no ornament and no identifiable attempt to increase the emotional effect. Because of the nature of the 'atmospheres' they attempt to convey, the best vidas and razos seem like extended versions of Arnaut Daniel as described by Pound:

> Manning, in his "Scenes and Portraits", compares Dante's similes—similes like those of the arsenal at Venice, or of the hoar frost—to the illuminated capital letter in mediaeval manuscript. Daniel in this canzon has produced the same effect, and solely by suggestion, by metaphor that is scarce metaphor, by suggestive verbs...(3)

They in fact conform very well to the definitions that Pound produced at various times between 1911 and 1916 to cover different kinds of poetic concentration. We shall see how the Cabestanh vida is a 'Luminous Detail' (4) that contains much of the meaning of Provence; how, at least in Pound's version, it becomes concentrated into one 'Image', 'which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time' (5); and how the whole piece is a 'vortex', a 'point of maximum energy' (6). From these points of view the differences from the Provençal lyric are hard to pinpoint.

40. There is none of the poetry's interest in nature, an interest which (I shall show) was very important for Pound; the vida says that Peire de Valeira

> ...made songs such as they made then, of little value, about leaves and flowers, songs and birds. His songs did not have great value, nor he. (1)

It cannot be shown, however, that there is a loss of concentration, though the individual line does not carry so much weight. Even in the longest (and one of the two latest) of the versions of the Guillem de Cabestanh story, there is enough intensity for Stendhal to have translated it and used it in his De l'Amour (2), the book from which Pound frequently quotes the maxim:

> Poetry... is well below prose as soon as we are concerned with giving a clear and precise idea of the heart's movements; in this medium one only moves the reader with clarity. (3)

But if the lyrics suggest, the prose delineates.

49. This difference is clear in Pound's use of the Cabestanh story in Canto IV: he converts the prose into poetry, which is to say that he concentrates it and turns every line into multiple suggestion, as has been shown by Walter Baumann (1). This is Pound's version:

> Ityn!
> Et ter flebiliter, Ityn, Ityn!
> And she went toward the window and cast her down,
> 'All the while, the while, swallows crying!
> Ityn!
> 'It is Cabestan's heart in the dish.'
> 'It is Cabestan's heart in the dish?

'No other taste shall change this.'
And she went toward the window,
the slim white stone bar
Making a double arch;
Firm even fingers held to the firm pale stone:
Swung for a moment,
and the wind out of Rhodes
Caught in the full of her sleeve.
...the swallows crying:
'Tis. 'Tis. Ytis! (2)

50. Much of this suggestion is cross-reference to other myth; even the phallus in:

Firm even fingers held to the firm pale stone

—could be a play-off against the 'Aurunculeia' from Catullus at the top of the page; violent passion opposed to connubial loyalty. There is a similar use of a stone phallus (this time a tower) in Armaut Daniel's confrontation in Canto XXIX with the Female, who is 'submarine, she is an octopus, she is/ A biological process,' and who says 'Now, at last, I have shocked him.' (1)

51. The Provençal original, which I quote here in the shortest and one of the earliest versions, is by contrast a masterpiece of simplicity:

Guillem de Cabestaing was a knight of the Roussillon region, which bordered with Catalonia and the Narbonnais. He was very handsome and cultivated in arms and courtship and courtesy.

There was in his region a lady called Seremonda,

the wife of Raimon of Castel-Roussillon, knight, who was very well-off and noble, evil, courageous, savage and proud. Guillem de Cabestaing loved his lady and sang about her and made her the subject of his songs. The lady, who was young, noble, beautiful and pleasing, favoured him more than anything in the world.

This was made known to Raimon of Castel-Roussillon; and he, like an angry and jealous man, looked into the business and found that it was true, and had his wife guarded close.

When a day came Raimon of Castel-Roussillon found Guillem eating without many companions and killed him; and took his heart out of his body; and had a squire take it to his home; and had it roasted and peppered, and had it given to his wife to eat. When the lady had eaten the heart of Guillem de Cabestaing, Raimon told her what it was. She, when she heard it, lost her sight and hearing. When she came to again, she said: "My lord, you have given me such fine food that I shall never eat other."

And when he heard what she said, he ran to his sword and wanted to strike her on the head; and she went to the balcony and let herself fall, and was dead. (1)

52. Pound has borrowed one idea from the two later versions (1), namely the lady's reply:

'No other taste shall change this.'

The swallow, on the other hand, is Pound's substitution for the nightingale that moans for Itys, and Nosso, Baumann and Quinn have all analysed the interplay of myths at this point (2). The sound of the

birds becomes part of the cinematic technique here, as Baumann has pointed out (3), a technique most evident when Pound takes the simple statement 'and she went to the balcony and let herself fall', and amplifies it into this long-held 'still', none of which is in the originals:

> the slim white stone bar
> Making a double arch;
> Firm even fingers held to the firm pale stone:
> Swung for a moment,
> and the wind out of Rhodes
> Caught in the full of her sleeve. (4)

53. With Peire Vidal in Canto IV it is different: Pound has sorted out from three main stories in the Provençal prose (1) the one that interests him, leaving aside Peire's dreams of empery and his stolen kiss. He had already made a poem of the story he wanted: 'Peire Vidal Old', to which he affixed the following preface:

> It is of Piere Vidal, the fool par excellence of all Provence, of whom the tale tells how he ran mad, as a wolf, because of his love for Loba of Penautier, and how men hunted him with dogs through the mountains of Cabaret and brought him for dead to the dwelling of this Loba (she-wolf) of Penautier, and how she and her Lord had him healed and made welcome, and he stayed some time at least at that court. He speaks... (2)

54. Pound here lays emphasis on Peire's madness, which does not come out in the original:

> The She-wolf was from the Carcasonès, and Peire Vidal called himself Wolf for her sake and bore a wolf on his shield. On the mountain of Cabaret he got himself hunted by the shepherds with mastiffs and retrievers, as men do wolves. He wore a wolf-skin to make the shepherds think he was a wolf. The shepherds and their dogs hunted him and caught him so that he was taken for dead to the house of the She-wolf of Pennautier. (1)

55. Given Pound's emphasis on the madness, Baumann is quite right to contrast in this Canto the folly of Actaeon, in looking at the naked Artemis, and that of Peire (1). While Actaeon's folly was impious and therefore fatal, Peire's was an 'exalted moment, the vision unsought' (2) of the gods, in Pound's eyes. The emphasis in Canto IV is much more on Actaeon than on Peire, who appears in one of the awkward shifts that characterise these early metamorphosis-cantos:

> Then Actaeon: Vidal,
>
> Vidal. It is old Vidal speaking,
>
> stumbling along in the wood,
>
> Not a patch, not a lost shimmer of sunlight,
>
> the pale hair of the goddess. (3)

56. Baumann may again be right to point (1) to Pound's view of the difference between Provence and Hellas, the 'fine thing held in the mind' versus the 'inferior thing' for 'immediate consumption' (2), as underlying the contrast between Peire and Actaeon. It is dangerous to look for moral contrasts in this poetry; Pound may simply be juxtaposing these nuances as part of a study of culture-morphology. But

certainly when Actaeon looked on the virgin goddess naked, it implied a diminishment of her virginity, while with Peire Vidal, given the 'higher' Provençal ethos, there was no such impiety in the vision he had of his goddess. Baumann is wrong to quibble about whether

> underlying Vidal's worship of Loba of Penautier was 'a belief in affection; in a sort, intimate sympathy which is not sexual'; and whether his 'vision [was] gained without machination'... (3)

The first quotation (4) comes from a period when Pound's ideas about the significance of chastity were much more primitive than at the time when Canto IV was written; we shall see something of the development of these ideas (5). The second quotation is also inappropriate; Pound considered Vidal's actions to be folly, not machination:

> Villon's verse is real, because he lived it; ...as that mad poseur Vidal, he lived it. (6)

—though admittedly this last quotation is again from an early period (1910), and by the time Canto IV was written Pound's ideas about dream, vision and myth were becoming more complex.

57. But the 'vision' that Peire had of his goddess is anything but clear from what I have been saying, or indeed from a reading of Canto IV, which suffers from over-compression. In trying to see the connection between Actaeon and Vidal, which at first seems merely to be the common metamorphosis into a huntable animal, it is worth taking note that

> It is old Vidal speaking,
> stumbling along in the wood,
> Not a patch, not a lost shimmer of sunlight
> the pale hair of the goddess. (1)

'Old Vidal' only exists in Pound's poem of 1909, from which I have quoted the preface; that is therefore our only source of information. This poem, heavy with the diction of several nineteenth-century masters, contains as its most important event a vision of the 'goddess', or at least of the mistress who comes like an apparition:

> Green was her mantle, close, and wrought
> Of some thin silk stuff that's scarce stuff at all,
> But like a mist whorethrough her white form fought.
> (...)
> Ah God, the Lobal and my only mate!
> Was there such flesh made over and unmade!

The vision is therefore a sexual event (making one flesh) and at the same time an act of worship; and this, we shall see, is the essence of Pound's whole thinking about Provence (2); it also supports Baumann's view of a progress in Canto IV between Actaeon and Vidal.

50. The <u>vidas</u> used in Canto V are, again, stories of love which is violent in its results, in contrast with the fulfilled love of Catullus' marriage-song. The Canto moves from Catullus to the infertility of Atthis, presented in the words of Aldington's poem (1); then to the disastrous love of the troubadour Gaubert de Poicibot. This is taken from his <u>vida</u>, which is translated, with a few minor changes of phrase, in Pound's 'Troubadours--their Sorts and Conditions' (2). From that translation may be judged the alterations Pound made, which are considerable. They bring out the quality of transformation, which Pound has encapsulted in the line

> (Sea-change, a grey in the water) (3)

--just as (see Baumann) (4) he condensed the metamorphoses of Actaeon and Vidal in Canto IV into the apparently-unconnected line:

The empty armour shakes as the cygnet moves. (5)

59. Thus Gaubert appears in an atmosphere of freshness and fantasy:

And from Mauleon, fresh with a new earned grade,
In maze of approaching rain-steps, Poicebot—
The air was full of women (1)

But his 'lust' (of travel, and of women, brought out twice, as his 'desire of woman' occurs twice in the vida (2)) changes matters, from delight to a mere transfer of glamour; and grey takes over. The lust of travel is Pound's addition, along with the word 'romeryn' which appealed to him (compare his misreading in the vida of Elias Cairol (3)); likewise the knight's 'slow-lifting eyelids'. The line

Lei fassa furar a dol, put glamour upon her... (4)

—is a combination of Pound's idea that this is how the English knight won the lady, and his translation of this into Provençal. It should read 'Fes la furar ad ol', and is modified from the vida of Peire de Maensac, which Pound translates in the 'Troubadours' essay (5), giving his mistransliteration of this phrase in brackets.

60. This same story of Peire de Maensac follows Gaubert de Poicibot in Canto V; again, since the translation in 'Troubadours' is fairly close except for the addition of Menelaus, the Canto version may be compared with it (1). Pound includes in the Canto his reasonable supposition that the two brothers decided matters by tossing a coin. He also includes from the essay his mistake with the verb ('the war they made' for 'he made' (2)), his emphasis on the Church, and his quotation of the Provençal for 'upright man' (3), so that the whole piece is a good example of the way Pound organized his thought in his prose and concentrated it in his verse, selecting those things

which left 'a trace in the memory'. It illustrates however his confusion during this period, when he was desperately trying to reduce the Browningesque cavalcade of the first-draft Cantos to a concentration worthy of the age of Louis and Gaudier-Brzeska:

Troy in Auvergnat
While Menelaus piled up the church at port
He kept Tyndarida. Dauphin stood with Maensac. (4)

'Osmosis of persons' had not taken place. Bernart de Tierci has not been made to flow into Menelaus, whose 'piling up' of the Church is merely incongruous; the result of the drastic pruning here is not concentration but a jerky skeleton.

61. Canto VI contains the kind of attempts at cross-cultural fusion that I have been discussing, but it also contains, from the point of view of the troubadours, a much wider synthesis built not only from Ovidan and Ymzon but from songs and a considerable amount of historical material; a synthesis which, we shall see, can be applied with great plausibility as a long-term view of the whole troubadour culture. I intend to use Canto VI as the skeleton for a whole section of this study, and shall discuss its methods and achievements at the end of this section (1).

Historical sources

62. The study of history in twelfth-century Europe is more difficult than that in many other fields, because of the rarity of sources. The movements of kings are sufficiently well-charted, but what one needs to help the understanding of a phenomenon like the troubadours is knowledge of social conditions. Here information is scarce. There are

detailed studies of points like the rise of the commune, and the difficulties of the knightly class; and we shall see how this material can throw light on troubadour matters (1). For general conclusions, so far, writers on the troubadours have tended to fall back on a very small stock of quotations, such as the anecdote about Ebles II of Ventadour and Guilhem IX in Geoffroy de Vigeois; I have seen it, for example, in Jeanroy, Appel, Chabaneau and Davenson (2). It is to be doubted whether, even when historians get around to using detailed statistical analysis of twelfth-century material, their conclusions will be very reliable, since there is rarely enough evidence to ensure that the given case is not a freak. A close look at the statistical method in Genicot's Le XIII^{e} siècle européen, an otherwise outstanding book, shows that such scientific 'control' is hardly ever possible (3). The relation of the troubadours to contemporary social movements is even more obscure than the nature of the movements themselves. Though the institution of troubadour's jongleur is thought of as widespread, we count ourselves lucky when the existence of a single one is attested by documents (4). And though I argue elsewhere that Bertran de Born was indeed important in politics, his existence, alive, is only once mentioned by chroniclers (5).

63. Therefore it is difficult for me to set up a sound historical picture of the period, and to proceed to compare Pound's views with it. Rather than risk a number of generalizations I shall leave the subject until I come to discuss particular points at issue, like the heretics, and the transmission of Provençal culture into Italy; confining myself here to a few remarks about Pound's theory of historiography.

64. The ideas about particular events in history that transpire from Pound's works are often in disagreement with the ideas most widely

accepted among historians. This has been taken by some critics, in particular by Stock (1), as proof that Pound is to that extent a fool. In the words of Christine Brooke-Rose:

> Paraphrase of some dynastic record <u>that does not exist</u>...I want to stress that, because this point has been all too insufficiently understood by critics of Pound who will go on insisting that since he is dealing with history (and Pound has himself misled them by his own insistence on his view of history), he must be judged <u>in that respect</u> as a bad historian, <u>though</u> (maybe or maybe not, according to the critic) a 'great' poet. (2)

The answer suggested by some favourable critics is that Pound is creating a myth-world which need have no particular relation to its original materials:

> But this is just what a good poet--indeed, even a mere novelist--does: he gives to things uttered carelessly and trivially a funny or serious (or funny/serious) meaning unintended by the originator. (3)

65. This formulation by Christine Brooke-Rose does not cover the case. Pound's works, in prose and in verse, come to a number of specific conclusions about particular historical questions; Pound is a propagandist, that is, he seeks to convince people (1); it is therefore of some importance to know whether (as is being suggested) Pound's pictures of history bear no relation to significant structures in the material from which he made them, or whether they are in fact additions to the sum of our understanding.

66. First of all it must be admitted that at many points Pound seems to base himself firmly on hot air. One can put together an *ad hoc* list of sources which share distinguishing characteristics: for Provence, the *vidas* and *razos*, which I have discussed, and for example the *Chronique de Rheims* which is the only source for certain things concerning Eleanor of Aquitaine (1); for Scotus Erigena, uncontemporary collections of anecdotes (I assume), which are not even mentioned by reputable histories (2); for Renaissance Italy, Varchi and Clementini (3); and for China, the 'History Classics' said to have been collected by Confucius (4). What is common to all these sources is that they were written early enough to escape the modern sense of historical 'objectivity', but long enough after the events in question to have at their disposal the legendary matter that accumulates in oral tradition.

67. This does not mean that Pound is consciously, in all his prose and verse, constructing a fable in the normal sense of the word, out of materials about whose veracity he does not care, as did those poets criticised by Stendhal (quoted by Pound):'La poésie, avec ses comparaisons obligées, sa mythologie que ne croit pas le poète, sa dignité de style à la Louis XIV, et tout l'attirail de ses ornements appelés poétiques...' (1) Pound is often very concerned to defend the veracity of what he is saying, according to criteria which are obviously those of normally-accepted scholarship; thus:

> The best scholars do not believe there were any Manichaeans left in Europe at the time of the Albigensian Crusade. (2)

He asserts that no-one has yet dared to suggest that his Malatesta Cantos are defective in scholarship (3). He exclaims over an editor whose understanding of a Greek word differs from his own:

'Derivation uncertain.' The idiot! (4)

He is not content merely to protest about bad editions of Cavalcanti, but edits his own, and comments acidly on an Italian state examiner whose eyes are opened by it (5), and on an American university which declines to give him a Ph.D for it. (6) The list could be extended.

68. It is not sufficient to say simply that Pound did not know what he was doing; that he was constructing myth, and saw it as history. From the point of view of our understanding of history, he seems to have scored a number of clear successes. Etienne Gilson, the great scholar of mediaeval philosophy, paid warm tribute to Pound's edition of Cavalcanti (a philosopher-poet) (1); Otto Bird's study of Dino del Garbo's commentary, in Mediaeval Studies, made extensive use of it (2). At least one student of English legal history has paid tribute to Pound's acute perceptions on the subject of Sir Edward Coke (3). A considerable part of the present study is devoted to discussing questions on which Pound is at variance with more widely-accepted views; though his use of individual sources is often difficult to justify, I hope to show that the general conclusions of Pound's supposed 'myth-world' are sometimes sounder than those presented by historians. Bertran de Born was not an isolated braggart with no influence on events (4); Dante's knowledge of the troubadours does not stem from a chance acquaintance with one manuscript-collection (5); the religion of the Provençal heretics had no doctrinal connection with Manicheeism (6). On all these points Pound's conclusions differ from what are still the most widely-accepted views of historians in those fields; I hope to show that Pound does not come off the worse for these encounters.

69. What then does Pound attempt to do with this strange mixture

of historical and legendary material? To leave on one side for the moment the question of mythopoeia, Pound has a definite programme for the study of history:

> It is perhaps unfortunate that several decades of the American professoriate, spoon-fed on aestheticism, have assumed that every departure from the received ideas of their period is an eccentricity, especially when it, the departure, has been based on examination of facts not included in their undergraduate studies... None of them had noticed either the method of historiography followed in the Malatesta cantos, or the methodology in the Genova palaeographic edition of the Cavalcanti Rime, and they seldom hesitated to write of what they did not know in the same tone and with the same cockiness with which they treated books they had actually read. (1)

The first attack in these remarks is on the academic habit of sticking to the categories of one's forefathers; of not realising that a changing world may have made unheard-of juxtapositions of material essential; a sin made worse by the instinctive wish to laugh off what one does not know about. Then we have a blunt direction to look at 'the method of historiography followed in the Malatesta cantos'.

70. I have not been able to study these cantos, and no extensive study of them has yet appeared. But in the following section of this study there is a lengthy analysis of Canto VI, a Canto which presents a novel method of history-writing and one which appears to be the same as that of the Malatesta cantos. We shall see that Pound's first aim in Canto VI is selection, or discrimination: a determined effort to find out which are the <u>important</u> facts about a given area of study. Following

that there is an attempt to present these facts in their original idiom; an idiom from which they can never wholly be disengaged without changing them into other facts. Finally these facts are juxtaposed; not placed in an order chosen by the historian and connected with the word 'therefore', but simply juxtaposed; for if the reader cannot see the relation between the facts presented, then no amount of 'it is obvious that' and 'clearly then' will make that choice of facts meaningful. To take these points in order:

Selection

71. This aim is at first sight in conflict with Pound's repeated demands that one 'remove one's blinkers'. Again, the study of ecology, and in fact all human studies, tell us that 'everything is relevant'; but Pound has been saying from at least 1911 onwards that the first duty of a writer 'as scientist' is to discriminate, to make distinctions between apparently-similar but significantly-different states of being (1). It is Pound's opinion that post-Newtonian science has been mechanistically-inclined, to the extent of reducing all forces to sameness:

> For the modern scientist energy has no borders, it is a shapeless 'mass' of force; even his capacity to differentiate it to a degree never dreamed of by the ancients has not led him to think of its shape or even its loci. (2)

72. Flaubert had also realised that this was the end-product of mechanistic science; that once you had postulated an identical atom (or other ultimate particle) as the basis of all things, the only labour left was to classify all its structural manifestations, the objects and events of the world; and that the gigantic encyclopaedia

which nineteenth-century science would ultimately compile must necessarily classify every manifestation under every category. 'All things are relevant'. In the study of literature we see this happening when the sense of relative importance leaves the student, and he begins to compile bibliographies of bibliographies, Dante-place-name-dictionaries, and so on.

73. Flaubert's response to this was Bouvard et Pecuchet and the Dictionnaire des idees recues, works which Pound studied at length, as Forrest Read has shown. But Read somehow comes to the conclusion that

> Like Flaubert and Joyce, Pound draws on all the arts (e.g. literature [etc.]) and all the techniques (e.g. narrative [etc.]), thus solving Bouvard and Pecuchet's and even Bloom's 'Défaut de méthode dans les sciences'. (1)

Bouvard, Pecuchet and Bloom certainly drew on all the arts and sciences; and that is precisely their problem: they have no means of differentiation, there is a 'défaut de méthode dans les sciences'. How Flaubert's problem is supposed to be Pound's solution it is extremely difficult to see. Pound's real solution is quite other; it is to postulate a divine universe, on an Erigenian, and even a Dantean, model, where

> La Gloria di Colui che tutto muove
> Per l'universo penetra, e risplende
> In una parte più, e meno altrove. (2)

74. For Pound all things, including humans, partake in the divine, but in varying degrees (1); and this provides the basis for meaningful differentiation. This is why Pound used the mediaeval Platonists, like Cavalcanti, for whom the underlying forces were 'extant', present and visible to the mind's eye. (2)

75. From these metaphysics to historiography may seem a large jump. But whether one shares in Pound's view of the universe or not, the importance of selection remains the same. For Pound, the selection consists in practical terms of discovering which things, people or events have been important in a millenial conflict between divine forces and forces of 'obfuscation' and frustration. Such a view may seem mediaeval, but it is no more so than a Lawrentian conflict between Life and Death, or a Marxian dialectic. However, the final view is not important; what is important is that unless the historian has or is able to discover some means by which to gauge the relative importance of events, his work can have no value for the human race, being merely a reshuffling of data.

76. In literary history at least, this idea is not yet dominant; as I note in my analysis of the critics (1), we have so far in the study of Pound a huge imbalance on the side of the early work, where Pound's position was even behind that of earlier writers, as he is the first to admit (2). This is an outstanding example of the lack of any criteria of importance.

Non-alteration of idion

77. The theory behind this is illustrated in Pound's edition of Cavalcanti (1), where he chose what seemed to be the best manuscript and reproduced it photographically. The predominating nineteenth-century method had been to produce a composite text based on the editor's views as to the best readings in all the available manuscripts, with the addition of his own conjectures. Pound however asserted that the reader could get nowhere until he knew just what the most nearly-contemporary source of information said (2), that the editor's ideas

were merely another barrier between him and the truth. Since the original manuscripts of course remain, even with the practice of composite editing, available to the diligent scholar, the point here is obviously the quality of information that gets to the reader of published sources. Pound has always been much concerned with this matter, seeing the process ultimately as one of educating, not just scholars, but the general public.

70. It is in the education of the general public, the process whereby important information filters down through the learned scholar to the reader of tabloids, that Pound is by implication interested in this matter of preserving idiom. The writing of a history-book is the presentation of information to a public. When the method of writing involves translating, paraphrasing, and generally rewriting all original documents in order to smooth them down to an easily-digestible 'style', then an important quality of information is lost, namely the sense of particularity, the sense of other time and other place (1). Even more dangerous is what happens when the writer, lacking a certain fundamental honesty, instinctively slants the style of all documents he paraphrases, favouring his own case gratuitously. These tendencies still bedevil the dissemination of historical knowledge to the non-specialist and undergraduate public.

Juxtaposition

79. Much has been written (1) concerning the nature of Pound's 'ideograms', which are simply meaningful juxtapositions of apparently-disparate elements. The theory as it relates to history-writing in pieces like Canto VI is the same. Many critics have found it easy to say that this theory is obvious enough, depending as it does on a 'modern discovery' that things have multiple, not single, causes; but

this discovery does not normally have any effect on the way the critics themselves present information and 'explain' things. For myself I can detect no difference in effect between information explained in a logical order and information presented by juxtaposition; where the latter has any meaning it seems to be possible to state it in a syllogistic framework. However, I would speculate, following Popper's conclusions about the nature of scientific discovery (2), that all the mind retains is 'facts in contact' (my phrase); so that what Pound presents perhaps has greater psychological truth than the normal syllogistic work. But I hope that at the end of my lengthy study of the material in Canto VI, the reader will be able to judge for himself the effectiveness of what Pound has done.

Mythopoeia

80. There remains, however, the difficulty that many of the 'gristly facts' (1) that Pound presents in these huge 'ideograms' are legendary material; that is, material of a type normally rejected by the historian, unless it be for the 'history of ideas'. We shall see, for example, that in Pound's formulation of the significance of Sordello and Cunizza, he uses material that one is bound to consider suspect. It is of no value to say that 'all information is suspect'; the empiricism which produced that view also produced nineteenth-century science, and both immediately rule out any meaningful differentiation.

81. Pound seems to offer two interrelated justifications. The first is that this semi-legendary material comes under the heading of 'spoken tradition', and as such is more likely to be sound than documentation:

> ...Frazer worked largely from documents. Frob[enius] went to <u>things</u>, memories still in the spoken tradition, etc. His students had to <u>see</u> and be able to draw objects. (1)

The 'spoken tradition', which Pound invokes by implication in the case of Cunizza (2), is thus another variety of archaeological material. But, early on at least, Pound himself was aware of what happens to such unwritten material; one of the conditions for an epic, he told his mother, was a 'damn long time for the story to lose its garish detail and get encrusted with a bunch of beautiful lies.' (3) This, surely, is exactly what happened with the Chinese Annals, all of whose events have reached epic proportions. Nonetheless the mind must clearly be kept open to this kind of evidence; it may produce results, as in the case frequently cited by Pound in which an African tribe said that a king had driven into the ground at a certain spot, where 'the bronze ear of Dis' was later found (4). In such a case, as in the cases we shall see in Canto VI, the truth is obviously 'psychological'; that is to say, the human situation turns out to be essentially as the tradition held it to be, though perhaps with different externals.

02. The other justification that Pound seems to offer at the same time has in the end, I think, the same function for the searcher after truth. Obviously the corpus of tradition that Pound mixes in with his history partake of the nature of 'visions'; they are the insights preserved for posterity by a poet-class, which has precisely the function of seeking out the fundamentals of human situation in a given time and place; as in this piece that Pound read in Upward:

> One day while 'resident' in Liguria Upward had seen the

'lord of the thunder' going dressed in his wizard's robe to a nearby town to call down the thunder from Heaven. After he had danced his special dance before the king and his people it thundered for the first time in many days. The 'secret of genius', says Upward, 'is sensitiveness. The Genius of the Thunder who revealed himself to me could not call the thunder, but he could be called by it. He was more quick than other men to feel the changes of the atmosphere; perhaps he had rendered his nervous system more sensitive still by fasting or mental abstraction; and he had learned to read his own symptoms as we read a barometer...' (1)

George Dekker has explained convincingly how a vision like that of Acoetes in Canto II is self-demonstrating (2); it is true because we feel its truth:

Fish-scales on the oarsmen.

And I worship.

I have seen what I have seen. (3)

Similarly the function of Cunizza is presented as a vision whose truth is guaranteed solely by the poetry of Sordello and Dante (we infer):

Cunizza, white-haired in the House of the Cavalcanti,

Dante, small gutter-snipe, or small boy hearing the talk in his father's kitchen or, later, from Guido, of beauty incarnate... (4)

83. Cunizza has a definite function in the 'explanation' of troubadour and Duecento poetry that Pound presents in Canto VI. As I hope to show, whether or not Cunizza did play that role, it was played; Pound's explanation of that period fits the facts. The vision of Cunizza

thus has the same use as Frobenius' spoken tradition: it has 'psychological' truth. This is what Pound claims for mythology, which he regards as the heritage of visions; compare the often-quoted passage about walking 'sheer into "nonsense"' in the essay about Dolmetsch (1). Mythology especially allows the treatment of areas which are beyond the capacity of normal writing to define:

> When you don't understand it, let it alone. This is the copy-book maxim whereagainst sin prose philosophers, though it is explicit in Kung on spirits.
>
> The mythological expression permits this. It permits an expression of intuition without denting the edges or shaving off the nose and ears of a verity. (2)

84. As a historical method, therefore, the inclusion of legendary material is merely an admission that 'there are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio...' But such material can only be handled, in Pound's view, by someone who is convinced that it contains a truth; such a person must by definition be a poet; I do not therefore think that this part of Pound's historiography can be recommended for general practice. Yet as Pound has practised it, it seems to me that such work will certainly

> ...establish clean values (1)

—as he claims.

85. To sum up the conclusions of this brief survey of Pound's approach to the sources for Provence and the troubadours: it does not seem that his early work was based on any sound knowledge of Provençal language or history. His general acceptance of the picture presented by the popularizers was motivated by a wish to see in the troubadours

a world of vigour, independance of spirit and overmastering passion; a vision necessary to a militant Romantic. Ignorance of detail merely removed obstacles to the shaping of this vision. But as Pound developed his ideas about the function of poetry, and about the nature of history and mythology, he was able to develop his resources of knowledge; so that his knowledge of the Provençal language came to be adequate to the complexity of his ideas about what is in the poems, and his handling of historical sources sufficient for the construction of theories of great plausibility. I hope that the reader will find this knowledge of language verified in my section on Arnaut Daniel, and this knowledge of history verified in my sections on Sordello and on the Provençal heretics.

SECTION ONE

CHAPTER TWO: CRITICAL TREATMENT OF POUND'S TROUBADOURS

1. The primary purpose of this chapter is to justify the present study in terms of what has been done before. I should make it clear at the outset that information adduced in this chapter is here only for that purpose. It is not intended primarily to increase the reader's knowledge of Pound's use of the troubadours, but only to throw light on what other critics have made of this subject. It has seemed to me that clarity would best be served by keeping quite separate the aims of (a) increasing available knowledge of Pound's Provence and (b) assessing previous critical approaches to this material. What I have to say about the critics in many cases brings new information to bear on minor points, but all questions that I consider to be of importance are expanded elsewhere in this study.

2. I have suggested the following three categories of surviving information about the troubadours:

—songs or other versified material;

—*vidas* and *razos*;

—historical material (including archaeological remains, possible spoken tradition and indeed all material that does not come within the first two categories)(1).

What I have said elsewhere about Pound's use of these types of information shows that until about 1913 he had at his disposal, broadly speaking, only the first two categories (2). But by the time Pound had ceased to write short poems and to translate the troubadours, that is by about 1920, his sources of information had greatly expanded. We shall see that he had studied the songs of Arnaut Daniel in great detail (3); had undertaken the study of Provençal civilization that

appears in Canto VI and which is in such great depth as to need a third part of this current thesis for adequate explication (4); and had visited Montaegur and Languedoc in general, presumably already receiving the hints for that theory of the 'sacred city' which was to come out in Canto XXIII (1923) (5). By this time the sources are too complex to permit identification in every case. It seems clear that this important deepening of source-material represents a radical change of poetic method that took place when Pound tackled the Cantos.

3. Three possible manners of studying Pound's work on the troubadours would be:

(a) To use only that information on the troubadours that Pound himself gives in his many works.

(b) To use the information Pound gives, with the addition of the relevant songs and vidas; in other words, to be generally in the same position as Pound's up to about 1913.

(c) To use all information of whatever kind, and in particular all that discovered by researchers into the troubadours.

4. The comparative value of these methods is not as straightforward as it might seem. In certain areas, because Pound only went to a certain depth and because that depth is possessed of its own mythic reality, and because Pound's own writings are so helpful, it is possible to do no research at all on the troubadours themselves, and yet to deal with them in an entirely adequate manner in a very profound study of Pound's poetry. Baumann has done this (1). By

contrast, it is possible to adduce the texts of the vidas and the songs, in a study of Pound's early troubadour-inspired poetry, without in the least adding to the reader's understanding of Pound. In this case the text is given in the Provençal, to impress the unlearned, but the unlearned cannot read it and the learned gets nothing that he could not have had from a translation—and probably know the text anyway. This has been practised extensively by Nagy and less so by others. There are various positions between these two. Stock, for instance, carries an air of great learning in this as in other fields, though he adduces no Provençal texts; yet he follows all Pound's mistakes. The Annotated Index attempts to solve the problems posed by the Cantos, in the Provençal fields, by recourse to the texts of the songs and vidas, but simply does not know enough of these fields to avoid misinforming as much as it informs. The only venture into my third category of information, that is to say into the work of Provençal scholars (other than Jeanroy's general study, which is quoted by Dolcker and Nagy) is by Ruthven, who has read Stronski's work on Bertran de Born as well as Ida Farnell's Lives of the Troubadours.

5. It is clear that the position remains unsatisfactory. Even had Pound remained at the stage of knowledge about Provence in which he wrote the Spirit and the shorter poems, there would be an interest in comparing this state of knowledge, as manifested in the works, with that body of knowledge that scholars had acquired by then and have acquired since. Pound's theories on the troubadours were held vociferously, and his poetic versions of them create a sharply-defined world; it is good to compare these with the realities that other people have presented, namely the scholars. I have not attempted to fill the whole of this gap. Particularly with the early poems, a great

deal of work has been done on defining the nature of Pound's poetic worlds, and what he did with his originals, including Provençal ones; I think it is sufficient for me to present in detail the background to those originals and current knowledge concerning them, and to leave it to the reader to put together this 'third reality' with the others: the historical world, that is, with the worlds of Pound's versions and of the Provençal originals.

6. But Pound learned more about Provence after 1913 and the kind of poetry that he produced from this information, such as Cantos VI, XX, XXIII, XLVIII and so on, and the theories behind it in 'Cavalcanti' and Kulchur, are capable of benefiting greatly from a knowledge of the referents. No critic has so far tackled this work. To complete it, I have attempted to discover everything about the troubadours that was necessary to understand Pound's meaning, as well as to acquire a knowledge of the civilization sufficient to provide an independent gauge of Pound's work.

7. I shall here review briefly those critical works on Pound which make significant mention of the troubadours. I hope that in so doing I shall justify both my work on the later use of the troubadours, largely ignored by critics so far, and my omission of any broadly-based critical assessment of the early poetic product based on the troubadours, which I consider to be an already-overworked field.

Studies of Pound's early work

H. Christoph de Nagy The Poetry of Ezra Pound: The Pre-Imagist Stage, Bern 1960

8. The first four chapters of Nagy's book are concerned with

establishing Pound's position in relation to his predecessors of 'the Nineties'. In Chapter Five (1), abridged slightly in Heaps's New Approaches to Ezra Pound (2), Nagy defines the nature of the Poundian 'persona'. He finds that it varies in position between two poles, 'the one being the Browningesque monologue and the other the more or less literal translation...' (3) He adapts D.W. Fiske's definition of the former to produce this formulation:

> "The Poundian 'persona' is an isolated poem intended to stimulate the utterance not of the poet but of another individualized speaker--mostly of a poet--whose words--often borrowed partially from his own poetry--reveal his involvement in a localized dramatic situation." (4)

Nagy places "Sestina: Altaforte" and "Piere Vidal Old" at the dramatic end of this (5). He also identifies in these 'personae' a streak of proud differentiation, whereby the speaker posits himself as one of Us, the few 'bearers of the sacred flame', as against You, the many (6).

9. Nagy's most detailed discussion of a Provençal-inspired poem concerns Marvoil (1), which he says can not 'be fully apprehended without some familiarity with both the life and the poetry of the troubadour through whom Pound speaks.' Nagy explains the background of Pound's 'persona' of Arnaut de Marvoil (2), as it is found in the vida (3): that Arnaut was in love with 'la contessa de Burlats', wife of the Viscount of Beziers, but that when Alfonso of Aragon fell in love with the lady he had to move on. He says that the first half of Marvoil is set in 'this damned inn of Avignon', with Arnaut telling curious fellow-drinkers his sad story, while the second half is privately addressed to a letter, and to the hole in the wall to which he is going to consign his letter. Nagy considers that an important point of the

monologue is the revealing of what was concealed in Arnaut's poetry: 'chiefly the hatred he feels for the King of Aragon and his naming the Burlatz as the object of his love...' (4) And he notes that Pound's 'persona' draws on details present in Arnaut de Marouil's works: his sense of inferiority to his lady, his writing of love-letters, his timidity (which, Nagy omits to note, is straight from Ovid--

Amors m'a comandat escriure
So que.l boca non ausa dire
dicere quae puduit, scribere jussit Amor (5))

--and the kiss that Arnaut's lady gave him. This is useful work; Pound's method of composition, from the explicit story of the vida and from hints in the songs, could not have been known without a knowledge of these sources. Nagy shows two of the sources of dramatic impetus in Marvoil: the revealing of what the real Arnaut had kept silent about, and movement from public to private woes in the poem. He strangely omits a third, which is that in Marvoil there is a continued and unresolvable stasis: Alfonso, finding Arnaut and Burlatz in love, has been moved by his jealousy to get at them the nearest way possible, and this is to recall his seneschal, the Burlatz' husband, from his mistress to his duties at Beziers. Thus, at the time Arnaut is speaking, there are three unsatisfied men and two unsatisfied women:

Aragon cursing in Aragon, Beziers busy at Berziers-
Bored to an inch of extinction,
Tibors all tongue and temper at Mont-Ausier,
Mel in this damn'd inn of Avignon,
Stringing long verse for the Burlatz;
All for one half-bald, knock-knee'd king of the Aragonese,
Alfonso, Quattro, poke-nose.

10. Nagy's omission is all the more strange in that none of this is in the source; the vida merely has Arnaut leaving the lady with Alfonso, we presume, in possession: '...when he heard the leave [given] thus, was sad above all sadnesses, and left her and her court like a man in despair...' (1) Nor does Nagy mention that Tibors de Mont-Ausier 'is contemporary with the other persons, but I have no strict warrant for dragging her name into this particular affair', as Pound explained in Personae (1909) (2); she comes from the razos to Bertran de Born's poems, being the lady who receives 'Maent' with Bertran (3), and is the 'Viscountess of Chalais' of 'Domna Pois de Me No•un Cal'. Ruthven's book (4), had it appeared ten years earlier, could have told Nagy all these things, as also the fact that the Alfonso who is so emphatically 'Quattro, poco-nose' was really Alfonso II (5). This latter point belongs with what I have called the 'third reality' in relation to these poems: after the reality of the vida and the songs comes that of Pound's re-creation, and thirdly that of history as best it can be discovered. To this order belongs other information that Nagy passes over, to be mentioned only in a footnote about Peire Vidal (6), namely that Arnaut de Marouil's lady very probably was not the 'Countess of Burlatz', if indeed she was anyone at all, for the vida has every chance of being fiction (7). Clearly, if Marvoil 'cannot be fully apprehended' without knowing about Arnaut, Nagy has done a good job neither in conveying knowledge of the 'poetic reality' in the vida nor in conveying knowledge of 'historic reality'.

11. Nagy explains Pound's choice of Bertran de Born, Arnaut de Marouil and Peire Vidal for the three troubadour 'personae' by a quality which 'lies partly in their lives and not in their poetry

alone, or, more precisely, in the manner in which they lived in the lives they led the poetry they wrote.' (1) In other words, as he quotes from Pound, 'Villon's verse is real, because he lived it; as Bertran de Born, as Arnaut Daryoll, as that mad poseur Vidal, he lived it.' (2) For this reason Nagy recounts the crazy things that Peire Vidal did, in conformity with the wild talk in his poetry, for '"Piero Vidal Old" is still far from being a translation--its form does not follow any of Vidal's songs--and in order to approach it one must be equipped with the knowledge of Vidal's biography besides that of his poetry.' (3)

12. Yet the recounting of the troubadour's 'biography' in general shows the wisdom of Walter Baumann's different approach, when he treats of the Vidal passage in Canto IV without reference to the Provençal sources (1). For all the wild things recounted in the vidas and razos (2) --with the songs, Nagy's only source--are absent from Pound's poem; they only illustrate further Pound's description of Vidal in the 'stage directions', 'the fool par excellence of Provence', a description which is in any case adequately filled out in these 'stage directions' by the story of Vidal running mad 'as a wolf' so that 'men hunted him with dogs through the mountains of Cabaret...' (3). The genuine information that Nagy brings to the non-specialist reader, that is, the real increasing of the reader's comprehension of Pound's 'persona', is in the contrast between Vidal as he appears in his own poems and as he appears in Pound's. Unfortunately Nagy leaves his quotation of Vidal in the original Provençal, so that the non-specialist is little the wiser; though he learns that Vidal's 'healthy, over-confident bragging' '... contrasts tragically with the old man's meditation upon his past

greatness...' (4) The information about the Provençal source is genuine; as is the point concerning the original Vidal's 'intensive erotic streaks' (5). Yet even here the argument is falsified by misconprehension of Pound's results. To my perception, what Pound has done is not to take a sexually self-confident original and make it, seen retrospectively, into a tragic loss— 'It is this bragging in the past tense that gives the poem its peculiarly poignant quality' (6) —but to take that original, turn it into a false thing by melodramatic writing:

God! how the swiftest hind's blood spurted hot
Over the sharpened teeth and purpling lips!
Hot was that hind's blood yet it scorched me not
As did first scorn, then lips of the Penautier!

—and make it into another manifestation of the ego-oriented sensation-advertising that was called poetry when Pound first came to London.

Piere Vidal Old was first published in 1909 (7), a year after the A Lume Spento collection of which Pound has written: 'Ignorance that didn't know the meaning of "Bardour Street"!' (8). Pound indeed was able to impress Gaudier-Brzeska with it, a man who could not be accused of liking 'stale creampuffs' (9), but then Gaudier-Brzeska was probably more impressed with the vigour of Pound's delivery than with what he said, for when Pound declaimed Sestina: Altaforte in a restaurant, the table shook, and Gaudier-Brzeska 'was enthusiastic because Ezra had dared to use the word "piss" in a poem.' (10) Presumably that was how the sculptor heard the words 'All this our South stinks peace'!

13. It therefore seems to me that Nagy has not been successful, in the case of Piere Vidal Old, either in bringing to the non-specialist reader new information, or in giving a true valuation of what Pound

has done with his original. There remains the defect, as with his discussion of Marvoil, that all the vida and razo material adduced by Nagy is treated as fact (1). That is to say, it is spoken of in the same manner as would be the French Revolution, or the printing of Pound's first book. It seems to me that to leave untreated the nature of these vidas and razos is to leave out a dimension at least as important as the dimension Nagy attempts to add by adducing them in the first place. For it is extremely probable (I would say as probable as what Nagy is suggesting about Pound's method of composition) that the vidas and razos themselves were constructed not from life but from hints in the songs (2); just as Pound and Browning composed from hints in songs, vidas and razos (3).

14. In the remainder of Nagy's chapter on the 'persona' he treats of the Sestina: Altaforte, saying that it is chiefly derived from Bertran de Born's 'Be·m plats lo gais temps de pascor', and noting how Pound gets over the anti-dramatic qualities of the sestina by shifting the envoi to the beginning, thus making the poem into a dialogue (1). And in his penultimate chapter he deals with Pound's experiments in form starting from Arnaut Daniel's verse-forms, with Pound's reasons for working with Provençal poetry, and with other general considerations. None of this material is treated in such detail as Marvoil and Piere Vidal Old.

T.H. Jackson The Early Poetry of Ezra Pound, Harvard 1960

15. This book deals with much the same material as does that of Nagy, published eight years earlier, which Jackson does not appear to have read. Its chief concern is to place Pound's early work in relation to Browning, Rossetti, Yeats, Dowson and others. Its treatment of the

troubadours is slight, and vague, as may be seen from the following:

> Pound, too, finds this connection of love and myth creditable, as a long list of his poems attests--"The Tree," "A Virginal," "Speech for Psyche," "The Flame," and so on--and there is a passage in "Psychology and Troubadours" where he relates the courtly love of Provence to pagan mythology: "That the spirit was, in Provence, Hellenic is seen readily enough by anyone who will compare the Greek Anthology with the work of the troubadours. They have, in some way, lost the names of the gods and remembered the names of lovers" (SR 90). And of course the whole essay is a provisional attempt to explain Provençal love poetry and a putative Provençal love cult as the re-emergence of impulses once recognized and celebrated in myth, but since lost or suppressed. That such a predisposition existed in Rossetti's work is obvious enough from his painting--in fact, from the whole Pre-Raphaelite pursuit of the femme inspiratrice--... (1)

To take the quotation from Pound's essay, and the suggestion in the essay that Provençal love was Hellenic in origin, as proof that the essay is 'all about' love and the re-emergence of myth, in order thus slenderly to yoke Pound to Rossetti, is misleading. The reader of my material on Pound's Eleusinian cult in Provence will be able to judge whether there is psychological affinity with the Rossetti of the Vita Nuova translation. Rossetti's love was all from Plato, who represented a current quite opposite to that of the Greek mystery-religions (2).

16. Jackson in a later chapter quotes 'Psychology and Troubadours'

at much greater length. He is then led on to consider how Pound came to acquire these 'mystical' ideas about the troubadours:

> This whole conception of troubadour poetry seems to share in the tradition represented by books like Eugène Aroux's Dante, pasteur de l'église albigeoise de Florence (1856) and Les Mystères de la Chevalerie (1858), and Josephin Paladin's Le Secret des Troubadours (1906), all of which either assume or seek to prove that Provençal poetry was the secret language of Manichaeism. But there is no evidence that Pound ever saw such books. On the contrary, on the one occasion in his work when someone else's "mystical" reading of important poetry came up (Luigi Valli's theories about "Donna mi prega"—see "Cavalcanti," LE 173 ff), Pound was at some pains to confute it. (1)

As will appear from my discussion of the origins of Pound's ideas on this subject, Jackson has made some mistakes here (2). There is in fact evidence that Pound saw such books; had Jackson troubled to get Péladan's name right, he would even have found the evidence in Gallup's Bibliography. For Pound even reviewed two of Péladan's books; recommended that the book by Rossetti that was behind all this tradition be re-issued; and is unlikely not to have known of Aroux, who is mentioned by Gourmont and by Valli. He certainly refutes Valli's 'mystical' reading—not of 'Donna mi prega', but of all the stilnovisti—but in such a way as to leave open, even to demand, another 'mystical' approach. Clearly this subject, which is basic to Pound's later theories, needed further research than that done by Jackson. His further remarks on Provençal poetry do not add to the information present in Kenner.

17. At this point it seems relevant to question the value of this critical treatment of Pound's early works. There is at this moment a bias towards the early works in depth of treatment. One may assume that as critical taste advances, the balance will be rectified in favour of the Cantos. It probably remains the general intention to treat all of the works of a poet like Pound with the same depth of research. If that is so, then, taking Mary on the pre-Imagist poems as the measure, the critical books about the Cantos will fill a library; for I do not think it is generally realised quite how dense the latter are, both in source-material and in complexity of treatment. But this assumes that all writing is of equal importance. In 1936 T.S. Eliot wrote to Pound asking him to do a critical 'piece' on Robert Bridges, and Pound eventually replied:

> Well my dear Gathanas: On reflection I see that it wd. be whoredom, and not even an grande cocotte.
>
> If the luminous reason of one's criticism is that one shd. focus attention on what deserves it, a note by E.P. on Bridges wd. be a falsification of values. (1)

Now not every critic finds his time as precious as does Pound, and perhaps Bridges needed editing by someone; but every person has to make a choice as to how to use his time. The early poetry of Ezra Pound is to a large extent 'stale creampuffs', and even a retreat on what was being done in London before him. To claim otherwise is not even charitable to Pound, for it makes it impossible to see the qualitative difference between this material and what he later achieved. One can imagine useful work being done on the relation of this material to the progress of consciousness in the West from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries; relating Pound to Rossetti is hardly a great step in this

direction. It seems to me that the most important point so far made on this is from Louis Zukovsky:

> ...the discarded 'Three Cantos of a Poem of Some Length' (Quinta, 1917) serve to explain how the Cantos as they now stand developed stylistically. The flavor of Faust's 'Habe nun, ach! Philosophie'— 'phantastikon', 'filmy shell that circumscribes,' 'actual sun,'—is now absent. The revised version is not only removed from Faust—and all meditative, egocentric poetic-drama and dramatic monologue evolved in the nineteenth century—but closely related in method to the ideation of Dante's Divine Comedy... It is an ideation directed towards inclusiveness, setting down one's own extant world and other existing worlds... (2)

The key-word is 'egocentric', in relation to the early work, and is my justification for calling Pierre Vidal Old 'ego-oriented sensation-advertising'. In the lines

> What do ye own, ye niggards! that can buy
> Such glory of the earth? Or who will win
> Such battle-guerdon with his 'prowesse high'?

there is no experience beyond what is necessary to the adoption of a pose, a pose which has to be dramatic because the poet and the reader's expectations lack a capacity to receive anything but ego-directed material. The body and the world do not exist. It is this split, recognized clearly later by Pound, as we shall see in his Erigenian philosophy (3), that thins most of the pre-imagist work. It is the breaking away from the ego, in the Cantos, that makes a vastly-greater understanding of source-material necessary: an

understanding that, as we shall see, Pound required.

K.K. Ruthven A Guide to Ezra Pound's 'Personae' (1926)

Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969.

18. Though I consider that there has been an excessive critical interest in Pound's early work, there are notable exceptions to the above criticisms of it, such as one of the earliest poems, Un Autiort; Dame Edith Sitwell and the composer Murray Schafer have done justice to this poem where Hagy failed (1). I find it difficult to agree with Ruthven's conclusion on almost all of Pound's shorter poems, including the Sextus Propertius and the Hugh Selwyn Mauberley, that 'The Pound who wrote the Cantos is a person we are not yet competent to assess, but the Pound who wrote Personae (1926) is in my opinion a good minor poet and nothing more.' (2) His discussion is invalidated by adhering to distinctions like that of Dryden: "imitation... is the most advantageous way for a translator to shew himself, but the greatest wrong which can be done to the memory and reputation of the dead." (3) Ruthven applies this to the Propertius. Yet the slightest awareness of the un-reproducable complexities of local culture that go into a poem, on the one hand, and the mind-body and mind-body-environment interrelations that occur in experiencing a poem, on the other hand, shows that translation if literal is 'therefore mendacious', as Pound says (4).

19. But the text itself of Ruthven's Guide, which consists of notes on the poems included in the 1926 Personae, is a considerable advance on previous treatments of the Provençal elements in this early work by Pound. I have noted instances where Hagy could have

learned from Ruthven (1). Jackson is in the same position, for in Ruthven's notes on The Alchemist he notes that Póladan stimulated 'Pound's interest in the esoteric significance of what he called the "love chivalric"...' (2) Yet Ruthven omits information available to A.T. Ambur in 1936, namely that the poem was modelled on Gourmont's "Litanies" (3); information important, as we shall see (4), to an understanding of the function of The Alchemist in Pound's theories about women and esotericism.

20. At any rate, most of the information about the troubadours in Ruthven's book is correct. En is not very well translated as "lord" in 'En Bertrans de Born' (1); Ruthven is in error in following Pound with 'Papiol, my lodestone, go', which should be 'Papiol, go to my lodestone'(2); and the statement that the Young King's 'friendship with Bertran de Born achieved almost legendary fame even during his lifetime' seems in conflict with the total absence of this friendship in contemporary writers (3). But these are the only errors I have noticed. To counterbalance them, Ruthven brings in a considerable amount of information previously unknown to Pound-criticism. He relates Pound's 'personae' to their sources in the vidas, and having read Stronski's work on Bertran de Born (4), is careful to note the relation of these latter to historicism. He perpetuates the practice of quoting Provençal originals in extenso with no translation; in my opinion a useless and pretentious practice, as I have said. But at all useful points he gives cross-reference to other vidas and to other poems by Pound--pointing out, for instance, that the Viscountess of Chalais in 'Donzela Pois' is borrowed by Pound to be the Tiborn in his Marvoil (5). There is very little, also, that Ruthven misses in cross-referring to

Pound's other works; taking the point, for example, that the abrupt 'Riquier! Guido' in Near Perigord is suggesting that Guiraut Riquier, last of the troubadours, might have been met by Cavalcanti in his journeys to Toulouse (6). Ruthven usefully quotes from Books read by Pound, such as Smith's Troubadours at Home and Farnell's Lives of the Troubadours (7). All this is a valuable contribution. But the chief advance over previous critics consists, apart from greater accuracy, in having read Stronski's Le Comte de Poitiers de Bertran de Born. Here there is at last an attempt by a Pound critic to bring in what I have called a 'third reality', that is, extant historical information. But there is limited usefulness in simply pointing out that Pound was 'wrong' on certain points, and that the persons involved were in fact so-and-so and so-and-so, of whom the reader knows nothing (8), unless there is attempt to fill out this 'third reality' in detail, to show the exact nature of the third dimension against which Pound and the vidan were operating. This I have attempted to do.

21. There are no other works specifically dedicated to Pound's early poetry that discuss the troubadours.

Studies of Pound's Cantos

George Dekker Sailing after Knowledge: The Cantos of Ezra Pound (1963)

22. Dekker's book sets out to teach; to help the student to read the Cantos. For this reason it makes no attempt at exhaustive annotation; it adheres to the excellent tradition of sorting out the important, and has the courage to say

> I am satisfied that certain cantos are a great deal better than others and that these should be isolated

> for special attention. The best seem to me Cantos I, II, XVII, part of XXX, XLV, XLVII, XLIX, part of LI, and part of 91. (1)

It has no pretentions to learning in the field of Provençal: 'Anybody who has dipped into Provençal literature will experience a strange emotion when he reads the line 'Lo Gordels ai fo di Mantovana' (2). It is interesting that from this very point about the line from Gordello's _vida(s)_ there develops what is to me the most acute perception in the book, namely that just as Accetes' narrative of the metamorphosis (3) is the 'true relation' of a vision ('I have seen what I have seen'), and as such commands belief, so the scrap of document from Gordello's _vida_ is the 'true relation' of a vision of Gordello, and, I would infer, Gordello's poems are a 'true relation' of a vision of Cunizza. As such they are the basis of religion and art, as discussed by Pound in the introduction to his piece on Arnold Dolmetsch. This seems to me to be the basis of Pound's ideas on mythopoiea. That at any rate is how I read Dekker, who is reticent: 'Accetes' impenetrable (to some minds, infuriating) statement has a much wider significance in _The Cantos_ than I am able to discuss here: it, together with 'Lo Gordels...', might take the place of Canto XXXVI as a text on which to base a discussion of Poundian poetics (4).

23. But because of this argument I find it difficult to share Dekker's disdain for _The Spirit of Romance_. A good poem is the true account of a vision _par excellence_; a perceptive reading of it should give a genuine understanding at least of certain psychological realities that lay behind it; I have attempted to show (1) that Pound's reading of Bertran de Born, in its main points, has every chance of being confirmed by what we know from historical sources. It seems misleading

to say that Pound 'never got beyond the apprentice stage as a Romance scholar, the stage marked 'promisingly' in The Spirit of Romance.' (2) The book has no pretensions to the use of scholarly instruments; Pound said in his Prefatio, as I have noted:

> I have floundered somewhat ineffectually through the slough of philology, but I look forward to the time when it will be possible for the lover of poetry to study poetry--even the poetry of recondite times and places--without burdening himself with the rags of morphology, epigraphy, privatleben and the kindred delights of the archaeological or "scholarly" mind.

24. Pound is certainly a little cavalier here; but it would be well to respect his intentions, which were to produce a history of certain states of mind as manifested in poetry. In this I believe he succeeded. Certainly it is relevant to place the Spirit within a tradition of late nineteenth-century popularizations of the troubadours, from Hueffer onwards, which may indeed be 'period pieces'; but that does not make the Spirit and its purpose antique, for the absence of troubadour popularizations since 1912 (1) is a major tragedy for poetry and civilization, and a reflection on the achievement of Provençal scholarship as a whole, whether or not 'Romance scholarship became much more professional, as it is today' (2). Pound saw in 1910 that the approach of what he called the "Grundriss von Gröber" was a dead end, as had Flaubert when he wrote the Bouvard; they have been proved right, for everything is catalogued, in Provençal, and nothing differentiated, and above all very little reaches the non-specialist public. That scholarship of the highest order is not incompatible with communicati n and differentiation (that is, a weeding-out of the

unimportant), is shown by Carl Appel, whose Chrestomathie served Pound and all readers so well, and whose Bertran von Born is a masterpiece of intelligence, succinctness and accuracy; but Appel is dead.

25. Dekker's source-material, in conformity with his intentions, does not aim first and foremost at authority in the Provençal field. He quotes Jeanroy's Poesie Lyrique as 'still the general authority in troubadour matters' (1); this is unfortunately so, and since, as Pound says (2), one of the first duties of the critic is to inspire enthusiasm, Provençal studies have suffered from Jeanroy. He congratulates Pound on 'his judgment in joining [the story of Guillem de Cabestanh] with the legend of Tereus, Itys, Procne, and Philomela' because Pierre Belperron says that the legend 'est commune au folklore de plusieurs pays.' (3) Belperron, who is among the most ignorant of writers on Provence, need have looked no further than the introduction to Langfors' edition of Guillem de Cabestanh, which refers to Gaston Paris' writings on the subject of the 'eaten heart' legend (4).

26. Saying that Pound's documentation in the Canto is very untrustworthy, Dekker adduces the example of 'Lo Cordoln ai fo di Mantovana' in Canto II, which is not to be found verbatim in the vidas. 'His mistake is in itself negligible—though typical—but considering the function of this phrase in Canto II, the mistake acquires some significance.' (1) Now I agree with Dekker's idea of the phrase's function, in Canto II, as an unimpeachable witness of a reality, unimpeachable because it has not been edited or rewritten by some modern sensibility. But as Pound forgot that the vida he was working from began with an 'E' (= 'and'), and that the word 'Mantoana' had

no 'v' in it (2), being not of a literal but perhaps (insofar as it is possible in our age) of an oral turn of mind, so much the more would the thirteenth-century scribe have forgotten; manifestly, in thousands of cases, did forget; in fact, if tested on the point, would probably have been incapable of remembering the exact spelling of a whole sentence at a time. Such are the differences between his age and ours. A lecturer at the Ecole Nationale des Chartes once informed his students in respect to manuscripts that 'ponctuer, c'est comprendre'; but to punctuate is manifestly not to understand in the mediaeval way. I offer this as an analogy; I am certain that Pound understood the unimportance of spelling in this material. It seems similarly, to me, to be overstretching the demands of scholarship to say that 'Ab lo dolchor qu'al cor mi vai' in Canto 91 requires that we remember two poems at once (3). Bernart de Ventadorn's line is 'per la dousor c'al cor li vai', which is from the poem about an ecstatic vision paralleled in the fall of a lark, quoted in the Spirit (an future Annotated Indexes will note) (4). That is all one needs to know; that Pound took the first two-and-a-half words from another poem about spring and love, whether by accident or design (I think the former), is not necessary information.

27. Nor do I think that Dekker's remark: 'His effort to see the troubadours through Dante's eyes is noteworthy' (1) (in the Spirit) should be allowed to go by. Pound had the best possible reason; one could hardly choose a better guide than one of the world's greatest poets. And a major point in what amounts to Dekker's fairly extended attack on Pound's scholarship is that Shaw and Praz have condemned the edition of Cavalcanti produced by Pound (2); he omits the information that Etienne Gilson heartily approved of it (3). These are points

where I think that Dekker's desire to be objective has led him to be unfair to Pound. It seems to me that what is happening at all these points is this: we are trusting the ipse dixit of even third-rate scholarship before that of our own intuition, or the intuition of Pound, a major poet. This seems to me something of a failure of nerve, as if we were browbeaten by that imposing monolith, Scholarship.

23. Against this, it seems to me, should be placed Dekker's excellent discussion of the metamorphoses, in the early Cantos, that use troubadours as part of their material. It is this kind of discussion that makes it redundant for me to treat once more the vida-based material in the Cantos. Dekker sums up, concerning Guillem de Cabestanh and Tereus:

> This tradition (which Pound will later call 'sage-trieb') is conceived as a force that expresses itself at various times and places through individuals, legendary or otherwise; and parallel with this force, it seems, is the divine procreative force, which no amount of cunning can thwart. (1)

I would only add to this that possibly the 'Complaynt, complaynt I heard upon a day' against Pity (2) is set in opposition to these stories wherein the 'divine procreative force' so cleanly, if savagely, reaches its aim.

Walter Baumann The Rose in the Steel Dust: an Examination of the Cantos of Ezra Pound (1967)

29. Baumann's work is perhaps one of the best-researched on Pound to date, matching the standard of his work on John Heydon in Pound in Kenner's New Approaches (1). On the subject of the troubadours,

as I have mentioned, he adduces no information other than what is present in Pound's works. He offers a perceptive discussion of the metamorphoses in Canto IV, especially where he focuses the type of vision on the line

The empty armour shakes as the cygnet moves

which he calls "a 'superpository image' imposed on the whole of the first half of the Canto" (2); it englobes the Actaeon/Vidal parallels, where 'As with Soremonda's fall from the window, time is arrested, the vision of the dogs leaping on Actaeon appears to be painted on a vase...' (3) Similarly, Baumann points out usefully how Pound circumvents yet uses the harshness of Daniel's 'tro lai on lo soleils plovil' with his 'Thus the light rains, thus pours...' (4) This work forms a useful complement to Dekker's on the troubadour-metamorphoses in the early Cantos; but in the two Cantos on which Baumann's book is based, IV and LXXII, Provençal material does not predominate.

Studies of Pound's Works in General

Hoel Stock The Life of Ezra Pound, London 1970

30. Stock's book is often more a catalogue raisonné of Pound's published works than a biography. A great deal of information is delivered in such a manner as to suggest that Stock simply learned it from Pound and his acquintances, but, at least in my field, it turns out to be almost all from a reading of the works. Thus we read:

> Travelling south-east from Paris Pound explored Poitiers and Chalais; from Limoges and Charente he walked the hills and followed the rivers; he moved through the Dordogne, on one occasion losing the road between Perigord and Excideuil and entering a cottage ...

> in search of an omelet. Inside mending his children's shoes was a huge peasant with a beard red like his own who welcomed him with 'gentleness and dignity'. (1)

The first part (except for Poitiers and Chalais) is from 'Troubadours—their Sorts and Conditions' (2), and the second from Ismaet (3). Stock goes on to recount the story of the gypsy from The Gypsy. The first interesting thing about all this is that Stock copies all Pound's mistakes; and the second is this description of Pound's essay 'Psychology and Troubadours' now in Spirit:

> It is a strange mixture of random fact and interesting speculation on the origins of the troubadour love-cult. As a survey it is useless because he did not know the subject beyond its literary surface; but it shows that he was trying to fit his knowledge of the pagan mysteries and the cults of Provence into the general scheme of Theosophy, or at any rate to show that they did not run counter to it; and it shows also that he was hoping to preserve the truths available in the field by linking them to 'Science'; trying to save the 'spiritual', in other words, by showing it to be natural rather than supernatural. (4)

31. To sustain the charge that Pound 'did not know the subject beyond its literary surface' it would be necessary first to convince the reader that Stock himself knew it better. But where Pound, in his own and particular diction, says 'from Limoges and Charente'(1), referring to a town and a river, Stock copies him literally ('from Limoges and Charente he walked the hills') and makes them both come

out like towns. Stock is aware on the other hand that Dordogne is not a town, so although Pound was probably referring to the river Stock turns it into the department: 'to Dordogne and Narbonne' comes out 'he moved through the Dordogne'. Then 'between Perigord and Excideuil' is copied ignorantly; Pound always confused Périgord the province and Périgueux the town, as Ruthven notes (2); Stock here follows him, with strange results, since Excideuil is in Périgord. Finally, to complete the tale of Stock's Provençal scholarship, he tells us that Pound went to the Bibliothèque Nationale to study the troubadours, 'taking notes in the manuscript-room from a mediaeval 'lives of the troubadours' written by Miquel de la Tour at Nimes...' (3) If we seek the source of this piece of misinformation we have only to read further in the same passage of the 'Troubadours--their Sorts and Conditions':

> Or [the man who seeks emotional acquaintance with Provence] may learn the outlines of these events from the 'razos', or prose paragraphs of introduction, which are sometimes called 'lives of the troubadours'. And, if he have mind for these latter, he will find in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris the manuscript of Miquel de la Tour, written perhaps in the author's own hand-writing; at least we read 'I Miquel de la Tour, soryvon, do ye to wit'. (4)

32. The regrettable fact about all this is that, while genuine Provençal scholarship quite fails to get through to the general reading public, Stock's book has aroused a wide interest, being reviewed in all the national press; and his authoritative-sounding ex cathedra statements are bound to carry some weight. I hope I have demonstrated

in this thesis that 'Psychology and Troubadours', though indeed based only on the 'literary surface', that is, the poems, is far from useless (1); and the reasons are again to do with the fact that a poem communicates a certain kind of reality with total objectivity. For Stock, who got the entirety of his knowledge about the troubadours (as witness again his strollings 'Mount Segur' and 'Rhodes' (2)) from Pound, to accuse Pound of ignorance, all in the tones of one who has it on the highest authority, is remarkable.

J.H. Edwards and W.W. Vasse Annotated Index to the Cantos of Ezra Pound: Cantos I-LXXXIV (1959)

33. The work of all critics, including myself, on Pound, would have been a lot more difficult had it not been for the Annotated Index. First of all, it provides a means of collating. The range of this is restricted, both by the fact that 33 cantos and fragments of cantos have since appeared, and by the fact that much of the essential background in all fields is in Pound's prose works, which have defective indexes or none at all. The attempt to deal with all the matters in the Cantos was brave and absolutely necessary; one may sometimes think that the information is unhelpful, but, in fields outside one's knowledge, one must remember that often without the Index one would not even have known where to look. Still, it seems to me that the time has come for an index conceived on the same plan but with different methods. This is because in the Provençal field the proportion of errors to entries in the Index is unacceptably high, and probably was bound to be, given a certain approach. It is sometimes thought that any fool can index; it is not so, as the Provençal matter in the Index has demonstrated; my own experience tells me that to make the distinctions

necessary at every point to avoiding confusion between one person and another, between one meaning and another, or one source and another, it is necessary to utilize all one's knowledge. This applies even more to the labour of indexing, that is, to sorting out one referent from another, than to annotating entries; once the referent is identified, it is much easier to annotate, and in most cases the source of information that permitted the distinctions will provide the annotation. It seems clear to me that the Provençal material in the Index was done by someone who was not a specialist in Provençal. Until a new annotated index is made by a concurrence of specialists--and not merely by Pound-enthusiasts with a smattering--one will not trust the entries in fields outside one's own. (1)

34. The following is a list of some salient mistakes in the Annotated Index; I omit information which I do not wish to query.

Ailas e quo'm fau mieu huelh...: Alas, that my eyes avail me not...
/Read: Alas, what are my eyes doing to me...7 (1)

Albigenses: ...adherents of a form of Manichaeism. /Read: Heretics of medieval Languedoc./ (1a)

Alix: Alais Capet, second daughter of Louis VII; betrothed to Richard of England... /Read: Aelis, fourth daughter... Louis' second daughter Alix was Richard's uterine sister./ (2)

Allegre: poss. Montallegro, a hill above RAPALLO, Italy. /Read: Allègre, arr. du Puy, dép. de l'Haute-Loire; cf. esp. Cantos CXVII et seq. 32./ (3)

a marito subtraxit ipsam... /dictum Sordellum concubuisse: she withdrew herself from her husband... /SORDELLO said to have lain with (her). /Read: took this lady away from her husband...

/(it was) said that Sordello lay with (her); cf. Rolandino in Muratori, Rorum Italicarum Scriptores (nuova edizione) tomo VIII parte 1 fascicolo 1 p.47: '...Sordellus de ipsius familia dompnam latenter a marito subtraxit. Cum qua in patria curia permanente dictum fuit ipsum Sordellum concubuisse.7 (4)

che sublia os laissa cador: que s'oblid' os laissa chazer: and faint away and fall. [Read: that it forgets itself and lets itself fall. Bernart de Ventadorn, Can vei la lauzeta mover, e.g. ed. Lazar no. 31.] (5)

do lonh: far-off. [Read: from afar.] (6)

Dilectis milos familiaris... ... pallete et pile...:

...to have and to hold (?)... [Read:

...and Pagliete and Pila...; cf. Sordello

Poesie ed. Boni p. XCVII.] (7)

domna jauziosa: the gay mother; the pleasure-seeking, pleasure-giving mother... [Read: the gay lady.] (8)

e l'olors/ ...d'onoi ganres: and the smell/ ...of weariness (wretchedness) you will win (gain). [Read: and the scent/ ...protecting oneself from distress.] (9)

e lo soleils plovil: the sun with the rain in it. [Read: and the sun rains down.] (10)

E lo Sordels si fo di Mantovana: and the SORDELLOS are from Mantua. (From a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library, Milan...). [Read: And Sordello was from Mantua. (There are no MSS. of the Sordello vidas at Milan; cf. Boutière-Schutz pp. 321-2, xviii-xx.)] (11)

e quel remir: into which I gaze. [Read: and that I should look at her.] (12)

Quo la lauzeta movor': When I see the lark on the move. [Read: (When I see) the lark move (its wings...). Pound's quotation is incomprehensible as it stands, and must be a shorthand for Bernart's whole line.] (12)

Mauleon, Savaric de: ...d. 1236, French warrior and troubadour whose loyalties vacillated between Henry II of England and Louis VIII of France. [Read: before 1180-before 1231, Poitevin warrior and troubadour, who served Arthur of Brittany, John Lackland, Raimon VII of Toulouse, Philippe-Auguste of France, John again, William the Marshal, the Fifth Crusade and Louis VIII of France, but cannot reasonably be accused of vacillation. See H.J. Chaytor, Savaric de Mauléon.] (13)

['Winter and summer I sing of her grace,/ As the rose is fair, so fair is her face,/ Both Summer and Winter I sing of her,/ The snow makyth me to remember her.'; (cf. Annotated Index App. E) Cantos VI 27. See Sordello, Atretan der ben chantar finamen, ed. De Lollis no. XXI.] (14)

Miscellaneous

35. Many other critical works about Pound have alluded to the troubadours. Stock in his Poet in Exile, as in the Life, carries an air of learning ('This poem does indeed catch some of Daniel's 'music'... (1)) and in his discussion of the Middle Ages regards Pound as wrong simply because the centre of gravity of his thinking does not coincide with that of most scholars (2). Hugh Kenner, without going into any original Provençal sources, has produced some keen insights into the nature of Pound's Provençal-based poetry, as for instance his remarks on 'Near Perigord' which I shall refer to later (3). Sister Bernetta Quinn adds to the understanding of the Guillem de Cabestanh story in

Canto IV (4), I shall refer later to Robert Graves' piece of expert character-assassination on Pound, and its references to the troubadours, when I discuss the Arnaut Daniel translations (5).

36. Donald Davie in his study of Pound's whole corpus, Ezra Pound: Poet as Sculptor, uses the background information to Sestina: Altaforte that Kagy had brought out: '...it is only the instructed reader who can appreciate how close the poem is to a translation of Bertran de Born's "Praise of War," and how the sestina is a form invented not by Bertran but by Arnaut Daniel, and how Pound switches the conventional envoi, the address to a named auditor (Papiols), from the end of the poem to the beginning (de Nagy, p.125).' (1) But in fact it seems that the informational value of these points lies not in their relation to the information in the poem, but in a supposed effect on the composition of the poem, on what it 'might otherwise have been': '...it was probably these considerations which, by giving the poet other things to aim at than Browning had aimed at, permitted him to draw on Browning's precedent without being overwhelmed by it.' (2) Davie's study of the verse-movement of this, and also of the diction of the Arnaut translations and the construction of Provinien Deserta, is useful (3). Part of his book is reproduced in Nosse's New Approaches (4). In that collection also is an essay by Boris de Rachewiltz (5) which contains a number of highly interesting remarks on the connection in Pound's ideas between Scotus Erigena and the so-called Manichaeans of mediaeval Provence. I shall refer to these later (6). Here I would only mention that Rachewiltz, in the orthodox manner, connects the Cathars with the Manichaeans of Persia, implying that they share a dualist approach which view Pound rejects (7). His remarks about the 'bone lux' and

Scotus Erigena are highly interesting, but the connection is not apparent in the Cantos at the points he quotes, and one can only assume that his sources of information are direct, as is natural in Pound's son-in-law. The same applies to the information that Excidouil was a 'main site of the Albigensians' which I have been unable to verify (0).

37. To resume all the troubadour information in all the critical works about Pound would be repetitive and useless; the other works now available do not materially change the situation I have outlined. I shall however refer to one new article, which touches on historical matter used by Pound that critics have so far avoided, and to a new book which gives an opportunity to explain my own ideas as to how the exegesis of Pound should be approached. The article is John Peck's 'Landscape as Ceremony in the later Cantos'. This extremely detailed piece of exegesis centres round the 'landscapes of memory' provided for Pound by his own recollections of Languedoc, and by Joseph Rock's work on the Tibet-China borderland. I refer elsewhere to Peck's remarks about Cunizza and the 'triedro' (1); but the Provençal material new to readers of Pound that Peck adduces is chiefly concerned with Montségur and the Cathars. Peck has read Fernand Niel, who, as I shall show, appears to be the only detailed source for the theory that Montségur was a sun-temple; and he makes interesting use of this hieratic focus for one of the imaginative landscapes of the Pisan Cantos. (2)

38. However, the significance of this temple for Pound is quite misunderstood by Peck, who appears not to have gone further in studying the Cathars than Déodat Roché's little collection of Cathar material

by himself, Miel, Weil and others (1).

> This parallel, of Cathar Languedoc with Troy, is also Simone Weil's in her splendid lament for the destruction of Toulouse and its culture — the decisive loss, in her view, of spiritual freedom in Europe. Like Weil, Pound mourns the Cathars as martyrs in a suppressed tradition of pre-Roman spirituality, going back through the Manicheans and Gnostics to oriental roots; there is at Montségur, he says, "no more an altar to Mithras". (2)

Thus Peck, on behalf of Pound, flatly contradicts Pound's view of the significance of the Provençal heretics; as we shall see (3), there is an abundance of statements by Pound to the effect that these heretics were quite alien to the asceticism inherent in Manichaeism and Gnosticism. This anti-asceticism, indeed, seems almost the whole point of the heresy in Pound's eyes; and this despite the reference to Mithras, whose cult certainly one would normally take as ascetic (4).

39. Finally I shall discuss Christine Brooke-Rose's new general book on Pound, A ZBC of Ezra Pound. Apart from delineating those areas of Pound and the troubadours which have been adequately covered, my discussion of the critics has, it seems to me, made the general point that much use of information about Provence, a typical specialist area of Pound, has been vitiated by a wrong approach. The works I have discussed are in general not intended to bring to light unknown facts, but to bring known facts before new readers; therefore, errors of detail should not be important. What matters is to allow the reader to grasp central ideas. Unfortunately, we find that critics have lost sight of this, and have brought in, for example, detailed information about Provence, often merely to maintain an air of omniscience. It there-

fore becomes important to point out that this detailed 'information' most usually represents third-rate scholarship, and thus not merely clouds the reader's labouring perception but even erects a false standard against which to judge Pound's efforts. A ZBC of Ezra Pound is a good example.

40. This book sets out to teach the undergraduate about Pound. There are many ways of doing this. One might try to take a slice through the major centres of Pound's thinking at a mature period, attempting to show how all these centres interrelate, but without swamping the reader with minor clusters and with supporting information. This is a task for a very agile intellect, since it involves comprehending the whole of material which Pound has deliberately avoided presenting in the 'normal, logical' manner, in order to isolate the significant points. The task has nonetheless been performed very ably indeed by Clark Emery in his Ideas Into Action.

41. Again, one might attempt to follow the chronological development of Pound's poetry, working from the poetry to the ideas, and with just enough of the latter to make the former more digestible to a student audience which still, by and large, cannot take Pound unprepared. Hugh Kenner has succeeded admirably in such an attempt, in The Poetry of Ezra Pound, a book which does what pedagogy must never neglect to do: to inspire an interest in the subject.

42. Then again it is possible to teach undergraduates and the non-specialist moyen sensuel by tackling a difficult part of the subject, and 'explicating' it in such a manner as to relate it to

the more general issues of which the reader is aware. At the same time one may bring to it all that body of detailed reference which is necessary to its complete understanding. The detailed information is made assimilable precisely by relating the whole to what the reader already understands. Given that all fields of information are infinitely expansible, and that one man's obscure corner is another's life-work, this approach is only a reduction in scale of those used by Emory and Kenner; and its most successful exponent so far is Walter Baumann in <u>The Pose in The Steel Dust</u>.

45. There also comes to mind the possibility of introducing the undergraduate to Pound by tackling, as it were in his presence, all those critical problems arising at points where the poet has gone athwart previous poetic practice and set up his own procedures. To date such an approach has only been used by those many explainers of Pound, depleting our library budgets and so often repeating each other, who feel unable to allow their audience into the presence of a new idea without debating at length its possible dangers and their own, considered, personal objections to it.

44. Christine Brooke-Rose has attempted all those approaches at once, and as a result her book is unreadable. After a spirited start she falls into a method which will deter almost any reader from pursuing the valuable information which is certainly there in the book. She seems as it were to drift into an idea, and then to deal with it as follows: to give the reader all necessary reference-material, but in such a hasty and apologising manner that he is unable to assimilate it or to relate it to the idea under discussion; on occasion, to explain it by concatenated quotations from Pound; on occasion to assess it

critically, with discussions of all other critics who seem to have contributed anything to the question; and finally to allow it to drift at random into any one of the other Poundian ideas with which it necessarily (as a typically Poundian idea) has connections.

45. One may presume that the theoretic justification for this approach is the same that has been developed by Pound and used in his poetry: that ideas do not 'prove' each other in logical sequences, but have multiple interrelations. The verification of this theory is in Pound's Cantos and in his prose, where, once the reader has absorbed a certain minimum of reference-material, and understood a number of Pound's basic ideas, he comes to feel that he understands the interreaction of the elements on the page; and this even in the later prose, where he may nonetheless be aware that Pound has failed to come to an explicit 'point'.

46. Christine Brooke-Rose's book notably fails this test, for one may be in possession of an abundance of relevant information and ideas, to a point where one has a sense of distaste at encountering yet once more the loci of Frobenius, Imagism, personae and the rest, and yet be quite unable to follow her concatenation of it all. For concatenation is what happens in a book, willy-nilly, and it is up to the writer to achieve it in a manner that adds significance to the material.

47. These criticisms of course do not touch the value of the reference-material that Christine Brooke-Rose brings to the task; and students of Pound already have cause to be grateful for such valuable information as that in her essay 'Ezy no by Aurelio', in New Approaches to Ezra Pound, edited by Eva Hesse. It is this kind of work that is

now most needed; there is a superabundance of general critical expositions, and in many areas the student is still without the basic tool: a knowledge of the mass of information from which Pound built his tightly-constructed ideograms. Yet it is difficult to refrain from a query even here.

48. Christine Brooke-Rose appears to fear being reproached for missing anything out, and so she brings in reference-material of a most doubtful nature; at least so we find in the field of Provençal. She 'explains' by quoting Provençal, which the average undergraduate is not able to read, but in a reading not found in any MS (1). She points out that the Cathars were Manichaeans, without mentioning that Pound specifically rejects this view (2). She refers to 'the early 'lives' or razos of the Troubadours'—which are two different things (3). Duns Scotus, to whom Pound I think never refers (despite Christine Brooke-Rose's misquotation of his Confiteor (4)), becomes a "neoplatonic 'light' philosopher". (5)

49. The failing here is obviously of a pedagogical nature, since it can not be expected of anyone to cover everything without making mistakes; if the main teaching aim were achieved, such errors of detail would be justified. I have gone into the misconceptions of teaching-method here at some length, because it seems to me that such misconceptions have marred a great deal of the work on Pound that brings in the troubadours.

50. To sum up, I would offer the following rough diagram of the areas of Pound's work with Provençal that have been discussed by previous critics:

		Songs, Video, Bones	Historical sources
Detailed study			
Reference to some anthologized material		Hagy Poetry Ruthven Guide	Ruthven Guide Peck 'Landscape'
Study of Found's use	before 1913	Hagy Poetry Jackson Early Poetry Witemeyer Poetry Ruthven Guide etc.	
	after 1913	(metamorphosis-Cantos only:) Dekker Sailing Baumann Rose Komer 'Mirrors' Quinn 'Metamorphoses' etc.	(Montague only:) Peck 'Landscape'

SECTION TWO: THE RISE AND FALL OF A CULTURE

CHAPTER ONE: FERTILIZATION

1. This section tries to kill several birds with one stone. First, it tries to build up an independent picture of some important points in the history of the Provençal poetry. To do this, it chiefly starts with some of the greatest figures among the troubadours, describes them and their work, and then moves on to Pound's treatment of them. But in setting up a continuous picture of this culture it follows, at most points, the outline of Canto VI, where Pound has attempted to show his ideas of cultural causality in action. It is therefore possible simultaneously to 'explicate' Canto VI, that is to supply all the necessary referents from a specialist field, and to criticise the historical thesis this Canto proposes.

2. The obvious defect of this structure is that my study will pause so long with individual troubadours and individual questions that the reader will forget the underlying threads of connection, namely the shape of Canto VI and the rise and fall of Provençal poetry. However, I shall discuss at various points Pound's basic idea, the personal transmission of culture, and at the end of the section I shall discuss his success in putting it across.

<u>The beginning</u>

3. Provençal poetry as it has survived begins with the Guilhem (Seventh of Poitiers, Ninth of Acquitain.) of Canto VI (1). This great Duke of Aquitaine not only wrote the earliest known lyrics in Provençal; he also incorporated into them a sentiment concerning women which was rare before his time, and which

became a characteristic feature of Provençal poetry. He sings:

I am very delighted by the love of
a joy that I want to delight in more,
and since I want to return to joy
I must, if I can, go to the best lady,
for she honours me more, without question,
than one could see or hear of.

I (you know this) must not boast
and cannot furnish myself with flattery,
but if any joy ever came to flower
this one will bear fruit more than any
and amaze beyond all,
as a dark day becomes bright.

One could never imagine
how she is, in one's wishing or desiring
or thinking or pondering;
such a joy can find no equal
and a man who wanted to praise it justly
would take more than a year.

Every joy must bow down before her
and every pride obey
my Lord, for her beauty in welcoming
and for her beautiful pleasing look;
and a man who could seize the joy of her love
is bound to live another hundred years.

A sick man can be healed through her joy
and a sound man die through her displeasure,
and a sane man go mad
and a handsome man lose his handsomeness
and the most courtly fall low
and any serf grow courtly.

Since no-one can find a finer lady,
nor eyes see, nor mouth speak of,
I want to keep her for my uses,
to refresh my heart within
and renew my flesh,
so that I may not grow old.

If my Lord will give me her love
I am ready to take her and to please her
and to keep the secret and say nice things to her
and to say and do what pleases her
and to value her worth
and to further her praises.

I dare not send her anything by another person,
I have such a fear that she should grow angry,
nor dare I urge my love in person,
so much do I fear to be doing the wrong thing;
but she must choose the best for me,
since she knows that it is with her that I will be healed. (2)

4. The new note in this is the attitude of the poet towards the lady: she may dispose of him absolutely, as a lord might dispose

of his serf. But more than that, she has powers over him and other men which are obviously magical: she can bestow eternal life, health, gentility of heart and 'joy'. But 'magical' is not the right word; in the Christian context of our civilization and more especially of mediaeval civilization, the formulae expressed in this poem must have religious echoes. To take one example, Guilhem says 'A sick man can be healed through her joy': when hymns of praise were sung to the Virgin and Saints for such powers, this was blasphemy. The idea was in fact central to Provençal love-poetry, and connects right through to Cavalcanti, as Pound argues:

> The rise of Mariolatry, its pagan lineage, the romance of it, find modes of expression which verge over-easily into the speech and casuistry of Our Lady of Cyprus [i.e. Venus], as we may see in Arnaut, as we see so splendidly in Guido's "Una figura della donna miae." (1)

Cavalcanti in this poem, as we shall see when we come to Arnaut Daniel, claimed that the healing image of the Madonna of Ortosan-michele was in fact a picture of his own lady. (2)

5. Even if the religious formulae did not exist to be echoed by Guilhem's poem, we would detect a more-than-ordinarily worshipful attitude in what he is saying. This is crystallized in the phrase 'mi dons', which I have translated 'my Lord': there is no doubt (from the grammar of the poem) that it is about a lady (1), but the phrase 'mi dons', even if in Provençal it was only used of lovers' ladies, is masculine and can only mean 'my Lord' (2). Thus Guilhem is putting into his poem the idea of feudal vassalage; he

may also be suggesting, where feudal vassalage was taken to reflect and continue the universal and spiritual hierarchy, the vassalage of man to God, for it was at this period that kings, apexes of the feudal pyramid, began to do homage for their crowns to Rome (3).

6. This approach to a woman was new. It may not have been entirely unprecedented, but the consistency with which it was taken up by Provençal poets makes it an important phenomenon, and here is its effective beginning. This faces us with the celebrated 'Problem of the Origins'. Whence, or why, this new note? Large quantities of literature have been written on the question, and it is not my business here either to dispute or summarise it all. I shall try to set out my own view and that of Pound.

7. There have been attempts to dispose of the question by attacking its assumptions: that every cultural phenomenon must have been preceded by a similar one or ones, so that the only mechanism of cultural change is transmission, in time or place, or combination. This, it seems to me, only shows that the question was ill-formulated; it is still true that Provençal poetry is a coherent and strange phenomenon, which would benefit by some kind of explanation. After the attempts to give Arabic poetry or Latin poetry an adequate causes had failed, Alfred Pillet drew attention once more to Guilhem IX of Aquitaine as the first known manifestation of the new phenomenon, and suggested that more research on him might tell us something. Bezzola took up this challenge and produced new material on his life and times which, he says, explain how Guilhem underwent a psychic change that produced the new poetry (1). It seems to me that while putting too much weight on a change of heart within one man, Bezzola

has put his finger on what Pound would call certain 'atmospheres' (2) of the time which probably made possible the first poems, the audience and the successors.

8. What we know of Guilhem IX is, on the one hand, his songs, and on the other, his history; the two are connected only by some allusions (1) in his death-bed song and by chroniclers' descriptions of his singing. From these descriptions we would expect some kind of hearty saloon-bar wit: 'He was bold and valiant, and excessively jokey, surpassing witty clowns with his many witticisms.' (2) 'Seasoning his trifles with a false sternness he made them into witticisms, stretching the jaws of his hearers with cackling.' (3) Furthermore, according to the chroniclers, the motivation of all those guffaws must have been the same as that of most lecrors: a fundamental lack of confidence, leading to Don Juanism: 'erat nempe vehemens amator foeminarum' (4), or as Bezzola well translates 'c'est qu'il était un enragé amateur de femmes' (5). The contrast between this image and the love-poem I have quoted has led some critics to doubt whether the one can have written the other, and others to call him a 'two-faced troubadour' (6).

9. However, the contrast seems to me exaggerated. It stems from a difficulty which I am unlikely to be able to eliminate: that Guilhem's personality is not easily understood. We know that historians are fond of contrasts, and that the official ethos of Guilhem's time was not such as to comprehend the coexistence of love, delight and lust. The persons to whom Guilhem's after-image has necessarily been entrusted came into both those categories; they were men like

Geoffroy de Vigeois, obscure monks who could take neither the saintly nor the worldly path to greatness, capable only of receiving the more dogmatic aspects of truth. From the tone of their chronicles we would not expect such humane or wise attitudes as that of Eugenius III for example, who, faced with Eleanor of Aquitaine's agitations for divorce, simply forbade her ever to speak of it again, and put her to bed with her husband on his most sumptuous couch (1). The material that these chroniclers possessed with which to arrive at a description of Guilhem's character was, it seems to me, fundamentally the same as what we possess now: they had his actions and we have his verse. As Zukovsky says, 'Whether a fellow intends to get his life down or not, automatically the words speak of something that is his and the words are his life.' (2) The 'tones' or 'undercurrents' of Guilhem IX's verse are therefore identical with those of his character. As the monk-chroniclers misinterpreted the one in his own time, so it seems to me that critics misinterpret the other now.

10. There are precedents for this situation. Lord Rochester is known to history as a foul-mouthed lout, who abandoned his wife and beat up his opponents (1). In his verse we find an extremely sensitive person capable of recording not only the slightest nuance of the non-human universe but also the 'movements of the soul' that were invisible to the Drydens of his time. Rochester was a libertine, and enjoyed it; the official mind is incapable of believing that one can do this, and remain human; the resulting state of shock leads the historian, chronicler, snooper and coffee-house gossiper to take revenge on the person who has caused it. Even now it seems to be difficult for critics to exercise their faculties in a civilized

manner on Rochester's poetry, neither recoiling in moral horror nor enthusing in the mindless manner reserved for whatever earns the killing title 'bawdy'. Neither more nor less useful than these reactions is that of progressive persons who insist that every word is sexual jargon, so that the poet is once more reduced to a cipher-clerk. By their vocabulary these schools may be known: the moral, by the word 'cynical'; the hearty, by the word 'frank', and the progressive by the word 'ambiguous'.

11. Since I am offering these strictures I shall obviously not be proposing a complete reorientation on Guilhem's poetry. It would be meaningless for me to say that everyone has 'got it all wrong'; I only think that interpretations have been too crude. It seems to me that Guilhem was, if not the 'whole man', at least a product of a great civilization, and of as complete a sensibility as for example Remy de Gourmont, whose 'Physique de l'Amour' (1) must have seemed crude and brutal to narrow spirits but who could not be accused of lacking refinement. Unfortunately the only possible evidence for my view is in the words, or between the words, of Guilhem's poetry. Even were one to succeed in finding an English poetic equivalent for what is in Guilhem's poems, there is no infallible means of making anyone see it. As it is, we must content ourselves with literal translations.

12. Eleven of Guilhem's songs remain to us, and of these, only the one I have already quoted can really be said to contain the new ethos. Of the others some are so elusive that it seems to me impossible to claim them for any ethos, like <u>Farai un vers de dreyt nien</u>:

I shall make a poem about nothing at all;
it won't be about me or other people;
it won't be about love or about youth
or about anything distinguished; (1)
I made it a while back while sleeping
on a horse.

I don't know in what hour I was born;
I am not happy or sad;
I am not stand-offish nor familiar,
and I can't be otherwise;
I was fated this way at night
on a high peak.

I don't know when I am asleep
or when I'm awake, if I'm not told;
my heart is almost split
by heartfelt sorrow,
and it doesn't mean a mouse to me
by St Martial.

I am sick and fear I shall die,
and I know nothing of it except when I hear people talk of it;
I shall look for a doctor to my liking
and I don't know what kind;
he'll be a good doctor if he can cure me,
but not if I get worse.

I have a friend, I don't know who it is,
because I never saw her, so help me God,
nor did she do anything to please or worry me,
nor do I care,
for I never had Norman or Frenchman
in my house.

I never saw her and I love her deeply;
I never had right by her and she never did me wrong;
when I don't see her, I'm fine;
she doesn't mean a bean to me;
I know a finer and a more beautiful woman,
worth more.

I don't know where she is,
whether she is on a mountain or a plain;
I daren't say what wrong I have done her,
but I care;
and it worries me that I stay here
(it's all the same).

I have made the poem, I don't know who about,
and I shall send it to him
who will send it by someone else
towards Poitou,
so that he (she?) may send me the counter-key
of his (her?) treasure-chest. (2)

13. Bezzola is right to remark that the first line is not as metaphysical as Jeanroy's 'on pure nothingness'; the poem doesn't

postulate any such reified abstraction as the one that obsessed Geneca and Rochester. Nonetheless the negation is very systematic. It cannot for instance be made to bear the positive interpretation that Bezzola puts on it (1), namely that in the fourth strophe Guilhem announces that he will consult a doctor for his mental confusion, and in the fifth verse he specifies that it will be Doctor Love, or rather some woman whose love will cure him. The strophe about the doctor is as negative as all the others, with its deflating ending, as it were: 'not if not'. Bezzola's paraphrase is to the advantage of his interpretation: 'Son médecin sera l'amour, — l'amour d'une amie parfaite, d'une amie qui n'existe peut-être pas et dont l'image surpasse en tout cas toujours la réalité. Elle est envers lui d'une suprême indifférence, mais cela ne le chagrine pas. Il n'est ni un Normand, ni un Français.' (2) The tone is completely mistaken. If we take Guilhem so seriously on 'ni no m'en cau' ('nor do I care', which Bezzola has paraphrased 'mais cela ne le chagrine pas'), then we must find equally-literal meanings for the 'heartfelt sorrow' of strophe three, which 'doesn't mean a mouse' to Guilhem. Bezzola says 'Il sent son malaise profond, mais il ne le comprend pas', but that is far from Guilhem's 'e no m'o pretz una soritz / per san Marsau'. Above all, the lightness of Guilhem's rhythms, and the abrupt way the strophes end, rules out any such earnest heart-searching. For myself I am unable to put a literal meaning on the poem; if it had one it seems to me that it was probably lost when the generation that knew the 'counter-key' died out. That is not to say that no meaning comes across to us. I think that the poem was meant to be amusing, but that the general effect, and therefore what it tells us of the author's state of mind, is considerable self-doubt. Since it won't bear any literal strophe-by-strophe meaning, it can't play the role

Bezzola has given it in Guilhem's 'geistlicher Roman'. Nonetheless several strophes in the poem (5, 6, 7) seem to be straight reversals of courtly love themes, and though I don't want to put any litoral meaning on this, it is obviously significant that courtly love should be the only 'moral' theme picked out for special notice. If the poem has any overall tendency, it is towards being a satire on courtly love.

14. Guilhem's corpus of poetry is probably more varied than that of any of his successors in Provençal poetry. It has the appearance of the work of a man who wrote when he wanted to, therefore at fairly long intervals in his extremely eventful life, and used his wastepaper-basket to good effect; in these respects Guilhem resembles Basil Bunting (1). But it is important to describe as precisely as possible this body of poetry before we make any attempt to impose theories on it.

15. Several of Guilhem's poems are what would be called obscene; for this reason there are awesome lacunae in Jeanroy's translations. 'Companho, tant ai aguts / d'avols conres', untranslated by Jeanroy (1), is a mock-serious diatribe on the uselessness of chastity belts, while 'Compaigno, non puosc mudar / qu'eo no m'effrei' (2), allegorical enough to be translatable, is also mock-serious, and warns Guilhem's friends not to deprive their womenfolk too much. Then there are several songs (3) which just recount or invent his sexual adventures. There is the <u>planh</u> on Guilhem's approaching death (4), which I consider to be, by reason of a precision equalling W.C. Williams', the best song in Provençal literature; it completely avoids the

rhetoric which boosts all the other troubadours in greater or lesser degree, and which is the chief factor that makes their expression seem 'Gothic' (Pound's term (15)) and irrelevant to our own time (6). And finally there are three songs which, depending on how we interpret them, define Guilhem's feelings about relationships with women.

16. Of these, 'Pus vezem de novelh florir' (1) is very difficult to interpret; it is even difficult to translate literally, since any choice of words will affect the tone, which I consider to be the crucial feature in this poem.

Since we see the meadows once more flowering
and orchards growing green,
streams and fountains growing clear,
breezes and winds,
every man must really delight in the joy
he possesses.

I must say nothing but well of love.
Why do I have neither little nor any of it?
Because quite probably more is not right for me;
but quite possibly
it gives great delight if one maintains well
its laws.

With me it has always been such
that I never had the enjoyment of what I loved,
nor ever shall nor ever did,
because as I know
I do many things of which my heart tells me

"It's all nothing."

For this reason I have less enjoyment
that I want what I cannot have,
and without a doubt the proverb
tells me the truth:
"To a stout heart, all power,
for a man who is very patient."

No man will ever be very safe
in the face of love unless he bends to it,
and is agreeable with strangers
and neighbours,
and obedient to all those
from those parts.

He must have obedience
to many people, who wishes to love,
and it behoves him to be able to do
charming things,
and to avoid talking loutishly
at court.

Of this poem I say to you that he who understands it well
or enjoys it most is of greater worth,
because the words are all made mutually
compatible,
and the tune, may I praise myself for this,
excellent good.

At Narbonne, though I am not going there,
be in her presence,
my poem, and I want you to ensure me
this praise.

My Esteve, though I am not going there, let my poem
be in her presence,
and I want it to ensure me
this praise.

17. There is nothing to prevent the average moralistic or satirical ranter from turning earnest and writing a rather flat and empty 'éloge de l'amour' and courtly gentility. But Guilhem, as his death-planh proves (1), is capable of writing, not what he thinks ought to be felt, nor some vague rhetorical approximation to what he feels, but precisely what he feels; why may we not then assume that he intended precisely the tone that is in this poem? The first strophe starts out with considerable freshness, but quickly turns into a list of vernal events and then falls flat on its face, in rhythm and sense, with the pleonasm:

Every man must enjoy the delight
That he has the enjoyment of

The second strophe begins

I must say nothing but well of love.

Bezzola sees in this, I think correctly, 'un léger sourire sceptique', but speculates that it 'alludes to a real or imagined invitation from the ladies to choose other tones to please them.' (2) If the poem is as earnest as Bezzola thinks it is, such heresies are unthinkable; and if the ladies had suggested maligning love, why would Guilhem's remark be a sceptical smile? Surely the remark is put by the poet

into the mouth of some Osric of amour courtois, a sort of open aside betraying the stupid conformism of the speaker's thinking; this is a frequent enough device in satirical writing. In my opinion the whole poem comes through a persona, which has in fact precisely the relation to courtly love that Polonius has to statesmanship and Osric to the art of being a gentleman.

18. The second strophe continues with this vacuous ratiocination: the speaker is a devout believer in the salon-religion of courtly love, but can't help noticing that he gets precious little joy of it; he concludes with the pious thought that perhaps he has erred against its laws somehow. The tone is very like the pious bafflement that reigned after the disasters of Louis VII's crusade: "No one may question the acts of God, for all His works are just and right. But it remains a mystery to the feeble judgment of mankind why our Lord should suffer the French, who of all the people in the world have the deepest faith and most honour Him, to be destroyed by the enemies of religion." (1)

19. Guilhem's persona then betrays a kind of self-knowledge which the persona himself does not understand, but which we, the audience do. He faces his complete lack of success in courtly love, and observes that half the time his heart tells him 'stop playing the fool'; the moral being obvious to us, but not to him: that he should listen to his common sense and stop posturing. In the fourth strophe this double-talking persona observes that after all one shouldn't expect enjoyment from courtly love, the whole point of which is that the lady is inaccessible. The banality of the proverb then tells us how hollow

is the rubbish with which ladies keep their lovers hoping. And after that, the parnons tells over the great precepts of love as a salon-religion, characterising it exactly as it must have always been for the larger herd of lovers: a trivial and foolish game involving an indecent amount of grovelling; especially in the eyes of an independent spirit like the Duke of Aquitaine.

20. 'Farai chansonota nueva' (1) again contains many themes of courtly love. Whatever troubles she creates, he will not leave her. He cannot live without her; he will die if she does not yield to him. All the delight in the world is theirs together, but if she takes the veil, sorrow will force him to, also. She is the most beautiful thing born since Adam. But if all this is what the poem is meant to convey, it doesn't work. All these things are undoubtedly in the poem, but there is not the earnestness that they acquire in my paraphrase. The rhythm is fast and strongly-stressed, and incapable of supporting any feeling of genuine commitment to the idea of the lady. The basic meter is a strong trochee, and when the metre is broken the effect is often a fast run of weak stresses:

Quossi de qual guiza l'am

It is possible to believe Guilhem neither when he says

I'll die, by St Gregory's head

nor when he promises that

All the delight in the world is ours,

Lady, if we love each other. (2)

This is not to say that Guilhem 'means' anything other than what he appears to mean, or that the song is satiric or ironic or anything so definite; but I feel certain that his state of mind is by no means an

earnest as the things he is saying, in fact as the very idea of courtly love requires that its adherents should be. Nor are his literal statements even quite awed enough; it is not consonant with true subjection, as we shall find in the later troubadours, to demand anything so definite and personal as a kiss in chamber or under branch. It seems to me that there is nothing in the feeling of this poem which was not there in the earlier monastic tradition; rhythm, verse-structure and masculine confidence all tie it to that tradition.

21. Pierre Bec is among the critics who call Guilhem's observations on woman 'cynical', but he is able to see the 'moments de vrai lyrisme et d'exquise tendresse' in the death-song and in 'Ab la dolchor del temps novel' (1):

With the sweetness of the new time
the woods leaf, and the birds
sing each one in his dialect
on the strophe of the new song:
'Now man should take pleasure in
that which he wants most.'

From the place that delights me most
I see no messenger or seal,
so that my heart neither sleeps nor laughs,
nor dare I move an inch,
until I know about the peace,
whether she is the way I ask.

Our love goes like
the hawthorn branch

that is shaking on the tree
at night, in the rain and frost,
until the next day, when the sun spreads
through the green leaves and twigs.

I still think of a morning
when we made peace to the war,
and she gave me so great a gift,
her loving and her ring.
God let me live so long yet
as to have my hands under her cloak!

I have no care for peculiar language
to cut me off from my good neighbour,
since I know about words, how they go
with a short remark that means
let others go prattling about love;
we have its bread and knife. (2)

22. As with the song from Guilhem's death-bed, this one is good enough to lose almost everything in translation; the ideas easily turn to clichés. The image of the central strophe can easily seem inconclusive, but in the original has enough light and beauty to have inspired Dante:

Quale i fioretti, dal notturno gelo
Chinati e chiusi, poi che il sol gl'imbianca,
Si drizzan tutti aperti in loro stelo;
Tal mi feo'io di mia virtude stanca;... (1)

It is in fact surprising that Pound, who was interested enough in concentrated images to construct around them his theory of the 'luminous detail', never incorporated this 'point of Maximum energy' into his prose or poetry as he did for example Bernart's lark, nor the very similar image at Purgatorio XXVI.05 (2). But we shall see that Pound's faculties were not fully open to such a phenomenon as Guilhem at the time when he was studying the troubadours (3).

23. But the question for the moment is whether this poem is of courtly love. Guilhem obviously cares about how his lady feels; he cannot move an inch until he hears from her. I think the poem owes a lot to the ideas of courtly love, principally in the second strophe. But there is too much mutuality for this to be orthodox <u>amour courtois</u>. It is too obvious that, for all Guilhem's trepidations, there is or has been a relationship between two human beings; the phrase 'la nostr' amor', '<u>our</u> love', suggests that when things are going right not only Guilhem but the lady is happy. The birds are recommending that 'on s'aisi', 'a man should take pleasure', in what he fancies. Guilhem has been given the lady's 'drudaria', physical loving, and he can't wait till he has it again. Finally there is the direct and physical image of the bread and knife. The only conclusion can be that Guilhem is in love with the lady, and that there is every possibility that she is or has been in love with him, and that, in Pound's words, 'there is but one obvious remedy.' (1)

24. I therefore say that this poem owes much more to Guilhem's personality than it does to any developing ethos or cult. In this I am presupposing a certain definition of the courtly love cult. My basis for doing this is as follows: the pertinent question is, what was the

new thing that arose in Guilhem's time, and why did it arise? I have suggested a definition of the new thing, taken from the first song of Guilhem's that I discussed: the lady is in such a position in relation to the poet (at least in the poem) that she may dispose of him absolutely, for the reason that she has quasi-religious power in his regard; she can make him live or die, etc. The greatly-increased concern for the lady's feelings that results from this is accompanied by a decreased concern for the poet; that is of course if we accept the postulates of the poems, for in effect very narrow limits of behaviour are imposed on the lady (1), but the poetic situation is not even possible in the imagination unless we accept, for the moment, such postulates.

The place of Guilhem IX's poetry in the origins of courtly love

25. If my appraisal of Guilhem's verse is accepted, only one of his works is a true vehicle of the new cult. Yet the presence of a courtly-love atmosphere is undeniable. Most of the things Guilhem denies doing in the poem of multiple negations ('Farai un vers de dreyt nien' (1)) are to do with courtly-love postures; 'Pus vezem de novelh florir' is either (if I am right) (2) a deflation of the new ethos, or (if not) a long and stupid enumeration of its laws; and the song I have just discussed, even if all the things it says are within the possibilities of a more 'normal' human relationship, could well borrow the sleepless nights and indecision from courtly love. The use of the word 'joy' seems to imply more than is readily discernible from the context, as if it were already a well-established technical term:

Mout jauzens me prenc en amar I am very delighted by the love of

Un joy don plus mi vuolh aizir, a joy that I want to delight in more,
E pus en joy vuolh revertir... and since I want to return to joy...(3)

and in the death-song:

De proeza e de joi fui... I used to have prowess and joy...
Qu'eu ai avut joi e deport... Because I have had joy and fun...
Aissi guerpisc joi e deport... So I leave joy and fun... (4)

And the pleonasm I have referred to in 'Pus vezon de novolh florir' —

Ben deu quascun lo joy jauzir Every man must enjoy the joy
Don es jauzons. That he is in enjoyment of. (5)

—seems precisely to be poking fun at such a fad-jargon.

26. It seems to me unlikely therefore that Guilhem IX invented courtly love. This does not mean necessarily that there was a long-established tradition. Fashions probably moved quite rapidly in the cultivated courts of Poitou. But it does bring us back to the question which would have to be answered even if we proved that Guilhem did invent courtly love: namely, whoever invented it, why was the time right? Why were people interested, and why did people imitate? As I suggested earlier, though Bezzola's theory attributes too much to Guilhem, he puts his finger on certain 'atmospheres' which seem to me the operative factors.

27. Following Pillet's suggestion that more research should be done on the life and times of Guilhem, Bezzola was able to come up with nothing more than was, generally speaking, known to Chabaneau when he compiled the Biographies des Troubadours in 1885 (1). But he noticed the existence of Robert d'Arbrissel, who was at the centre of a religious movement, in circles very close to Guilhem which could

be assumed to have had some kind of effect on him. Robert first attracted notice to himself when he became an anchorite, possibly in a forest in Maine, in 1095 (2). Letters from his ecclesiastical superiors have survived, warning him of the dangers of unguided asceticism. But Robert attracted numerous followers and soon received a gift of land; on the occasion of this gift and its confirmation he met Pope Urban II, who was so impressed by his oratory that he made him an apostolic preacher. To judge by a letter that Robert wrote to Guilhem's first wife, his message was entirely of asceticism and the horrors of this world.

28. Robert at this time was in continual movement, preaching to and fascinating large numbers of people, who followed him around, imitating his mortification of the flesh and often entering the monastery he had established. But Robert had his own unorthodox ways of doing things, and paid insufficient respect to the forms of virtue; wherefore a number of rumours sprang up about his activities, mostly preserved to us in letters from the hierarchy, warning him to mend his ways. To begin with, he was provoking a certain hostility among the menfolk of the land by causing their wives to leave them for his side. He seems to have been in the habit of stopping for the night with all his followers on the open road, and having the women sleep on one side of him and the men on the other, he himself in between to keep order. As if much struck with the role of the sword in the Tristran story, he is held to have varied this self-temptation by talking alone and sleeping with the women, to prove the toughness of his soul. Unwilling to deny anyone the way of salvation, Robert, to the great scandal of his contemporaries, admitted to his entourage incestuous women and concubines.

29. Around 1100, when Guilhem IX was crusading in the East, Robert decided to found a new order, centred around a great monastery to be built at Fontevrault. From the beginning it comprised a monastery and a convent side-by-side, a fairly unusual procedure in his time; and very quickly it acquired a string of sister-monasteries established on the same principle. Robert had preached indifferently to men and women, but evidently it was the women who had responded in by far the greatest numbers, for all the transactions concerning these establishments soon speak of women only. Before long the mother-foundation at Fontevrault became a preserve of the highest in the land; 'La liste des nobles dames qui se retirent à Fontevrault est vraiment impressionante. Nous trouvons parmi elles les plus célèbres beautés de l'époque, tandis que les plus puissants seigneurs de la contrée font à l'Ordre des donations importantes.' (1)

30. Several features mark this movement out from its predecessors. Obviously women were most attracted to it; there are no complaints about men leaving the sides of their wives to join Robert's following. Women quickly predominated numerically. It is unlikely that there were immoral goings-on, at least within the knowledge of Robert, for after all he was profoundly ascetic; but the ignoring of normal sexual conventions, by the very fact that it led to nothing, would bring about a heightened, if possibly transmuted, sexuality. The powers of a great orator usually are similar to those of a great actor, or at least a great romantic actor, and have to do with the ability to exert the fascination of his personality; this is probably as true of a Bernard of Clairvaux as it is of a Fidel Castro. And the famous beauties who entered Fontevrault must have hoped for some emotional replacement of the excitement to be had from being a famous beauty;

this is likely to have lain in some transmutation of sexuality, aided by the powerful personality of Robert. Some found his personality essential to the whole idea; Guilhem's first wife, at least, left the monastery when Robert died (1). But in view of the lasting success of the foundation with society women, it is probable that Robert's message and order also had a powerful attraction. It seems possible that mortification of the flesh only increases awareness of the flesh; certainly ascetic sermons have this effect, as Rémy de Gourmont notes in his <u>Latin Mystique</u> (2). Such overtones are present in the death of Philippe I's famous mistress Bertrade at Fontevrault: 'Elle y mourut quelque temps après, n'ayant pu supporter les macérations qu' elle imposait à son corps délicat.' (3) But it would be a foolish over-simplification to claim that the sexuality was of the same kind.

31. Guilhem IX of Aquitaine, had very little time for religion. His womanizing cost him much trouble with the church; for the chroniclers it was the cause of all his other troubles: "William Duke of Aquitaine went to Jerusalem with many others: but in fact he brought nothing to the name of Christianity: he was a mad lover of women; for that reason he was inconstant in his enterprises. His army was then massacred by the Saracens, along with Ralph the venerable Bishop of Périgueux." (1) He lived openly with the wife of the comte de Châtellerault, and when the Bishop of Poitiers announced his intention to excommunicate Guilhem, the godless Duke threatened to kill him; afterwards he put him in prison, where he died (2). To the bald Bishop of Angoulême who excommunicated him for the same adultery, Guilhem said 'You will comb the hair that has fled your pate before I repudiate the Viscountess.' (3)

32. But by the very fact of his continual involvement with women, Guilhem cannot have been unaware of the great movement that was emptying them from the courts. In one of the songs of his sexual adventures he seems to complain about just this:

I shall make a song, then I to sleep,
and go and stand in the sun.
There are ladies with bad ideas,
and I can say which:
those who despise
knights' love.

A lady who fails to love an upright knight
commits a great mortal sin;
and if it's a monk or a cleric
she does wrong:
she should be burned
with a burning log. (1)

Bezzola's thesis is that Guilhem, having failed to interest the ladies with the songs of his sexual adventures (1) (2), in the face of their preference for spiritual matters undergoes a crisis which can be observed in the confusion of the song of multiple negations (3), and comes up with the new idealism in the poem which Bezzola paraphrases: 'Son médecin sera l'amour, — l'amour d'une amie parfaite, d'une amie qui n'existe peut-être pas et dont l'image surpasse en tout cas la réalité...' (4)

33. I do not think the poems will bear this interpretation. It is in any case too risky an historical proposition to explain a major change in human sensibility on the assumption that Guilhem was the

only courtly-love poet of his time. We have no evidence for example that Eble II de Ventadorn, 'Eble the Singer', though younger than Guilhem (1), was not singing of courtly love before his suzerain. But the amazing success of Robert d'Arbrissel's movement points to certain features in the spirit of the times, and it seems to me that these are connected with the new themes of poetry. Robert's movement was partly a fashion; it appealed strongly to those parts of society which had leisure and considerable freedom in the matter of how to run their lives, and the fact that these people responded en masse shows that the psychological features of a fad to some extent operated. It is likely then that all those who did not take part in this mass movement adopted some kind of new posture, in reaction to it, just as in our society everyone's posture changes imperceptibly in reaction to the phenomenon of 'genuine' hippiedom and its concomitant fad-hippiedoms. It is inevitable that the fashions of court entertainment should have changed both in reaction to the movement and in response to the psychological needs that generated the movement.

34. What is new in Guilhem's courtly-love poem is the absolute dependence on the lady's wishes. This is the defining characteristic of courtly-love poetry. It is also the new thing in Robert d'Arbrissel's religion: whether by the attraction of his personality or by some peculiarity of his message, women are strongly drawn to his order; whether by accident or subconscious design, Robert finds himself devoting all his energies to the spiritual care of women. In Guilhem's 'Mout jausens me pren en amar' (1) the lady is given many of the powers normally held by God and the saints; at least one aspect of womanhood is put on a goddess-like footing by Robert d'Arbrissel. Robert's constitution for the Fontevrault monastery decreed that a

widow should always govern the two parts of the foundation (2). We may presume with Bezzola that Robert was thinking of the tracts of St Ambrose and St Jerome celebrating the state of widowhood, unique combination of motherhood and chastity; also that, since the convent churches were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the monastery churches to her servant John the Evangelist, Robert was thinking of Mary, the embodiment par excellence of motherhood and chastity.

35. What the combination of motherhood and chastity does, if we follow the thinking of Leslie Fiedler, is to eliminate the institution of father and husband (1). This is precisely what takes place in courtly love. The lover/poet pays court to a lady who, at least in the myth-world in which they operate, has absolute power over him. She is usually married. The husband normally makes no appearance; if he does he is merely the 'golos' or 'jealous husband'; but more normally he is only implicated in the lover's constant fears about 'lauzengiers' or tale-bearers, who will bring down this nameless wrath upon him. Possible joy in this myth-world is, the poet tells the lady, a matter for them alone.

36. Obviously this situation is perfectly made for the exaltation of woman. Woman's most powerful function is that of motherhood, in that she is there most independent of man. If she could fertilise herself, she would feel no need of him; as indeed she feels that man is irrelevant when she is having 'her' child. This is the situation of the woman receiving the attentions of a courtly lover: she has at her disposal a being who is completely dependent on her, as it were a child-substitute, while she is not especially dependent on him; her position in the world is perfectly established by the fact of her

marriage, as well established as if she were performing some essential role like motherhood. And yet the husband is eliminated, a mere source of aggravation to be avoided in the pursuit of amusement.

37. Such an explanation also explains several features of courtly love. Without it, it is hard to account for the fact that the woman is usually married, and discovery a constant danger. Certainly unmarried daughters were out of the question partly because they were a valuable political asset, yet they could be trifled with without endangering their dowers; while on the other hand there were considerable inconveniences in tampering with married women, like excommunication, as Guilhem IX found. It also explains why the larger mass of troubadours were from a lower class than their ladies: the absolute dependence of the lover was that way increased, while for the lady there was less danger of getting geminely involved. And the great psychological dependence of the lover on the lady explains why the former were so ready to produce an endless succession of almost-identical artefacts, a limitless permutation of the same imitated motifs. Cultures controlled by women of great leisure and average personality tend to be more interested in fashion than originality or creativity. An outsider to the world of pop music finds it difficult to understand how anyone can listen to the interminable repetition of the same ideas, which suffer noticeable change perhaps once in three years; but the teenager girls who buy 75% of the product are attracted to a given record exactly <u>because</u> it echoes a given sentiment which they know or feel to be 'in'.

38. The explanation so far shows why the new cult was attractive to women, and why it had the defects of salon-culture. It does not

however show the attraction for the poets. Here it seems to me that Fiedler's thesis gives the only credible answer. Fiedler observes the existence of the Great Mother as a goddess in most primitive cultures, and makes the following, obviously Jungian, remark: 'No genuine archetypal figure from the mythologies of the past ever dies, no matter how reviled and bedeviled; thrust down as divinity, it will emerge as sentiment or hysteria or madness.' (1) (A Freudian explanation in the case of the Great Mother might be that the Oedipal triangle eternally demands from the individual some kind of 'settling of accounts', and for this reason father-gods and mother-gods exist.) In any case, as Fiedler notes, Judaism and primitive Christianity had suppressed the Great Mother. 'The Christianity which promulgated such harsh doctrines had quite simply failed to make possible any accord between man's passionate impulses and his ego-ideals. The celibacy of the clergy was notoriously more theoretical than actual; and the lay Christian seemed doomed forever to shuttle between riots of self-indulgence and orgies of maudlin repentance. A new concept of salvation was demanded that would take into account the dark surge of sexual desire; the helplessness of the male before the female and the serpent to whom she listens.' (2)

39. The exaltation of the lady was therefore at least as much for the poet's needs as for her own. But why a married lady? Fiedler explains that in a society whose religious, legal and moral structure was patriarchal, such a prostration before the female was sin, and the poet felt it as such. He therefore desired punishment, and sought a situation where there was permanent danger of it. In religion symbiosis was possible; the Virgin Mary, whose cult was a product of the same psychic revolution, presented no apparent threat to the

established father-religion, and thus no punishment-structure arose (1). This kind of explanation does not, without more historical data, show why either courtly love or Marioletry arose in the eleventh century rather than at an earlier moment, but it does account for the continuing strength of these two cults, of which Fiedler also gives a convincing account as to their later development. (?)

Found's views on Guilhem and the origins of courtly love

40. The remarks in his 'Troubadours--their Sorts and Conditions' (1913) might lead one to think that Found regarded Guilhem IX as the originator in all senses of courtly love poetry: 'The argument whether or no the troubadours are a subject worthy of study is an old and respectable one. If Guillaume, Count of Poitous, grandfather of King Richard Coeur de Leon, had not been a man of many energies, there might have been little food for this discussion.' (1) But as I have said elsewhere (2), I think this essay a weak 'pot-boiler', aimed deliberately down at the readership of the Quarterly Review, which Found probably despised even before the Hunt altercations of the following year. In the original version of The Spirit of Romance (1910), Guilhem was dismissed with the following remark: 'The first troubadour honourably mentioned is of courtly rank: William IX, Count of Poitiers (1086-1127), a great crusader, and most puissant prince, who belongs rather in one of Mr. Howlett's novels than in a literary chronicle: his fame rest rather upon deeds than upon the eight poems that have survived him.' (3)

41. These 'deeds' were still to the fore in August 1921, when Canto VI was published:

What you have done, Odysseus,

We know what you have done...

And that Guillaume sold out his ground rents

(Seventh of Poitiers, Ninth of Aquitaine).

'Tant las fotei com auzirets

'Cen e quatre vingt e veit vetz...' (1)

Here the reference is to Guilhem's realising all his assets (as Bertran later recommended lords to do—

'Pawn your castles, lords!

Let the Jews pay.') (2)

and to his Fisher-king fertilising role in one of his own poems (3). In Canto VIII Guilhem's role as cultural fertilizer is more specific:

And Poictiers, you know, Guillaume Poictiers,

had brought the song up out of Spain

With the singers and viels. (4)

Pound considered it very probable, for instance, that Arnaut Daniel's rhythms echoed Arabic music (5). Out of all the controversy that has raged over the 'Arab origins' theory it has certainly emerged that cultural contact was possible between the two worlds. (6) But Pound never suggests that such a cultural transmission could account satisfactorily for a major psychic change like the arrival of courtly love.

42. To judge by his remarks on Sordello (1), Pound had abandoned the study of Provençal for a good part of the twenties, and it was not only his opinion of Sordello that changed when he came back to it. When he came to reissue The Spirit of Romance he inserted the following:

(What now strikes me [1929] is that Guillaume de

> Poitiers is the most "modern" of the troubadours. For any of the later Provençals, i.e. the highbrows, we have to make a number of intellectual transpositions, we have to "put ourselves into the Twelfth Century" etc. Guillaume, writing a century earlier, is just as much of our age as of his own. I think it quite likely that all sorts of free forms and doggerel existed and that nobody thought it worth while to write them down. Guillaume being a great prince, snobism took note even of his spontaneity.) (2)

There is here at least the sketch of an 'origins' theory. It at least explains how not only courtly love, but also its vehicle the Provençal lyric, came to arise at this time. It also explains the amazing similarity of Guilhem's forms to those of later troubadours. And it recognizes for the first time in Pound's writings the stature of Guilhem as a poet. But Provençal literature means a great deal to Pound, and he would be unlikely to attribute the enduring attraction of courtly love's underlying structure to anything as temporary as snobbism.

43. The 1912 essay 'Psychology and Troubadours (1), by contrast, is a thorough attempt to examine the psychic state of the period, as different from the superficial archaism of 'Troubadours—their Sorts and Conditions' as it could be. It was published in G.R.S. Mead's Quest (2), and shows what a stimulus Mead's company had been towards a deeper psychological understanding than Pound had previously thought necessary. The foundation laid in the first two pages is that the artist is an interpreter of what is in the universe; and that besides the record of his 'greater self' he will leave, as it were in the

interatices of his work, some trace of the spirit and life of his times. One division of poetry, approximating to the trobar clus of Provençal lyric, has a ritual function, which we find later in the essay to be a kind of ecstatic reflection of the order of nature, a mediumistic interpretation of the universe, including its omnipresent gods. (The proofs of this we shall discuss in the sections on Arnaut Daniel and on the Cathars (3).) But Pound suggests that the reasons for Provence's capacity to reflect the 'vital universe' in this way were the 'living conditions' in Provence, basing himself upon the following analogy: 'It is an ancient hypothesis that the little cosmos "corresponds" to the greater, that man has in him both "sun" and "moon".' (4) All cosmoi seem to be composed of two opposites, and life or meaningful existence is the discharge of energy between the two. If the discharge takes place in a Catullian or 'eugenic' universe, where there is no resistance, 'heat' is generated rather than 'light'; 'I suggest that the living conditions of Provence gave the necessary restraint, produced the tension sufficient for the results, a tension unattainable under, let us say, the living conditions of imperial Rome.' (5)

44. The obvious difference between the times of Catullus and that of Bernart de Ventadorn was the difficulty of sleeping with the lady. This is the resistance that permitted the troubadour to replace the monk as an interpreter of the 'vital universe', avoiding in the process the monkly danger of bigotry etc: 'Mens sana in corpore sano.' (1) The lady becomes a sort of mantram (2), or an alchemist's stone (3), which brings the troubadour's energies into focus; so that 'The problem, in so far as it concerns Provence, is simply this: Did this

"chivalric love," this exotic, take on mediumistic proportion? Stimulated by the color or quality of emotion, did that "color" take on forms interpretive of the divine order?...' (4) Obviously, for Pound, it did.

45. This however explains the effects of courtly love rather than its origins. Origins suggested are of two kinds, both cultural or religious: first there is the kind of mysticism that was present in monastic writing. Pound quotes the 'sequaire' of Gottschalk, which he found with similar writing in Gourmont's Latin Mystique, and in which 'The god has at last succeeded in becoming human, and it is not the beauty of the god but the personality which is the goal of the love and the invocation'. (1) The Christ of the 'sequaire' is certainly human, but also sexual, and it is probably this transmuted sexuality that Pound refers to in his closing remarks. 'With such language in the cloisters, would it be surprising that the rebels from it... should have chosen some middle way, something short of grasping at the union with the absolute, nor yet that their cult should have been extra-marital?' (2) And the other kind of origin that Pound suggests is the 'half memories of Hellenistic mysteries ' (3), which we shall discuss when we come to the Cathars (4).

46. This explanation of courtly love has several similarities with the ones we have offered. There is the parallelism with Mariolatry; and when Pound says that 'the troubadours... have, in some way, lost the names of the gods and remembered the names of lovers ' (1) he recognizes that the relation with the lady is some kind of worship. But Pound believes much more in the action of individuals than do

modern psychologists. When he says 'If a certain number of people in Provence developed their own unofficial mysticism...' (2) he implies a much greater freedom of choice than a Jung would admit.

47. However Pound's nature explanations are only a transposition into the arena of the gods of what psychologists put in the human mind. With Zielinski (1), Pound insisted that Judaism, with its solitary father-god, was no religion but a tyranny, and that the Virgin Mary was Hellenism's vital contribution to Christianity. What is this but an assertion of the claims of the Great Mother? At the conclusion of the speculation about sex and psychology prefaced to his translation of Gourmont's Physique de l'amour, Pound returned to 'Ingenium nobis ipsa puella fecit.' (2) The 'girl' is in the context the troubadour's lady. Again Pound is insisting, in Fiedler's words, on 'A new concept of salvation that would take into account the dark surge of sexual desire: the helplessness of the male before the female and the serpent to whom she listens.' (3)

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER TWO: DESCENDANTS OF GUILHEM IX

1. The dynasty thus magnificently founded might not seem to have kept its cultural momentum in the years that immediately followed. Guilhem's son, Guilhem X of Aquitaine (VIII of Poitiers), was not a troubadour, and protected only two troubadours, Cercamon and Marcabrun, as far as is known (1). But by the standards of his generation this was a very respectable total; 'of the 450 troubadours whose names are known to us, none appears to be earlier than 1100, and only six go back to the first half of the 12th century' (2); Guilhem X reigned from 1127 to 1137. At this period Eble II of Ventadour was still active, and when Cercamon wrote a funeral lament on Guilhem X he addressed it to Eble (3), but though Eble may have played a very important part in the establishment of Provençal poetry, nothing written by him has survived. But he founded a very important minor dynasty, which Pound uses in the Cantos as a subsidiary image for the celestial city which has been destroyed by the blind forces of ho bios (life) and populism:

Where was the wall of Eblis
At Ventadour, there now are the bees,
And in that court, wild grass for their pleasure
That they carry back to the crevice
Where loose stone hangs upon stone.

I sailed never with Cadmus,
lifted never stone above stone.' (4)

2. Our only information about Eble's singing comes from the chronicle of Geoffroy de Vigeois, who gave him the memorable title of Ebolus Cantator. But Geoffroy, who was related distantly to Bertran de Born and was contemporary with him and Bernart de

Ventadorn (1), gives the following illuminating account of relations between the two earliest troubadours known, Eble II and Guilhem X's father:

> Eble... was very clever at songs, through which he won the great esteem of Guilhem [IX], Gui's son. But these two were jealous of each other and each burned to darken the fame of the other by learning of some mark of uncourtly behaviour. Now it happened that Eble came to Poitiers and entered [Guilhem's] castle just when the Count was eating his lunch. Many dishes were set before Eble, but not comparably many. When the Count had eaten, Eble said to him: 'It does not become a Count to warm up so many dishes for such a humble Viscount.' When Eble returned to his house a few days later, the Count followed him unexpectedly. When Eble was eating, the Duke [i.e. Guilhem, 'Seventh of Poitiers, Ninth of Aquitain', again] suddenly arrived at the castle of Ventadour with a hundred knights. Eble, who knew very well that they wanted the best from him, ordered their hands to be washed immediately. Meanwhile his retainers rushed all over the castle looking for things to eat, and took them hastily to the kitchen. And it was in fact a feastday, on which chickens and geese and all kinds of fowl were eaten. So they prepared such a luxurious banquet that it seemed like the magnificent wedding-day of some prince. In the evening, without Eble's knowledge, a peasant came with a cart drawn by oxen and shouted out like a herald: 'The young knights of the Count of Poitiers can now

come and see how wax is delivered in the court of the lord of Ventadour.' While he was shouting this, he climbed up on the cart, took a carpenter's axe and struck the hoops of the cart. When the staves were thus broken, the most manifold and numberless shapes of the purest wax fell down. Then the peasant got back on his cart again, as if he thought it was nothing, and drove back to his farm at Malmont.

When the Count had heard this, he praised to the heights Eble's superlative moeurs and regimen.

But Eble paid the peasant by leaving him and his children the aforesaid farm at Malmont. And these persons were later given the knight's belt and are now the nephews of Archambaut de Soligmac and Alboonus, Archdeacon of Limoges. (2)

This doubtless owes a great deal to Geoffroy's slightly heavy-handed talent for anecdote; but it was written for near-contemporaries, and there must be something in the 'atmosphere' it gives. At any rate, as Appel remarks, 'In such surroundings, then, Bernart de Ventadorn grew up.' (3) For Bernart, so far as is known, got his name from this court, where he is supposed to have been in love with one of the wives of Eble III (4). The cultural lineage founded by Ebolus Cantator lasted as long as poetry in Provence kept its standards, for the second wife of Eble V, Maria de Torena, who died in about 1220, was one of the 'three of Turenne' that Bertran de Born made so much of, and held a literary court of some importance in these last days of Provence's greatness (5).

3. While Bernart de Ventadorn was growing up in the monials'

apartments at Ventadorn, when Eholus Cantator was still alive and receiving the poetic homage of Cercamon, perhaps even when his old friend Guilhem IX was still living at Poitiers (1), an important young woman was born at the court of Poitiers. Eleanor (helandros and heleptolis in Canto VII (2), 'man-destroyer' and 'city-destroyer' as in Aeschylus' pun on Helen) was the daughter of Guilhem IX's son Guilhem X and of Aénor of Châtellerault. If the literary and monkish gossips of Henry II's time said that his misfortunes were the result of sin in his ancestry, they naturally also pointed to this defect in Eleanor's parentage: Aénor of Châtellerault was the daughter of the Viscountess of Châtellerault, for whose sake Guilhem IX the troubadour was excommunicated, so that her marriage with Guilhem X might well have been incestuous (3). In Canto II she seems to share in all the guilt of the house of Atreus:

'Eleanor, helenaus and heleptolis!'
And poor old Homer blind, blind, as a bat,
Ear, ear for the sea-surge, murmur of old men's voices:
'Let her go back to the ships,
Back among Grecian faces, lest evil come on our own,
Evil and further evil, and a curse cursed on our children,
Moves, yes she moves like a goddess
And has the face of a god
and the voice of Schoeney's daughters,
And doom goes with her in walking,
Let her go back to the ships,
back among Grecian voices.' (4)

4. Eleanor's father Guilhem X died in 1137, leaving the fifteen-year-old girl in legal possession of a huge tract of France, bigger

than that possessed directly by any potentate, king or duke, in the rest of France or England (1). The position of such an heiress was that, obviously, she could not assure the succession of her house on her own, but that her possessions would pass to the heirs of whomsoever she married. Her father intended her for the young son of Louis the Fat of France. Since Louis the Fat died while the marriage was taking place, Eleanor on reaching Paris found herself to be Queen of France, while the young Louis found himself King of a France twice as big as his father's.

5. It appears that Louis VII was of a monkish disposition. His actions seem sometimes inexplicable; he tried to force the election of his own candidate to a church position, and indulged in some politic remarrying of vassals which the Church disapproved of, and then attacked the lands of one of his vassals who seemed particularly involved in the opposition to all this (1). The campaign was disastrous, and during it Louis witnessed the burning of a church in which more than a thousand people are said to have taken shelter. Remorse about this eventually produced, with the help of Bernard of Clairvaux, the Second Crusade, which plays an important part in Canto VI.

6. The story of the disasters of this Crusade reads somewhat like Candide; at times it seems beyond belief that so many calamities could befall one group of people. Eleanor insisted on accompanying Louis on the Crusade, with a number of noble ladies; they played soldiers in elaborate fancy-dress, and were called 'the Amazons'. Jaufre Rudel seems to have responded to Eleanor's appeal to her vassals to join her on the Crusade (1). After the usual losses on the immensely-

long overland route to Constantinople, averaging 10-20 miles per day, the nobles of the army were welcomed in great splendour by the Emperor Alexius, the civilization of whose capital must have pleased the Duchess of Aquitaine after the austerities of Paris. But the half of the Crusade under Conrad of Germany, which had gone ahead of Louis, was shortly afterwards reduced to almost nothing, supposedly by the treachery of this same Alexius, in connivance with the Turks. Louis' own army was drastically reduced in number by natural disasters and by Turkish raids, and eventually when it arrived at Satalia on the southern coast of Asia Minor it found itself without the money and supplies necessary either to continue by land to Antioch or to take the sea route. Those with the money, that is to say all the nobility of the army, therefore nobly abandoned the foot-soldiers, caught between Greeks and Turks, and bought their way to Antioch by sea.

7. Louis, Eleanor and their nobles were welcomed magnificently at Antioch by Eleanor's uncle, Raymond of Antioch, whose distress-call had originally provided the reason for the Crusade. But Louis seems to have been taken aback by the undedicated way of life of these sentinels of outermost Christianity; at any rate he decided that the original military objective of the Crusade, to recapture the strategically-important city of Edessa from the Turks, was ignoble and too much involved with Raymond's private interests. Eleanor on the other hand was sympathetic with Raymond rather than her husband; the lavish hospitality Raymond bestowed on the Crusaders, in the hope of persuading them to agree with him, perhaps seemed to her a welcome reminder of the traditions of her house. Pound includes all this in Canto VI, along with the apocryphal flirtation between Eleanor and Saladin:

Went over sea till day's end (he, Louis, with Eleanor)
Coming at last to Acre.
'Ongle, oncle' turned Arnaut,
Her uncle commanded in Acre,
That had known her in girlhood
(Theseus son of Aegeus)
And he, Louis, was not at ease in that town,
And was not at ease by Jordan
As she rode out to the palm-grove
Her scarf in Saladin's cimier. (1)

8. Then the news arrived that the foot-soldiers abandoned by Louis and his nobles had been spared from a massacre by the Turks at the price of entering the Islam faith. Louis still persisted in refusing to go along with Raymond of Antioch's plans. The split between the two leaders became open, and Eleanor was on the wrong side. It seems probable that since the beginning of the Crusade she had been estranged from Louis, because Bernard of Clairvaux and Abbot Suger had tried to insure against Eleanor's anti-Church influence with Louis by having the Templar eunuch Thierry Galeran defend the king from hangers-on, and the monk Odo of Duilio sleep always outside his tent (1). At Antioch, Thierry Galeran became the special butt of the queen's public derision. Louis had lost his troops and his prestige; when he announced his intention to proceed to Jerusalem, Eleanor announced her intention to separate herself from him and to stay in Antioch with Raymond (2). The chronicler William of Tyre claims that Raymond was her lover (3). To allow Eleanor to stay would have meant the break-up of Louis' great new kingdom of France; he took her along by force.

9. The final failure of the Second Crusade was the siege of Damascus, abandoned because of internal dissensions; after that, all parties returned to Europe as quickly as possible, except Louis, who spent many months touring the shrines of Palestine. On their journey home, Eleanor failed to persuade Pope Eugenius that her marriage was null because of consanguinity. When they arrived in Paris in 1149, Eleanor continued to press for divorce; when Abbot Suger, Louis' prop and stay, died, and Eleanor produced another female child, the King gave way and they were divorced on March 18th 1152. Thus Canto VI:

> Divorced her in that year, he Louis,
> divorcing thus Aquitaine.
> And that year Plantagenet married her
> (that had dodged past 17 suitors)
> Et quand lo reis Lois lo entendit
> mout er fasché. (1)

Ramsay relates with a certain flavour what followed:

> The hand that could dispose of one-third of the soil of Gaul did not long go a-begging. Hastening to leave 'France' [viz. the Ile-de-France] for her own dominions, Eleanor encountered a first suitor at Blois, in the person of the young Count Theobald, second son of Stephen [of England's] brother Theobald the Great, who had also died in January. Making her escape by a night ride to Tours, the ex-Queen found herself encountered by the overtures of another suitor, young Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's brother, who, to simplify matters, was preparing to intercept the lady at Le Port-de-Piles (Vienne), as she passed from Touraine into Poitou. But Eleanor had made up her mind as to

the man whom she was resolved to marry. In answer to an intimation, conveyed we must hope with all due regard for feminine delicacy, the young Duke of Normandy hastened to Poitiers, and there in the Whitsun week (May 18-24) was married to Eleanor. "Young in years, in wisdom old," Henry was now master of a territory that would enable him to march on his own land from the Channel to the Pyrenees. (2)

10. Henry's energetic father, Geoffrey 'Plantagenet' of Anjou, had succeeded in establishing himself and his son firmly in Anjou and Normandy (1). There were also considerable prospects for the crown of England, since Stephen had failed after seventeen years of trying to seat himself securely on the throne. When the Church finally declared that Stephen was a usurper, and his son suddenly died, he was forced to a compromise which guaranteed the succession to Henry. Two years later Stephen died, and Eleanor was now Queen of Henry II Plantagenet's England.

> Young, rich, and talented, the first-born son of Geoffrey Planto Geneste and Matilda the Empress came to the throne under circumstances beyond measure favourable. The Continental dominions already under his sway of themselves made him the most powerful of Western princes. Normandy he might be supposed to hold in right of his mother, who, however, was still living. As a matter of fact he owed the Duchy to his father,— who had conquered it by sheer force of arms; Geoffroy's cession to his son having been duly confirmed by investiture at the hands of Louis VII. Anjou and Maine were Henry's by right of birth; while the hand

of the divorced Eleanor made him lord of a territory that extended almost without a break from the Loire to the Adour. Above all he would come as one appointed to rescue England from the miseries of anarchy, and to restore the shattered organisation of government, a formidable task, but one to which Henry's energy, determination and business capacity proved fully equal. (2)

11. It is not ascertainable that Henry was 'appointed' by anything but his own ambition and 'directio voluntatis' (1); but his reign was probably better for the mass of his subjects than that of almost any monarch of the period. The very qualities that made him an effective king often gave him a bad press. The enormous energy necessary to keep his kingdom in order never failed him, but it was hell for his entourage, as Walter Map complained quite literally (2). Lack of respect for persons and Church, qualities highly necessary in his fight with Thomas Becket, shocked the godly and brought out all the retrospective prophecies about incest that I have mentioned. Henry II was not interested in aristocracy as a select and irresponsible game; his constitutional activities were chiefly concerned with crushing its powers (3); nor was he personally a spendthrift (4); so that the literary hangers-on who would have benefited from these things were not much impressed by his reign. Jeanroy, misunderstanding (it seems to me) the nature of useful literary patronage, has called the protection that the Plantagenets offered to poets 'banale' and 'lointaine' (5). None of Henry II's three sons, he says, was 'un mécène éclairé, s'ingéniant à découvrir ou encourager le vrai talent.' (6)

12. It is certain that poets like to be overwhelmed with attentions, the less critical the better; it is not certain that they benefit from them. We do not know that either Eleanor or Henry ever spent much money on poets; but we do know (I shall try to show (1)) that at least three of the best poets of this distinguished age received an important stimulus from their court. It is not a question of the total of literary pieces produced as a direct result of commissions from this patron or that; it is more a question of whether a given milieu stimulated a poet to write and made it possible for him to do so; not necessarily easy, but possible. Henry and Eleanor were probably very off-hand with their poets most of the time; but their very existence and characters set an implied standard of awareness for the poets to measure themselves by. If a poet succeeded in catching Henry's attention he could not be sure of the 'oohs' and 'ahs' of an admiring layman, but he could be sure that Henry would say what he thought. Pound said about his Lustra that he had always wanted to write poetry that a grown man could read without dying of boredom, or without needing to have a flapper coo it into his ear (2); Henry also would have such requirements. John Quinn stood in something of the same relation to Ezra Pound's circle of artists as did Henry to the best troubadours; Pound received complaints from his friends about the quality of Quinn's literary talk, to which he replied that Quinn was an extremely busy lawyer and had no time to polish his chat; like any other man of action he must be allowed his individual quirks (3); but unlike many contemporary men of action, he bought good and new art. Henry II was similarly known to be a learned and demanding, though not leisurely, reader (4).

13. Perhaps above all (though this cannot be proved), Henry

established an atmosphere of honesty, integrity and responsibility in government. These are qualities which an artist must have within himself to produce great work; they are difficult to develop in a milieu whose ethic is chicanery. Certainly it is not necessary that the milieu of honesty coincide with the government; it did not in Pound's time, and Pound had to create such a milieu for his fellow-artists; but it can hardly be a bad thing if it does so coincide. What is observable is that, Guilhem IX and Cordello apart, the greatest Provençal poetry was written within the period of Henry II's reign, and by men, most often, in contact with his court.

14. This is Appel's estimate of Henry's influence:

> The court of Henry II of England was one of the most important, indeed perhaps it was the most important point of departure of mediaeval French literature. The King himself had a comprehensive education and strong intellectual interests. He was in personal relations with numerous scholars and writers. The scholars dedicated to him their Latin and the poets their French works. The language at his court was always French... The brilliant coronation of the royal couple in London on the 19th December 1154 brought French and Provençal poets and jongleurs to England. Soon after this Wace wrote his great rhymed chronicle, the Geste des Bretons, for the Queen, and at the request of the King the Geste des Normans, which was continued by Benoit de Ste-Maure, again at the request of Henry II. Both of them thus ushered in with their imposing works the great national

> historical literature of France. And the name Benoit dedicated also to the Queen his story of Troy, which exercised such a far-reaching influence on mediaeval literature, and, via Boccaccio, even on Shakespeare [not to mention Chaucer (1)]. From the English court the poetry of Tristan began its journey into world literature, and for it Marie de France wrote her verse-romances... (2)

15. To have been midwife to King Arthur, Tristram and Isolde, and the Troy story is a considerable achievement. Relations with the troubadours are less clear. Jeanroy, as we have seen, rates them as insignificant; this is also the tendency of C.H. Moore's Young King. I shall deal with the available evidence in detail when I discuss Bernart de Ventadorn, Bertran de Born and Arnaut Daniel in separate sections (1). For the moment I would point out that relations of two of these troubadours, and probably three, with this centre of literary energy are established. As far as the utility of Henry and Eleanor for the development of literature is concerned, that is enough. These men were great artists and could not fail to gain from the awareness of what was going on at Henry's court. An artist does not have to lift large chunks of his tools and materials from a fellow-artist to benefit from his existence; the 'increment of association' (2) may be much less perceptible. An artist can absorb and comprehend another's work in a remarkable short time, and without apparent and immediate effect on his own. For example, few artists have been more obstinately independent than James Joyce. Throughout his association and correspondance with Pound he never acted on one of his friend's suggestions. When he met Proust, the second most important novelist

of his time, he carefully avoided anything beyond civilities. But it is highly improbable that Joyce's rate of self-improvement would have been as rapid as it was if he had not been aware of Pound's work, whether he regarded it as competition, ground cleared for him, or merely proof that there existed an audience capable of understanding what he was doing. Thus in Pound's translation of the Analects:

> 1. Tze-hsia said: Artificers (the hundred works) live in a market amid the outlay of their tools to perfect their technique. [The szu⁴ (?of Arab. suk), tools spread for use, also concurrence of shops of similar ware.]... (3)

16. Such a catalytic effect, very like Pound's idea of a transfer of energy within cultural 'dynasties', is attributed by Appel both to the court of Henry II, and to a particular encounter there, between Bernart de Ventadorn and Chretien de Troyes:

> In fact only rare fragments of the older Provençal poetry have in general survived to us. This is understandable, since troubadour poetry grew from a purely social development which had very definite relations with the essential literature of the time (that of the religious circle), but stood apart from it, and in fact was rather inimical to it. This Provençal poetry took no interest in its own continuation. More ample survivals began first with the poet's awakening consciousness of his own value and with the needs of the jongleur. This is the reason for the lack of songs before the Count [Guilhem IX] of Poitiers, and the sparseness of survivals before the middle of the twelfth century.

For the poet's growing consciousness of his value, the literary inclinations of the English court must have had no small importance. We have seen how in the entourage of Henry II, literature received a powerful stimulus from the sympathetic favour of a glittering court. But also the lyric and epic of the other, Northern and Southern, France were fertilized there. Already at the Coronation celebrations at London in 1154, Bernart de Ventadorn and Chrétien de Troyes met, and Chrétien's stay in England perhaps had a decisive effect on the nature of his lyric, and certainly had such an effect on the development of his epic poetry. /17

Bertran de Born, as an unimportant southern French baron and a yet-unknown singer, was a long way from this courtly circle. His personal ties with the young /Plantagenet/ princes first brought him into this movement. This is probably the reason why his songs first survived after the time of /his stay with Henry II's court at/ Argentan...

That his poetry existed earlier is shown by his first <u>sirventes</u> known to us, which had originated a year before this meeting. (2)

17. As is generally the case with Appel's prose, this passage bears close consideration. If its implications are accepted, the importance of Henry's court for the growth and survival of Provençal poetry can hardly be over-stated. Henry and Eleanor helped to change the art from a spontaneous growth to a craft conscious of its worth.

18. Certainly, it is not likely that Henry II would personally have been much less interested in literature if he had not married Eleanor. Furthermore, for a large part of his reign they were not together, since Henry had early lost sexual interest in his wife, who was eleven years older than himself, and begun a series of more-or-less public amours with his nobles' daughters. When these had hurt Eleanor sufficiently she began to take her revenge by stirring their sons to revolt, following which Henry kept her under house-arrest for the last sixteen years of his reign. (1)

19. In the face of these facts the reactions of historians have been various. Eleanor has in recent years (in fact since Alfred Richard's Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 1903) chiefly received the attentions of romantic historians (1), who naturally refer back to Eleanor's glittering background to show that she 'must have' continued these traditions with Henry. Bezzola similarly has frequent recourse to 'sans doute':

> Tout en tirant parti des nombreuses études de détail des cinquante années qui se sont écoulées depuis la parution de l'ouvrage capital de Richard, ni Miss Kelly ni Mme Lejeune n'ont pu produire beaucoup de faits nouveaux qui permettraient de fonder d'une façon plus solide le rôle littéraire, sans aucun doute éminent, de la reine Aliénor. (2)

The historians of the period tell us nothing whatsoever of Eleanor's literary tastes, as Jeanroy points out (3).

20. But we know that Henry II's court was perhaps the most

important cultural vortex of its time; this cannot be other than the effect of one or both of Eleanor and Henry's personalities. We know that Eleanor commissioned Wace's Brut, and probably Benoit's Troie, and that Thomas dedicated his Tristan and Bernart de Ventadorn his Pel douta chan to her (1). We know of no greater number of significant literary relations on Henry's side. We must therefore assume that Eleanor played at least as great a role in the literary activities of the court as Henry. The facts do not contradict the decisive role that Pound, as we shall see, attributes to her, as agent of the continuation of the cultural 'dynasty' founded by her grandfather.

21. In Canto VI, published August 1921, Eleanor's role is positive and dynamic. In the 'Psychology and Troubadours' of eight years before, by contrast, she seems to be placed with the dilutors of culture:

> "The lover stands ever in unintermittent imagination of his lady (co-amantis)." This is clause 30 of a chivalric code in Latin, purporting to have been brought to the court of Arthur. This code is not, I should say, the code of the "trobar clus," not the esoteric rule, but such part of it as had been more generally propagated for the pleasure of Eleanor of Poictiers or Marie de Champagne. (1)

Eleanor in fact may well have taken part in the famous 'courts of love', since Andreas Capellanus attributes six judgments to her. Bezzola paraphrases one such judgment thus:

> A certain knight shamefully divulged the intimacies and secrets of his love. All the militants in the

> camp of love demanded that his crime should be severely punished, so that such an example of dereliction of duty should not go unpunished and be repeated by others. The court of the ladies of Gascony was therefore assembled, and by the agreement and wish of the whole court it was decided that the criminal should be forever deprived of all hope in love and considered in every court of ladies or knights as a loathsome and despicable creature. If ever a woman were so bold as to violate this statute by giving the criminal her love, she would incur the same penalty and thereby be always the enemy of any lady of birth. (2)

Such activities have all the faults of what I have called the 'salon-religion' of courtly love, and would certainly weaken, rather than transfer effectively, any cultural energy. If Eleanor ever participated in them, and there is no evidence that she did, it does not add to the role Pound has given her. But we can at least defend her from the smoothly unjust assertions of Jeanroy, extended (by implication in the next sentence) also to Henry:

> La fille de [Guillaume X], la frivole et vaniteuse Eléonore, ne pouvait avoir que des regards complaisants pour ces distributeurs de gloire qu'étaient les trou-badours. Bien que nous ne connaissions qu'un seul de ses protégés, nous pouvons affirmer que poètes et jongleurs pullulaient autour d'elle. (3)

As Jeanroy himself notes, there is evidence of the relations of only one troubadour with Eleanor (4). Inference from Andreas Capellanus is very doubtful. Do we assume that because she is in contact with

one of the best troubadours of the period, who must have extended her favour to every worthless poetaster who would pass her a compliment in verse? And if so, is it not strange that the literary evidence of this has disappeared, when we have preserved to us the versified praises of every petty seigneur in Provence? Despite a number of fulsome dedications to the royal couple, there is no evidence that they ever used the writers for political purposes; the historiography which they both patronised is notably individual and often hostile in its attitudes (5). In short, there are no grounds for Jeanroy's estimate of Henry and Eleanor.

22. Pound's estimate of Eleanor at first sight hardly seems much kinder; she is, in the scheme of 'the permanent, the recurrent, the casual' (1) in the early Cantos, a 'recurrence' of Helen of Troy. This is stated in Canto II (2) and repeated in Canto VII (3), and in between, in Canto VI, it is demonstrated, as I hope my analysis is showing. But for this we have to take Pound's own estimate of Helen. She is not like any Helen previously known in English literature, as for instance the vacant and distinctly tarnished dame of Shakespeare's Troilus, but is precisely defined in the lines I have quoted from Canto II: 'Moves, yes she moves like a goddess...' (4) Furthermore, Pound does not value his protagonists on the amount of harm they do not do, a standard which might help the second law of thermodynamics towards its inevitable conclusion a little before time. Malatesta, for example, is better-known for his destructive activities than for what he achieved as 'the factive personality', and Pound admits this (5). But if 'The intelligence of the nation [is] more important than the comfort or life of any one individual or the bodily life of a whole generation' (6) it must be admitted that what

Malatesta did as a cultural force, matched only perhaps half-a-dozen times in his century, outweighs what he did in common with a hundred other condottieri and war-lords. Few constructors are free from the taint of blood, not even Leonardo, who continually toted his talents as a military engineer. But Pound is not naïve enough to think that 'the recurrent' in history is identical at every manifestation. Eleanor embodies the state of mind which Canto II characterizes in Helen; but there is no attempt to find in Helen the constructive aspects that Pound brings out in Eleanor. The chief of these is of course her capacity to fertilise a new generation of poets with her 'dynastic' inheritance; we shall see this more fully later in Canto VI.

23. Henry II's reign was accompanied by its fair share of misfortunes. To an age which believed in the divine justice acting in the temporal world, this required explanation, just as the disasters of the Second Crusade had required explanation. The historians of Guilhem IX's time, we have seen, found the explanation in the Duke's debauchery. The reaction of Giraldus Cambrensis to Henry's misfortunes was on the same principles. First there was the suspicion that Eleanor's mother was begot on the famous vicomtesse de Châtellerault by Guilhem IX himself (1). Then there was the legend that the first husband of Henry's mother had not died, but retired to a hermitage, so that the lady committed bigamy in marrying Geoffrey Plantagenet. The crowning blasphemy was that Eleanor had slept with this same Geoffrey Plantagenet, Henry's father, while she was still Queen of France, and that Geoffrey on his deathbed had therefore warned his son never to touch her. The result of this load of sin was the prophecy that Giraldus put into Henry's mouth, describing an allegorical picture on his walls at

Winchester: "'The four cagrots', he said, 'are my four sons, who will never cease to persecute me until my death. The youngest of them, whom I now embrace with such love, will finally wound me far more grievously and dangerously than all the others.'" (2)

24. Whatever his reasons, Henry II conceived early in his reign a dynastic plan which is universally held to have been his downfall (1). Apart from the conquest of barbarian Ireland, he never made any attempt to extend the frontiers of his great Anglo-French empire; but his lasting concern was to establish firmly what he possessed and to hand it down intact to his successor. This could not be done unless the succession were beyond dispute, as the reign of Stephen had shown. On the other hand, no-one had any reason to dispute the rights of Henry's eldest son Henry to the throne. However, Henry II decided to follow a custom practised by the French kings, whereby the eldest son was crowned in his father's lifetime and the barons did homage to him for their possessions, 'saving the rights of his father'. Furthermore, Henry II decided to distribute vassalage for his French possessions among his other sons. Accordingly, at a conference between King Henry and Louis of France (his suzerain as far as France was concerned) on 6th January 1169, it was decreed

> that Prince Henry was to hold Bretagne, Maine and Anjou, sine medio, of Louis, and also the Hereditary Seneschalcy of France;—that Prince Richard was to hold Poitou and [Aquitaine], sine medio, of Louis, and should espouse Louis's daughter, Adelais; that Prince Geoffrey was to hold Bretagne under Prince Henry, as mediate between himself and Louis;... (2)

and that Prince John, then perhaps three years old, was to hold nothing; for which reason he became known as 'Lackland'. Prince Henry was crowned 'The King, the King's son' in London on June 14th 1170 (3), and was henceforward known to Provençal literature as the 'jovens reis anglos' (cf. Canto VI) (4), that is the 'young English King' (cf. Pound's Planh for the Young English King).

25. When this fortunate young man was only three years old, in 1158, his father had agreed with Louis VII of France that he should marry Louis' daughter Margaret, then of the ripe age of six months (1). When the marriage took effect, Margaret's dower would be the Norman Vexin, as small territory not far to the north-west of Paris. In the meantime, 'as a material guarantee, Louis placed the border fortresses of Gisors, Mémiles (Eure), and Neuf-châtel-en-Brai (Seine Inf.) in the hands of three Templars, as trustees and stakeholders for both parties.' (2) Pound has this in Canto VI:

> Dauphal, Vexin, Harry joven
> In pledge for all his life and life of his heirs
> Shall have Gisors, and Vexin, Neufchastel
> But if no issue Gisors shall revert... (3)

Henry II soon found an excuse to finalise this marriage, and when the four-year-old groom was united to the two-year-old bride on 2nd November 1160, the King naturally took over the dowry (4).

26. Trouble was foreshadowed at the coronation itself, when King Henry refused to allow the young king's wife to be crowned at his side, thus slighting her, the young king and Louis (1). When the grievances of the King's sons came to a head less than a year

later, this was put right. But the young king was also restless because his father allowed him no effective powers and kept his allowance to a minimum. He began to intrigue with Louis, who backed his demands openly, and Eleanor, who was alienated from Henry II by his amours, began to use her sons as a means of revenge. When Henry tried to give away some of the castles nominally belonging to the young king, the revolt began. 'Queen Eleanor sent her sons Richard and Geoffroy to join their brother in Paris, while she herself went off to Poitou to canvass support for Richard. She was found disguised in male attire, arrested, and placed in close confinement by the King's orders.' (2) The revolt was extremely widespread; the young king's discontent seemed to coincide with that of the feudal barons, whom the King had been treating with less esteem and consideration than they were used to. But the King was determined and energetic, and in just over a year the rebellion was crushed.

27. In the insubordination that plagued Henry II to the end of his reign, Eleanor's part was restricted by the strict custody in which she was held. We shall hear more of these 'domestic passions worthy of the annals of ancient Greece' (1) when we come to deal with Bertran de Born in detail (2). King Henry tried to build up the power of his youngest son, John Lackland, presumably as being less under the influence of Eleanor, but the final result of that was revealed on his deathbed:

> The list of those whose allegiance he was to forego had to be tendered. When the schedule was produced the first name on it was that of the Count of Mortain— 'What? John his best beloved, John for whom he had risked so much?—it was impossible.' The name having

been repeated Henry turned on his couch with a groan. 'Now,' said he, 'Let all things go as they will, I care no more for myself, nor for anything in the world.' (3)

And so he died, muttering 'Shame on a beaten King.'

28. Eleanor, however, still had fifteen more years to live. The first thing Richard did on acceding to the throne was to liberate her. 'The relations of Richard to his mother give the most pleasing side of the two lives.' (1) But Richard still had a prospective wife hanging around his neck; he had been betrothed to Louis' daughter in 1169 as part of Henry's dynastic plans, but persistently refused to marry her. Now, King of England, he was free to offend Louis as he liked, and rejected the woman to whom he had been betrothed for 22 years, on the grounds that his father had interfered with her (2). This comes into Canto VI, as the results of Eleanor's machinations:

'Need not wed Alix... in the name
Trinity holy indivisible... Richard our brother
Need not wed Alix once his father's ward and...
But whomso he choose... for Alix, etc... (3)

29. This is how Pound summarised the treaty by which Richard bought off Philip of France's wrath for the sum of 10,000 marks (1). Eleanor played an active part in this breach of faith; but in general her role under Richard's kingship was extremely creditable. While Richard indulged in all the malpractices of corrupt government, having no further aim than that of raising money for his wars and Crusade, Eleanor did her best to bring to an end the reign of his hated deputy William Longchamp. When Longchamp was finally banished

she and her co-governor Walter of Coutances gave England a precious two years of peace until Richard's imprisonment was finally ended and he returned to harass all and sundry with his irresponsible rule (2). Richard died in 1199. Under the reign of her last surviving son, John Lackland, Eleanor's time was taken up with remarkably energetic efforts (she was now around 77 years old) to keep the crumbling realm intact. She did not succeed, but Aquitaine was still loyal when she died. Ramsay concludes:

> Queen Eleanor had not lived to witness the loss of her inheritance. She passed away at Poitiers on 1st April [1204], being about 82 years old, a most wonderful woman. A beauty in her youth, and throughout life a keen politician, she had outlived both her husbands, most of her children, and several grandchildren. Fifty years had elapsed since her "political meddling" had troubled the mighty hosts of the Second Crusade; while only four years before her death she had journeyed to Castile to establish a granddaughter in marriage. In her long career sixteen years of captivity "appear but an episode." (3)

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER THREE: BERNART DE VENTADORN

Bernart as a member of a group of artists

1. So far we have followed the plan of Canto VI in describing the cultural lineage, as Pound sees it, that descended from Guilhem IX of Aquitaine to his granddaughter Eleanor, and beyond. Now we have reached the central period, the golden age of troubadour poetry, represented in Canto VI by a dialogue between 'Eleanor, domna Jauzionda, mother of Richard' (1) and Bernart de Ventadorn.

2. I have asserted, in my discussion of the court of Henry II and Eleanor, that 'at least three of the best poets of this distinguished age received an important stimulus from their court' (1). The evidence in Bernart's case is slim, but apparently sound. It all stems from his songs, since there is nothing in the vidas which could not have come from his songs (as is known to have happened with many other vidas (2)). In Bernart's 'Lancan vei per mei la landa', apparently written in autumn, he says

If the English King and the Norman Duke
so wishes, I shall see her before
winter surprises us.
For the King I am English and Norman,
and if it weren't for my Lodestone,
I would stay till past Christmas. (3)

The 'English King and the Norman Duke' are one and the same, Henry II. Bernart is 'English and Norman'; he is with the King. The preceding strophe shows where the King is:

The poem is constructed right to the end,

so that not a word is defective in it,
beyond the Norman territory,
on the other side of the wild deep sea;
and if I am getting further from my Lady,
the beautiful one whom God protect
pulls me to herself like a lodestone. (4)

'Beyond the Norman territory, on the other side of the wild deep sea' can only mean England. (If that seems a little hyperbolic for our tame Channel, it should be remembered that if a storm blew up ships frequently took several days to cross it, if in fact they arrived at all (5).) Carl Appel has carefully shown that in only a few years of Henry's agitated reign was he in England in late autumn and expecting to return to France in the near future (6). To Appel, the most likely of those years seems to be 1155, the year after Henry's coronation; and from an allusion in Chrétien de Troyes' Cligés he shows that Chrétien was probably also with Henry's court in England in that year. Bernart's famous song of the lark has left clear traces in Chrétien's work (7).

3. Whatever the exact allusions in 'Pol doutz chan que·l rossinhols fai', and whether the 'Queen of the Normans' is Bernart's lady or not, it is certain that she is Eleanor and that the song is addressed to her (1):

I don't know when I shall ever see you again;
but I leave sad and cast down.
I have left the King for you,
and I beg you it may not go against me,
because I shall be well-mannered in court [2]...

Huguet, my well-bred messenger,

sing my song willingly
to the Queen of the Normans. (3)

4. I shall try to show how close were Bertran de Born's relations with various members of Eleanor's family when I discuss him in particular (1). For the third of these troubadours, Arnaut Daniel, we only have an indication that he was at the court of Eleanor's son Richard, much later. But it seems to me very probable that Bernart, Bertran and Arnaut were in very close relations with each other, thus forming together the most important cultural product of Henry, Eleanor and their sons. Pound took these friendships for granted, not unreasonably it seems to me. Where Arnaut wrote (Pound's translation):

Sir Bertran, sure no pleasure's won
Like this freedom naught so merry
Twixt Nile 'n' where the suns miscarry
To where the rain falls from the sun

Pound added a footnote to 'Bertran':

Presumably De Born. (2)

And in 'Near Perigord', Pound's development of what he saw as latent themes in Bertran's song of the 'borrowed lady', he put an epilogue into the mouths of Richard, Eleanor's son, and Arnaut:

Richard shall die to-morrow--leave him there
Talking of <u>trobar clus</u> with Daniel,
And the 'best craftsman' sings out his friend's song
Envies its vigour ... (3)

5. Pound seems in fact to have noticed one of the pieces of evidence for this friendship between Arnaut and Bertran de Born, when he imagines Bertran

Scribbling, swearing between his teeth; by his left hand
Lie little strips of parchment covered over,
Scratched and erased with nl and ochaison. (1)

There is a song ('No puosc mudar un chantar non esparja') of Bertran's in which the rhyme-endings take on exactly this kind of life of their own; Bertran pretends to run out of poem because he can't find any more rhymes:

Go, Papiol, now, fast and running,
be at Trainac before the feast-day;

Tell Sir Rogor and all his kin
that I can't find any more ombra's, on's or ostn's. (2)

This must be a poke at Arnaut Daniel's recherché technique, because the entire form of the poem is borrowed from Arnaut's 'Si·m fos Amors de joi donar tant larga'; Bertran obviously took on this form to prove that he could equal the great master of the trobar clus, and at the end wipes his brow in mock-weariness now that the test is over (3). It happens that this song by Bertran is addressed to the barons to bring them onto Richard's side in his war with Philippe-Auguste (4); according to the Provençal vida, which we have no specific reason for doubting, Arnaut was also in relations with Richard (5).

6. Another reason for believing that Arnaut was Bertran's friend, and one that Pound is unlikely to have missed, is in the strange image in Canto IV:

Thus the light rains, thus pours, e lo solells plovil. (1)

This is Pound's translation of the tornada from Arnaut's 'Lancan son passat li giure', which the most recent editor translates:

Bertran, I don't believe that from the banks of the Nile

so much perfect joy will ever reach me again,
from where the sun hurries upwards
to where the sun descends in a rain (of light). (2)

If the grammar seems a little confusing, all it means is 'from the east to the west'; 'from where the sun hurries upwards' is a repetition of 'from the banks of the Nile' (3). The idea is the same in Arnaut's 'From beyond the Nile right to Saintes' ('Ans qe.l cim') (4); but it is clearer in the two poets who borrow the image, namely Giraut de Bornelh (5) and Bertran de Born. Bertran has:

not even if one went looking for it
everywhere, thoroughly
from the Nile to the setting sun. (6)

7. So far, however, Bernart de Ventadorn is unaccounted for. He is often thought of as belonging to the generation of troubadours preceding that of Bertran and Arnaut (1). Dating him by Appel's conjectures about his stay in England, he would be poetically active as early as 1154 (2), though I would point out that Appel gives no reason why the poem written to the 'Queen of the Normans' should not have been written before the 1173 revolt, and the poem about the 'King of the English and the Duke of the Normans' after it. But in any case since Toja puts Arnaut's birth at around 1150-60, and Appel puts Bernart's birth at around 1120-30, and both are equally in the dark about dates of death, all we know is that Bernard was between 20 and 40 years older than Arnaut (3). Bertran de Born was probably born in about 1140, and our last information about him is dated 1202 (4). Chronologically, the three troubadours were certainly in a position to know each other.

8. Pound probably deduced that Bernart knew the others from the fact that he was in relations with Eleanor (see Canto VI (1)). Eleanor's favourite son was Richard, as we have seen; it was for aiding and abetting her sons against him that Henry imprisoned her; now we have seen that Arnaut and Bertran de Born were in relations with Richard, and we shall see how involved Bertran was with the other sons (2).

9. But the most obvious connection between Arnaut, Bertran and Bernart is geographical. Pound visited Excideuil (1), where Bertran de Born is known to have ended his days as a monk (2) and where (according to the vida) Giraut de Bornelh was born (3). Given the knowledge of the district he displays in 'Near Perigord', Pound must have been very conscious that 'En Ar. Daniel was of Ribeyrac in Perigord, under Lemosi, near to Hautefort', as he says in his 'Arnaut Daniel' (4). The vida says that Arnaut was from Ribérac (5), and (it seems to me) we have good reason for believing it, in that Ribérac is not the kind of place that vida-writers seized on to fill in what they didn't know (6). Bernart de Ventadorn was from the castle of Ventadorn, near Egletons, about 140 km. almost due east of Ribérac, and Hautefort (Bertran's castle) and Excideuil (his final retreat) are close together about half-way between them. We know, finally, that Bertran de Born retired to the Cistercian abbey of Dalon, about six kilometres from his castle (7), and we have the assertion of the vida that Bernart de Ventadorn retired and died there also (8).

10. Among the general and probable inferences th t may be drawn about Arnaut's life are certain further indications about the friendship with Bertran de Born that, as we have seen, Pound took for

granted. It seems probable that Arnaut was at the court of Richard Lionheart, with whom Bertran has so much to do. This is claimed by the razo to Arnaut's Ane ieu non l'aic, ras ella n'a, which recounts an anecdote about a poetic competition between Arnaut and 'another jongleur' under the chairmanship of King Richard (1). We shall have reason to discuss this razo later (2); Toja, I think, is right to call it an anecdote (3), and I would point out that the whole thing is probably expanded from a misreading of the envoi to the song, where, thought the razolnto, Arnaut speaks of a 'song that Arnaut doesn't forget'—the point of the story being that he learns the other jongleur's song off by heart. It is extremely interesting to note that Pound made exactly the same error: in his 'Arnaut Daniel' essay he excludes Ane ieu non l'aic from the Daniel canon on the grounds that 'he learned this song from a jongleur, and he says as much in his coda:... "Give thanks my song, to Miolls-de-ben that Arnaut has not forgotten thee."' (4) This is evidence of the process whereby Pound, in his imaginative reconstruction of the troubadours' world, used many techniques previously used by the Provençal biographers (5).

11. But as far as the razo-writers are concerned, these remarks, it seems to me, only apply to the narrative content of the story. Stronski has effectively distinguished between that part of this material which deals in 'fact' ('origine, nom, famille, condition, lieu de séjour, carrière, mort'), where the biographers are often amazingly sound; and the history of the troubadours' love-affairs which is intermingled with the former, and which is mostly pure invention (1). To judge from the general technique, the story of

what happened at Richard's court is likely to belong with the love-stories. But the connection between Arnaut and Richard in my opinion has every chance of being sound; as Folquet de Marseille, on close research, was found indeed to be from Genoa (2), and Rainbaut d' Orange's family history was found to be largely correct (3), and so on. We know that Arnaut attended the coronation of Philippe-Auguste of France in 1180 (4); which at least puts him on the rank of those privileged to deal with princes; with the fickle or nonexistent ideas of loyalty then current, it is not at all improbable that Arnaut should have been close also to Philippe's spasmodic enemy, Richard (5).

12. We shall see that Bertran entrusts an 'Arnautz joglars' with a <u>sirventes</u> for Richard (1); and we have seen that Arnaut addresses a Bertran in the <u>envoi</u> to 'Lancan son passat li giuro', in an image that Bertran de Born copies precisely in one of his own songs (2). Still this is not proof. There is a final indication in the gloss by the great sixteenth-century Provençalist Giovanni Maria Barbieri, who says that the 'Desirat' named at the end of Arnaut's sestina is Bertran, for they 'were such friends that they called each other Desirat...'(3) This is in keeping with a wide-spread practice among troubadours and sometimes among troubadours and their patrons, commented on at length by Stronski (4). Stronski also noted that Barbieri's statement seems to be confirmed by a manuscript gloss in MS. U: /Dezirat/ is Sir Bertran de Born with whom he was known as Desirat.' (5) However, unfortunately, the authority of these two sources must merge into one authority, since Barbieri may well have seen MS. U; and not only that, but it might disappear altogether,

for as Stronski points out (6), the razoisto might well have seen the envoi to 'Lancan son passat', where Arnaut sends the song to Bertran, and deduced the rest for himself. The sexual tone of the 'Desirat' lines might also rule Bertran out (7). I would therefore sum up the evidence for this friendship as follows:-

(a) Geographical proximity: app. 140 km.

(b) Poets' perennial habit of observing each others' craft.

(c) Common association with Richard Lionheart: certain in Bertran's case, probable in Arnaut's.

(d) 'Arnautz joglars' addressed in a poem by Bertran.

(e) 'Bertran' addressed in a poem by Arnaut, in a highly distinctive image also used by Bertran.

(f) Complex form of Arnaut's 'Si•m fos Amors' borrowed by Bertran, with apparent jibe at the labour thereof.

(g) 'Desirat' gloss in MS. U. I doubt this. (8)

(h) 'Subjective' considerations of tone.

(i) Extensive mutual imitation.

We shall find that for Pound this friendship, and the common relationship with Bernart de Ventadorn, has a bearing on the myth/history he constructs in the first Cantos, where Eleanor of Aquitaine seems to be the poetic catalyst, the shaping magnet, for all three of them (9).

13. The interest of these facts for my argument is, obviously, that if the three poets were in close contact with each other, since each individually was in contact with the Plantagenet courts it is quite probable that this latter common factor was important for the development of their three geniuses. But the close contact between Bernart, Bertran and Arnaut would in itself be an important point for

Pound. The chief struggle of his earlier years, and one that has continued throughout his life, was to assert principles of causation in culture. These principles never amounted to determinism; the fountainhead of all tendencies, movements, improvements lay ultimately in the individual will; but the individual will, notably of the artist, could be frustrated or killed at birth by outside conditions. If this sounds a platitude, I would say that it still remains alien to the spirit of our times, which considers that the Renaissance was an act-of-God, and that the best way to encourage artists is to award them a Nobel Prize when they have passed the age of seventy. There is still very little attempt to understand the conditions affecting the rise of culture. In so far as it has a rational justification, Pound's constant scrutiny of past cultures has been towards this end.

14. In order to understand which conditions favour valuable culture, it is necessary to understand artistic processes, or at least to observe their externals. Pound's chief point in this has been that great artists have always studied technique (1); if possible, the technique of their predecessors; at least that of their contemporaries. That is why, for example, he has said that students should read Dante's De Vulgari Eloquentia, and that each age needs a new version: hence his own ABC of Reading (2). I have divagated considerably, writing on Eleanor's court, on the manners in which artists benefit from each others' existences. But the point of what I am saying now is that, for Pound, it is so obvious as hardly to need mentioning that three artists in such proximity as I have described would have followed each others' work like hawks. This assumption, which is not a priori but is based on analogy with the behaviour of

artists over the centuries, is, it seems to me, reasonable.

Nature-perception communicated by word-music

15. There are, it seems to me, two further kinds of evidence for a view of Bernart, Bertran and Arnaut as a coherent grouping (1). The first is a matter of form: that is, the three poets borrow each others' words, phrases, cadences and images more frequently than has, I think, been realised. I have listed a number of borrowings in an Appendix to this chapter. Many of them could be called simply reminiscences of phrase, of the sort that occur when a poet writes with another poet's words buried at some level of his memory; but verbal music is as important in Provençal as in other great poetry, and remembered words sometimes blend with remembered cadence:

Arnaut: la flors e li chan e·il clar quil

Bertran: E·l bel mati e·lh clar ser (2)

But the verbal music, as Pound said in the case of Cordello (3), is the part that is most difficult to perceive, and the English reader is dogged by a tendency to overstress the foot; so that there may be many borrowings of cadence that I have not noticed. Similarly, I have not even attempted a complete list of verbal borrowings. On the other hand, scholars will be quick to point out that many of the borrowings are commonplaces of the Provençal lyric; I cannot rule that out without many more years' familiarity with the troubadours. But I would mention that some regard has to be paid to chronology, and to the fact that the bulk of 'borrowings' will be among minor poets and therefore imitators. C.H. Moore, for example, claimed to have proved the conventional nature of Bertran's planhs by citing Pons de Capduell (4), but Bertran's planhs were masterpieces of their genre, and as

likely to be imitated as Bernart's lark-poem (we know (5)) was; and besides, Pons, being of a younger generation (6), is unlikely to have been imitated by the old war-horse. And finally, it would probably be argued that Provençal poetry was in any case very formulaic; yet it seems to me that the particular nature of borrowings I have listed between Arnaut, Bernart and Bertran shows a powerful sympathy of spirit.

16. The second ki d of evidence for the Arnaut-Bertran-Bernart grouping is even more 'subjective', but to me, since I share Pound's feelings in the matter, equally valid. As we shall see when I discuss Arnaut Daniel in particular, Pound makes statements about Arnaut's poetics which at first sight seem loose, and in fact will always seem loose to those who do not share Pound's reaction to Arnaut's poems. (In art, all statements are ultimately defined by the examples (works of art) given; if it were not so, the works of art would be redundant.) Thus Pound:

> that fineness of Arnaut's senses which made him chary of his rhymes, impatient of tunes that would have distorted his language, fastidious of redundance, made him likewise accurate in his observation of nature.
>
> For long after him the poets of the North babbled of gardens where "three birds sang on every bough" and where other things and creatures behaved as in nature they do not behave. (1)

This is as far as it could be from the more usual critical reaction both to Arnaut's work (Jeanroy: 'l'idée devient la servante du mot' (2)) and to representations of nature in Provençal poetry. It is

often said that the birds, green leaves etc. which appear with such regularity at the beginning of Provençal poems are merely conventional, and Pound was not unaware of such conventions:

1. Spring is a pleasant season. The flowers, etc. etc. sprout bloom etc. etc.
2. Young man's fancy. Lightly, heavily, gaily etc. etc.
3. Love, a delightsome tickling. Indefinable etc.
4. Trees, hills etc. are by a provident nature arranged diversely, in diverse places.
5. Winds, clouds, rains, etc. flop thru and over 'em.
6. Men love women. (More poetic in singular, but the verb retains the same form.) (3)

If a comprehensive list of the elements of nature in Arnaut's verse were to be compiled, it would not be very long; nor would there be found any precise descriptions of the behaviour of hoopoes etc., such as might be expected from Pound's remarks.

17. But much depends on the way the conventional elements are presented. The human form is a conventional form in sculpture; after thousands of years its possibilities for the precise definition of emotion are not yet exhausted. No-one would deny that the precision of the definition, in the case of sculpture, is a matter of cubic millimetres of stone; but many critics in the field of poetry think that the poet's precision may be measured by the crudest possible devices, like the counting of 'motifs' taken out of their context. Poetic context is of course a matter of the entire line, its music, syntax, associations and so on, and even of the entire poem. The fact that Arnaut puts birds in the first strophe of his poem X out

of Y times has at least as little significance as the fact that Giacometti has sculpted Z human figures with one foot.

18. Pound is therefore talking of something else.

May I suggest (not to prove anything, but perhaps to open the reader's thought) that I have a certain real knowledge which wd. enable me to tell a Goya from a Velasquez, a Velasquez from an Ambrogio Preadis, a Preadis from an Ingres or a Poreau

and that this differs from the knowledge you or I wd. have if I went into the room back of the next one, copied a list of names and maxims from good Florentino's History of Philosophy and committed the names, maxims, and possibly dates to my memory. [17]

It may or may not matter that the first knowledge is direct, it remains effortlessly as residuum, as part of my total disposition, it affects every perception of form-colour phenomena subsequent to its acquisition.

Coming even closer to things committed verbally to our memory. There are passages of the poets which approximate the form-colour acquisition.

And herein is clue to Confucius' reiterated commendation of such of his students as studied the Odes.

He demanded or commended a type of perception, a kind of transmission of knowledge obtainable only from such concrete manifestation. (2)

19. The type of 'observation of nature' that led Pound to say that these troubadours had a perception entirely unknown to Petrarch (1) is expressed in a very few lines; often the great achievement is in one line only. Thus Bernart:

ni l'erba nais delone la fon (2)

Translation merely brings out the emptiness of 'literal meaning':

nor [when] the grass appears by the spring

Here the accuracy is almost entirely in the cadence, perhaps also in the repeated liquid consonants; the feeling of the line (to me) is very like that in the equally-brilliant lines of Villon:

Echo parlant quant bruyt on maine

Dessus riviere ou sus estan (3),

having to do with the resonant acoustics of water. The cadence of Bernart's

part la fera mar prionda (4)

(beyond the wild deep sea)

is more obviously united with its subject. This word 'prion' (deep) is one that Bernart used effectively in other contexts; in 'Ane no gardei' the cadence gives it a hopelessness which makes one think Bernart is drowning in the spring-water of the previous stanza (5); and it has a shudder that gives life to the line

m'an mort li sospir de preon (6)

(the sighs from deep down have killed me).

Bernart's lark-poem has been much commented on, by Pound (7) as well as by others; it is again a masterpiece of cadence, as well as of the circumambient light more usually pointed to. And finally I would point to the complete mastery of sound-values in

que pois l'arma n'es issida,

balaya lono tems lo gran. (8)

(for after the grain has fallen,

the cornstalk still sways endlessly.)

—sibilants as of a windswept cornfield, but also, in the second line, speed varied exactly according to what is being said. Pound might well have learned from this the technique he exercises in Canto VII, though the effects are much more prominent:

Thin husks I had known as men,

Dry casques of departed locusts

speaking a shell of speech... (9)

20. Some of Bertran de Born's best achievements, in the accurate representation of emotion by all poetic means, are in my list of mutual echoes among Bertran, Bernart and Arnaut; thus

Trompas e corn e graile clar (1)

(trumpets and horns and clear bugles)

where the sound of the last words, to my ear, is exactly that of light brass following heavy. But Bertran is perhaps less a master of cadence; his art in sound is sufficient only not to betray the simplicity and clarity of the image-combinations. Still this level of art is not common; in a literal translation of the following lines, for instance, clarity becomes banality:

Cos do disnar no fora ol mais matin,

Qui agues pres bon ostau,

E fos dedintz la charns e·l pas e·l vin,

E·l fuocs fos clars com do fau. (2)

(It would not be quite time to dine

for a man in a good inn

well-stocked with meat and bread and wine

and the fire burning clear as if it was beechwood.)

Sometimes the cooperation of his sound with meaning is perfect, and a single line can give a whole world-picture, as in this glimpse of a mediaeval town on the approach of warfare, with its 'clack' of shutters:

Puois Ventadorns e Comborns e Segur
E Torena e Monfortz ab Gordo
An fach acort ab Peiregorc e jur,
E li borges si clauen de viro (3)
(Since Ventadour and Comborn and Ségur
and Turenne and Montfort and Gourdon
have sworn and made a pact with Périgueux,
and the citizens are locked up all round...)

Breugel is equalled, as again in these two lines:

E platz mi, quan li corredor
Fan las gens o l'aver fugir... (4)
(and I like it, when the scouts
make people and goods flee...)

21. 'Nature', of course, is a very flexible word. In Pound's remarks about Arnaut's 'observation of nature', it obviously means the living world. In his later thinking, influenced by Scotus Erigena, it comes to mean the known universe, but the emphasis tends to remain on the world of living things, because that is where 'the Intelligence' in a Confucian sense (as opposed to anything man may attempt to superimpose) most clearly and permanently shows itself (1). In this observation of the living world, Pound, as I shall show in discussing Arnaut (2), regarded this poet as the master. Thus

The simile shows how well [Dante] had followed

Arnaut Daniel:

As the spray which boweth its tip at the transit of the wind, and then of its own power doth raise it again; so I while Beatrice was speaking.

It is no borrowing, but it is Arnaut's kind of beauty. (3)

Bertran de Born learned something of this art from Arnaut, as in my list of borrowings (4). He may even have improved on his master, though it is easy to read Arnaut's lines badly:

Er vei vermeills, verts, blaus, blancs, grocs,
vergiers, plans, plais, tertres e vaus (5)

Again in my list, there are examples of Bernart de Ventadorn's skill in the representation of the natural world.

22. As we have seen from Pound's remarks on Arnaut (1), the living (non-human) world was highly important to him. If he needed any philosophical justification for this, he found it in Scotus Erigena. There also he found shared his delight in light: 'Omnia quae sunt, lucina sunt'—which he had expressed in his constant analogies with electricity and lights in earlier essays (2). The two are combined in the much-quoted paragraph from 'Cavalcanti':

We appear to have lost the radiant world where one thought cuts through another with clean edge, a world of moving energies 'pezzo oscuro nude', 'risplende in ne perpetuale effecto' magnetisms that take form, that are seen, or that border the visible, the matter of Dante's paradiso, the glass under water, the form that seems a form seen in a mirror, these realities perceptible to the sense, interacting, 'a lui si tiri'...(3)

How far Bernart de Ventadorn is for Pound an exemplar of these perceptions I should like to explore later. Here I would like to point out that such perceptions are another link between the three troubadours I am discussing. A common feature of the briefcameo-like nature-descriptions that open so many of their poems is the light that suffuses them. In literal translation they seem mere lists of birds, flowers, etc.; but the skill of versification is such that the freshness of the natural objects comes across unimpeded by any sense of cliché. The force of this clarity is such, it seems to me, that Pound might well feel justified in regarding it as a vision of the divine intelligence suffusing nature, as in Scotus Erigena (4). Bertran de Born, whose reputation does not lead one to expect it, has this quality:

S'abril e fuolhas e flors
E'lh bel mati e'lh clar ser
D'un ric joi cui fou espor
Lo m'aiudan et Amors
E'lh rossinholet qu'auch braire... (5)
(If April and leaf and flowers
and the fine mornings and clear evenings
and the nightingale I hear making a noise
and Love don't help me
towards a great happiness I hope for...)

One expects it in Arnaut:

L'aur'amara
fa'ls broills brancutz
clarzir
qe'l dous'espoin'ab fuoills (6)

(The bitter breeze
makes the branched thickets
lighten
that the soft breeze thickens with leaves)

And Pound seems to have caught this quality in his great Canto on Arnaut; the simplicity is an exact equivalent:

Wind over the olive trees, ranunculae ordered,
By the clear edge of the rocks
The water runs, and the wind scented with pine
And with hay-fields under sun-swath. (7)

23. Such an approach to the poems of the troubadours is far from the traditional one, and will probably be regarded as making mountains out of molehills. It is not usual to place such emphasis on single lines; critics are normally more concerned with such questions as 'unity'. Pound's attitude seems to me to take more account of what one really feels about many works of literature. On W.C. Williams' lack of 'unity' he said this:

> I am not going to say: 'form' is a non-literary component shoved on to literature by Aristotle or by some non-litteratus who told Aristotle about it. Major form is not a non-literary component. But it can do us no harm to stop for an hour or so and consider the number of very important chunks of world-literature in which form, major form, is remarkable mainly for absence.
>
> There is a corking plot to the Iliad, but it is not told us in the poem or at least not in the parts of the poem known to history as The Iliad. It would

be hard to find a worse justification of the theories of dramatic construction than the Prometheus of Aeschylus. It will take a brighter lad than the author of these presents to demonstrate the element of form in Montaigne or in Rabelais; Lope has it, but it is not the 'Aristotelian' beginning, middle and end, it is the quite reprehensible: B E G I N N I N G W H O O P and then any sort of a trail off. Bouvard and Pecuchet wasn't even finished by its author. And of all these Lope is the only one we could sacrifice without incalculable loss and impoverishment.(1)

24. Pound considers that there are certain works of literature where the whole exists for a certain part, and is built round that part. The mechanism is so fundamental that it doesn't even matter if the reader knows which part the work is built for. Pound says of the 'Noh':

> At least, the better plays are all built into the intensification of a single Image: the red maple leaves and the snow flurry in Nishikigi, the pines in Takasago, the blue-grey waves and wave pattern in Suma Genji, the mantle of feathers in the play of that name, Hagoromo. (1)

When Herakles in his version of Women of Trachis says

> SPLENDOUR,
>
> IT ALL CONCERNS,

—Pound not only puts it in capitals but adds the following note:

> This is the key phrase, for which the play exists,

as in the Elektra: 'Need we add cowardice to all the rest of these ills?' Or the 'T'as inventé la justice' in Cocteau's Antigone. And, later: 'Tutto quello che è accaduto, doveva accadere.' At least one sensitive hellenist who has shown great care for Sophocles' works, has failed to grasp the main form of the play, either here or in the first chorus, and how snugly each segment of the work fits into its box. (2)

25. This idea has important implications for Pound's own poetry. If a major purpose of poetry is 'to cast some kind of remembered beauty' (1) onto the imagination (since 'in memory's locus taketh *[Love]* his state', as Pound repeats throughout the Cantos (2)), then the valuable parts of poetry are those which stay in the mind. It can hardly be denied that the part of Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Quan vei la lauzeta mover' (3) which stays in the mind, and around which (in the mind's eye) the whole poem focusses, is the lark. Thus Pound takes this part and uses it in his Cantos (4), along with the central foci of a thousand other works, as concentrating into itself all that the whole poem conveyed. The process is quite explicit; it can be seen in the following letter, where Pound refuses to translate Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Can par la flors' (5) for Agnes Bedford, who wants to sing it in his music, offering instead a précis:

> Kattegorrikaly DAMN the woman. I refuse to spoil one of the best bits of Provençal by making a rush crib in twenty minutes to order. Meaning is all tied up with sound.
>
> First strophe is about new leaves and flowers bring back fragrance of the heart.

Second—insomnia—due to natural cause usual at season.

Then—where man's treasure is there will his heart be also.

Then—and if I see her not, no sight is worth the beauty of my thought—which is the trouvaillo—can't spoil it by botched lead up. (6)

26. For Pound had succeeded in translating adequately the 'trouvaille':

a'cu no vos vei, domna, don plus me cal,
negus vezers no bol pesar no val (1)

—but, as he implies, those two lines would be quite lost if surrounded by a badly-translated version of the rest of the poem. He in fact considered them to be worth the rest of the poem, which is why they occur three times in the Cantos, twice in the form he quotes in the letter:

And if I see her not
No sight is worth the beauty of my thought. (2)

27. The purpose of these last few pages has been to show that the three great troubadours of the 'middle period' who were most connected with the Plantagenet family, themselves formed a coherent artistic group. In my chapter on the influence of Eleanor of Aquitaine I have tried to specify some of the less obvious ways in which poets benefit from each other's existences. These, I hope I have shown, must have been fully operative in the cases of Bertran, Arnaut and Bernart. Such artistic interdependence does not imply a common programme or a loss of individuality; it simply recognises that

'No man ever known enough about any art. I have seen young men with most brilliant endowment who have failed to consider the length of the journey. Anseres, geese, as Dante has branded them, immune from learning', and that 'What we know about the arts we know from practitioners, usually from their work, occasionally from their comments.' (1) The kind of cooperation we would not expect to find is adequately defined by Pound:

> Dear Vogel: Yr. painfully evangelical epistle read. If you are looking for people who agree with you!!!! How the hell many points of agreement do you suppose there were between Joyce, W. Lewis, Eliot and yrs. truly in 1917; or between Gaudier and Lewis in 1913; or between me and Yeats, etc.? (2)

Elements in Bernart not used by Pound

20. It is possible, given the relative chronologies, that Bernart de Ventadorn was the master or leader of the middle period of troubadour poetry, occupying the same kind of position as Cézanne, of whom Léger said 'I sometimes wonder what would have become of modern painting without Cézanne.' Pound certainly recognised him as a master, and, since Pound has always been chiefly interested in

1. Inventors. Men who found a new process, or whose extant work gives the first known example of a process.
2. The masters. Men who combined a number of such processes, and who used them as well as or better than the inventors. (1)

It seems surprising that he has not 'boomed' Bernart more. However, of the two categories, Pound has perhaps been more interested in the

'inventors', and in Provençal poetry he regards Daniel as the chief of these (2). There is, of course, the further reason that with some supreme master of their art, no single feature thrusts itself forward for comment:

> What is to be said for the quality of Ventadour in the best moments, or of Sordello, where there is nothing salient in the thought or the rhyme scheme? You have to have known Provençal a long time perhaps before you perceive the difference between this work and another. (3)

Most of Pound's statements (in any case relatively few) about Bernart therefore content themselves with pointing to his mastery of the uses of sound:

> As far as any question of actual fineness of emotion or cadence or perception [Petrarch] is miles behind Ventadorn or Arnaut Daniel. (4)

29. All Pound's comments on Ventadorn are favourable; yet I feel sure that most of the very few men of intelligence that Pound has ever persuaded to read the troubadours (1) have come away from Ventadorn with little more than a headache. There is the difficulty that the literal meaning of his poems is easy to grasp, containing neither much complexity nor much variation; these *trobarleu* songs, as Pound admits,

> are apt to weary you after you know them; they are especially tiresome if one tries to read them *after* one has read fifty others of the same sort. (2)

The modern 'intelligent layman', if he should ever read Ventadorn,

would come upon him in a volume containing 45 of his poems, which, for lack of distractions (such as would have punctuated the performance in a mediaeval château), and in the absence of music to bring out some differentiation in the stressing, he would have to read straight through. He would have, presumably, neither Pound's powerful concentration in the search for what he wants, nor the awareness of music in those verses which even Pound has acquired only after 'long domesticity' with the troubadours. With only the literal meaning to hang on to, and with his attention steadied only by the slight difficulties of translating this poet, he would digest the work of Bernart's lifetime at a sitting and then call for more solid nourishment.

30. His impression of Bernart's 'mental furniture' would probably not be favourable. It is possible that Pound's wasn't either; he never mentions the larger bulk of Bernart's contents, and he was quite capable, for example, of commending the voracity of D.H. Lawrence's 'low-life' poetry and then deprecating 'his own disagreeable sensations' which the poet insisted on discussing (1). Such a distinction could be made with Ventadorn. There is not only the stasis in the whole corpus, where the poet is still in the same agony 45 poems after he began; we can't blame a troubadour for the way his work is presented to us 800 years later. But even in the psychological situation presented in each individual poem, there are factors guaranteeing permanent stasis. The chief of these is the <u>enveyos</u>, or jealous one, who occurs (in the plural) in many poems, without ever being specified (2). These enviers are not the kind who would calumniate Bernart to his lady, but those who would betray them both to the lady's husband, or at least so we assume:

'Oh God, how good would be the love

of two lovers, if it could be
that not one of those enviers
should ever know of their friendship.' (3)

31. This persistent snooping has even, in one song, succeeded in parting Bernart from his lady:

'But deceiving heartless flatterers
have sent me away from her country,
because the man whom I would have
expected to hide us, if he knew
we were both of one heart,
makes himself a spy.' (1)

32. Bernart therefore has to recommend deceit to the lady:

...we ought to talk with hidden meanings,
and, since boldness is no use to us, let astuteness
serve our turn! (1)

He then finds himself praising the virtues of this situation into which he has supposedly been forced:

Because it would not seem that a man
who takes his ease in love [really] loves,
since one becomes dependable through secrecy
and thereby one reaches nearer to joy. (2)

It seems therefore that Bernart wants (when, that is, he can gain his lady's approval) to remain under permanent suspicion. Such conditions make liaisons difficult. But love is not desired:

Let her not love me
as a lover, since it would not be right... (3)

—some other mysterious token is therefore all Bernart asks for:

...but if it pleased her
to accord me some favour,
I would swear to her
by her and by my faith
that the favour she accorded to me
would not be known from me. (4)

He is clearly more interested in secrecy than in love of whatever kind; just as the unfortunate client to whom Belle-de-Jour is introduced in Bunuel's film only desires to be punished for offering to make love.

33. Bernart too is interested in punishment, or at least in self-abasement:

...for at court I shall be courtly towards you
among ladies and knights,
and open and gentle and humble. (1)

There is to my ear something more actively humble in the Provençal present participle 'umilians' than in the static English 'humble'. Bernart thinks it is a bearing which a priori ought to evoke a favourable response in a lady, and, as so often with the troubadours, he starts to moralise when he finds it isn't so:

A man who goes round ladykilling
with pride and deceit has more love
than one who pleads every day
or is too humble;
for love scarcely wants him who
is open and loyal, as I am. (2)

I cannot help seeing Bernart writhing like a lapdog in lines like these:

> For with the favourable regard alone that she turns
> to me,
> when she can or when circumstances permit it her,
> I have so much joy that I am not even aware of my
> existence,
> because I turn and spin and whirl so. (3)

34. The envoys are a built-in mechanism for thwarting Bernart's designs and for punishing him when he is successful in them. His own attitude towards the lady has the same effect; he thinks he is likely to be punished if he ever has the presumption to reveal his love for her:

> I love my lady, hold her dear,
> fear and serve her so much
> that I have never dared speak of myself to her,
> ask nothing of her and send her nothing. (1)

Perhaps, however, in this poem, he is prevented from speaking to her by fear for her reputation. The presumption is clearer here:

> ...for now she has given me the heart and the desire
> to seek, if I could,
> such a thing that, if the King sought it,
> he would have been extremely bold.
> ...From me she shall never know what afflicts me
> and no-one else shall say anything. (2)

35. As if this were not a sufficiency of boroys, Bernart has

a fear that his lady should realise her true value and his relative worthlessness:

> ...since she is so gentle and perfect and pure,
> I have a great fear in case she should take
> cognisance of her value... (1)

And again:

> I should really kill
> the man who ever made a mirror!
> When I really think about it,
> I have no worse enemy.
> The day she looks at herself
> and thinks of her value,
> I shall never receive
> her or her love. (2)

36. These are the trials of true love; they are states of mind, exaggerated fears and so on which people in love sometimes feel. What is unique about Dernart is the tightness of his prison, the number of foolproof devices guaranteeing permanent failure. He sees virtue in his position, as we have seen; enough in fact to be able to reproach the lady when she doesn't respond. He recognizes that he is victim to the obligatory courtly-love madness:

> Still, I know that it is normal in love
> that a man who loves well has hardly any sense. (1)

--but still imagines that his strange condition places moral obligations on the unfortunate lady. And just in case anyone should ever think of telling him to improve his situation, Dernart insists that he enjoys it:

> In the world there is only one thing
> through which I could gain joy;
> and I shall never have it from that one,
> and I can never want it from another.
> Nevertheless through her I have value and wisdom,
> and am gayer and my heart is more zealous through her,
> for if she did not exist, I would never enter the
> struggle! (2)

37. It would probably be argued that I am using the wrong criteria; that all these are the mechanisms of a convention, which should not be judged in the completely alien spirit of our times. This is a principle with which I disagree. To know that a work of art follows certain conventions of its period is valuable, and may account for its popularity; at least it should tell us about the human habit of forming conventions. But one of the features of works of art, as opposed to engines of war or agricultural devices, is that some of them retain their value over the centuries: 'literature is news that stays news' (1). If we are trying to rate a work of art in this aspect, rather than for example its historical value, then we have to look at its treatment of that which is permanent in man. It goes without saying that the permanent may manifest itself in the guise of fads, conventions and so on; but we will nonetheless still be able to recognise it.

38. As far as 'permanent value' is concerned, a poet's work must be looked at as if the squadrons of imitators, fashion-leaders and so on did not exist. To excuse the shallowness of his meaning by referring to the spirit of the times or to artistic conventions

then current, is merely to transfer one's criticisms for the poet to his fellow-artists. Bernart, as I shall try to show, was extremely symptomatic of his period, and I think that his period has left (in poetry) less that is of value for later periods by reason of the very defects that are found in Bernart. Pound seems to have recognised that Provence was limited by its conventions:

> China is fundamental, Japan is not. Japan is a special interest, like Provence, or 12-13th Century Italy (apart from Dante). I don't mean to say there aren't interesting things in Fenollosa's Japanese stuff (or fine things, like the end of Kumkiyo, which is, I think, 'Honorio'). But China is solid. One can't go back of the 'Exile's Letter,' or the Song of the Bowmen/ or the North Gate.' (1)

39. Perhaps what Pound means by 'go back of' a poem is, while perhaps accepting for the moment the 'données' of the work, to have a feeling that if one thought about its reason for existence one would find (or feel) that this 'raison d'être' lay beyond the meaning of the work itself. One knows Shakespeare wrote to earn a living; in the earlier works one can feel this, just as in some of the Sonnets one can feel that the poem is written to impress an audience. With a very few works and poets, whether because the process of writing has become so internalised or because (as with Guilhem IX?) the poet had no need to impress anyone, one feels that the piece exists purely for the purpose of conveying, to a beloved, a friend, or humanity in general, what it says. It is possible that the feeling is erroneous; at any rate, to me it only occurs with a very few poets,

for example Donne occasionally, Guilhem IX twice, and so on; when it does occur, it conveys something beyond what is possible from the normal well-turned strophe or expert piece of craftsmanship (1).

40. It is interesting to try 'going back of' Ventadorn's poems. Given all that he tells us about his situation, the need for secrecy, fear of the 'enveyos' and so on, why is he composing poems for public consumption on the subject? That they are for public consumption is obvious, because the lady's name is never mentioned; also of course because we know that the low-born troubadour earned his living this way. The conventions provide a reason: he must sing to comfort the other lovers in a barren season (1); he is so sad that he can't sing (or so he sings (2)); singing is, perhaps, the chief means of communication with the beloved (3); his songs must be better than everyone else's, because his lady is (4). Despite the apparatus of amorous ratiocination there is very little credibility in all this, and so we must try to imagine the relationship between what he says in his poems and the function, in his own time, of the poems themselves. So far as is known, Bernart, in common with many other troubadours, had neither lands, a notary's job or a position in the clergy with which to support himself; it seems reasonable to assume that his songs were his living. It was a convention in troubadour poetry to address songs to high-born ladies; the songs give this impression, and it is developed by the vidas and razos. Bernart's songs also give this impression. Stronski, in the famous preface to his edition of Folquet de Marseille says that the amorous situations of the troubadours are, within the historical context, impossible, and that the troubadours' ladies are therefore 'en règle générale, de purs fantômes

imaginaires' (5). Appel replies that it seems reasonable to expect a poet who imagines a love so vividly to do something about trying to win it (6); I would suggest that, in effect, poets of the 12th century were paid to have brilliant romances, just as poets of the 19th century were in effect paid to be overwhelmed by passions of all kinds. Or, and this is perhaps the point, to seem to do these things. The audience was interested in the songs of the troubadours because they embodied a myth that was important to the period; because to all appearances the troubadours lived the unimaginably passionate lives that the ordinary man lived in his dreams. If these lives could not be believed in, at least as much as the record-buyer believes in the pop-star's life-image, then the troubadours went unacclaimed; as Appel points out, they were always at great pains to defend themselves against sceptics. Bernart seems almost hysterical about this:

> May death come to him who wants to suggest
> that I wouldn't love her dead and buried! (7)

41. The refutation of Stronski is that the audience would not have given the troubadour the temporary belief necessary for the songs to have some kind of effect, if the situation had been a priori impossible. I shall show, when I come to Bertran de Born, that feudal society was not the marvel of probity that Stronski depicts (1); the chroniclers, at least, thought that illicit amours were not only possible but frequent, and they, once again, expected to be believed. But there is no reason to suppose that a real lady was behind every senhal that the troubadours put in their songs. It seems to me that a great deal of the conventional apparatus within Bernart's poems, at least, is there to make to some extent credible the totally static love-situation (or succession of situations) which he must perforce

sing about, if he is to sing of love every night of the week for the whole of his working life. He has to preserve the lady's anonymity, in case he has in fact no lady at the operative time; this excludes the construction of _romans d'amour_ in his successive poems, for they would give too many details; people would either see that they were fictional, or discover the identity of the lady in question. Some kind of tension is necessary in order to hold the audience's interest; it cannot be a narrative tension; and so we have all the static devices of conflict like the 'envoyes', etc. The basic tension is of course the fact that Bernart is parted, eternally, from his lady; and he knows how to give this all the necessary immediacy for the audience in the hall:

> But I am here, far away,
> and I don't know how she is! (2)

42. But the myth projected by Bernart de Ventadorn is of the greatest possible historical interest. It may only be an amplification of what was already there in Guilhem IX; but it embodies all the defining characteristics of courtly love, and was probably a formative influence on such important successors as Folquet de Marseille and Bordello, and to some extent on all troubadours who sang of love; and it may have been the source of the myth that the _vidas_ and _razos_ perpetuated. It seems to me a fairly convincing proof of Leslie Fiedler's thesis that the troubadours lady is a resurrection of the Great Mother-archetype. Fiedler points out how strange the troubadour's self-abasement was:

> In a society where, by law and custom, women were disposed of at the will of their fathers and husbands, where it would have been considered a lack of manliness

not to rape an unprotected lower-class female, and where the Church insisted upon the submission of wives to husbands and preached the essential unchastity of all women--in such a society, the lover pretended the most abject humility before an idealized beloved, submitted to her most outrageous whims without regard to dignity and in the teeth of reason. (1)

This is how he explains the inbuilt devices for punishment and suspicion:

> The themes of self-punishment and self-destruction are inseparable (in the West at least) from the worship of the female, who represents the dissolution of consciousness as well as poetic vision, the blackness of extinction as well as that of ecstasy. "The horseleech's two daughters: give and give." Submission to the Mother, moreover, is felt as a betrayal of the Father, as the priests of Christianity are only too willing to remind the poets, who, more often than not, end by recanting all their lovely praises of love when the church bell tolls them home. The conviction of guilt associated with the new concept of love is projected in its adulterous form, with the strategic substitution of the secondary triangle husband-wife-lover for the primary one father-mother-son. The sense of Oedipal guilt is surely one source of the taboo of silence; this is the secret that cannot be told, but which is forever betrayed by the <u>trichador</u> [= Bernart's 'envoyos'], the dark double of the lover

who exposes him to the husband-father, who is also the Christian God. Poor husband, he is the surrogate for all the self-reproach of a poet leaving the orthodox ego-system of the Church for the plunge into the unconscious! (2)

43. One can also perhaps notice a certain undercurrent of misogynism in Ventadour. Some of the most vigorous poems are on the occasion of his leaving his lady:

I want to be faithless about her love,
and I would learn best from her... (1)

Again:

In this my lady makes herself seem just like
a woman, wherefore I reproach her,
that she doesn't want what one ought to want,
and what one forbids her, she does. (2)

If we take all the implications of his words here, it seems to me that Bernart is also very narcissistic:

I never had power over myself
or was my own, from the time onwards
when she let me see into her eyes
in a mirror which pleased me greatly.
Mirror, since I saw myself in you,
sighs from deep down have killed me,
because I lost myself as did
handsome Narcissus in the spring. (3)

When sensuality there is in Bernart's poems seems to me not characteristically male and phallic, but female and of the skin, as often as

not Bernart's own skin. There is also a great concern with feet:

With my hands clasped I come for her pleasure,
and wish never to move from her feet again,
until for pity she bring me to where she undresses (4)

Similarly:

She will be doing wrong, if she doesn't send for me
to come to where she undresses,
so that I may be by her command
near to the bed, next to its edge,
and may take off her well-fitting shoes,
on my knees and humble,
if it pleases her to stretch out her feet to me. (5)

Also with undressing:

I know well that at night, when I undress,
that I shan't sleep in my bed. (6)

Again:

I can go without clothing,
naked in my shirt,
because fine love makes me safe
from the cold wind. (7)

The last details strike one as being important to Bernart in their context, where his physical circumstances are very rarely mentioned; while there is a strange emphasis on the verb 'despolhar', to undress.

44. All this, it seems to me, is detailed confirmation of Leslie Fiedler's opinion that

> the code of courtly love... strangely merges with homosexuality. Indeed, one senses from the start

> in the verse of courtly love a desire to mitigate by ritualized and elegant foreplay a final consummation felt as brutal, or else a desire to avoid entirely any degrading conjunction with female flesh. It is wrong, I think, to believe with Denis de Rougemont (in his Love in the Western World) that the troubadours were secret sharers in the Albigensian heresy; they were heretics of another order--not secret but unconscious self-castrators. (1)

45. It may also be a major defect in Pound's theory about the troubadour love as leading to 'an "exteriorization of the sensibility," and interpretation of the cosmos by feeling' (1). Pound's argument is this: that the 'microcosmos' represented by man is capable of registering what takes place in the 'greater cosmos', in so far as it imitates the two-pole structure of that greater cosmos, either by means of contemplation of the divine (probably in an ascetic environment) or by use of the male-female division, i.e. sex. Sex can perform this function if it involves sufficiently high 'mental voltage', and this can only occur if there is resistance. If we ask what this resistance is, the answer seems definitely to be: physical resistance, difficulties and so on. Where society gives the woman no privileges of resistance, such tension is impossible:

> In Catullus' superb epithalamium "Collis O Heliconii," we find the affair is strictly on one plane; the bride is what she is in Morocco today, and the function is "normal" and eugenic. It is the sacrificial concept. Yet Catullus, recording his own emotion, could say: "More as a father than a lover." (2)

In Provence, obviously because the new code gave the lady much more choice and power, the function of recording the comros became possible:

> The electric current gives light where it meets resistance. I suggest that the living conditions of Provence gave the necessary restraint, produced the tension sufficient for the results, a tension unattainable under, let us say, the living conditions of imperial Rome. (3)

46. Now we may leave aside the question as to how far the troubadours and their ladies lived in the myth-world of the songs, by saying that it is possible that some of them could have; it is after all only a very few poets that Pound is concerned with, since he considers that there are very few poets of importance in any age. But it is important for his argument that a psychological ambience equivalent to that obtaining in the myth should have been generated; otherwise, the troubadour-phenomenon, and the concomitant registering of the comros, could have taken place as well at any other time. My doubts concern the resistance that thus becomes so important. 'In theory', that is without applying the theory to any particular civilization, it sounds factitious. It seems as misguided to 'hoist oneself up to the divine' by giving oneself (or by a civilization's trying to give itself) the artificial obstacle of a recalcitrant woman, as it is to do so by giving oneself the artificial obstacle of self-flagellation. This may ot be the point of Pound's argument; he possibly holds that such a choice is now no longer available to us, except to the individual in the privacy of his own soul (1). But

the concrete example is Provence, and there the drawbacks of supererogatory 'resistance' are clear. This resistance must necessarily be one imposed by religion, or a collective myth, or the individual will, beyond those physical obstacles which normally beset 'the course of true love'. Such would appear to be the case with Bernart. We cannot tell whether Bernart's difficulties are imposed on him by the psychological situation of his time, or by his own psychological needs; but it is clear that the agent is not the physical 'living conditions' of Provence. Bernart, either as an individual or as representative of his time, needs these difficulties, as I hope I have shown. The result is so artificial, so unique to the psychological theatre that he has constructed for himself, and so cut off from the more permanent concerns of mankind, that the bulk of Bernart's poetry is capable of evoking little more than a deadly claustrophobia.

47. Pound's theory is however probably easy to misinterpret. I have mentioned that he is only concerned with a few poets, and in fact the only troubadours whose awareness of the 'universal intelligence' was important enough to him to be recorded in his paradiso-Cantos are Sordello, Bernart and Arnaut. We have seen that there is a great deal in Bernart which conveys the light and beauty of clear perception of the natural world. This is certainly also true of Arnaut. Nonetheless, it seems strange to praise a psychological condition which produces a killing inwardness and self-obsession in 95% of its protagonists, simply for the sake of the very few lasting monuments to beauty. Furthermore, it seems clear from Pound's choice of the three great troubadours' works in his late Cantos, that he saw the divine part of them as being the awkward relations with

women. I therefore conclude that Pound's theory about the origins of the troubadour's greatness is based, at least in part, on an analysis of their myth life which I do not share.

Appendix to Section Two Chapter Three

48. The numbers refer to songs in Bertran Lieder ed. Appel, Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja, and Bernart Lieder ed. Appel.

Bertran: Quan soron sol en cambra o dins vergier (4)

Arnaut: iauzirai ioi, en vergier o dins cambra. (XVIII)

Bernart: Li sec cola que plus vas me s'ergolha (42)

Arnaut: la sec a traill / on plus vas mi s'orgoilla (II)

Ovidius: quod sequitur, fugio; quod fugit, ipse sequor

(Am. II. XIX. 36)

Bertran: Be•m platz lo gais temps de pascor

Que fai fuolhas e flors venir,

E platz mi quan auch la baudor

Dels auzolhs, que fan retentir

Lor chan per lo boschatge (40)

Bernart: Lo gens tems de pascor

ab la frescha verdor

nos adui' folh e flor

de diversa color,

per que tuih amador

son gai e chantador (26)

Bernart: faih ai longa carantena (2)

Bertran: Fait ai longa quarantena (8)

Bernart: tan ai al cor d'amor (44)

Arnaut: Sols sui qui sai lo sobrafan qe•m sortz

al cor, d'amor sofren per sobramar (XV)

Bernart: chazutz sui en mala merce (43)

Bertran: Chazutz sui de mal en pena (0)

Bernart (a): mas eu non ai gos poder
que·m posca d'Amor defendre (4)
(b): Ane non agui de me poder (43)

Arnaut: Ane ieu non l'aic, mas ella m'a
totz temps en son poder Amors (VII)

Bernart: las! mos cors no dorm ni pauza (4)

Arnaut: quant autra gen dorm e pauz' e sojorna (V)

Bernart: e vei lo tems renovelar
e chanssos auzels quer se par
e·l rossinhols fai chans e critz (40)

Arnaut: Doutz brais e critz
lais e cantars e voutas
aug dels auzels q'en lur latin font precs
qecs ab sa par, atressi cum nos fam (XII)

Arnaut: la flors e li chan e·il clar quil (IV)

Bertran: E·lh bel mati e·lh clar ser (6)

Bertran: Trompas e corn e graile clar (22)

Arnaut: e·il votz dels auzels son' e tint
ab doutz acort matin e tart (XIII)

Arnaut: Er vei vermeills, vertz, blaus, blancs, gruocs
vergiers, plans, plais, tortres e vaus (XIII)

Bertran (a): Quan la novela flors par el verjan,
On son vermelh, vert e blanc li brondel (23)

(b): Quan vei pels vergiers desplojar
Los sendatz groca, indis e blaus (22)

Arnaut: de lloin no cre rens de bon si' a dire (XV)

Bernart (a): res do be no.n os a dire (27)

(b): o l'autre cors, que res no.n os a dire (35)

Bertran: Senhor, en vos non cre res a faire (17)

Bernart: Can par la flors jonta.l vert folh
e vei lo tems clar e sere
e.l doutz chans dels auzels pel brolh
m'adousa lo cor e.m reve (41)

Arnaut: Lanquan vei fuoill'e flor e frug
parer dels albres el ramel
e aug lor chan que faun e.l brug
ranan el riu, el bosc auzel (V)

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER FOUR: BERTRAN DE BORN

1. Bertran de Born is not in Canto VI: he was not essential enough to Pound's idea of the troubadours' chief invention--the lady as mantram or focus of psychological energies--to find a place in that tightly-compressed history. He comes into the next Canto as an example of a mode of art (1); but I shall include him here because he is there related to Eleanor.

2. Born is to be found with his head beneath his arm deep in Dante's Hell, because he 'gave the evil support to the Young King', because he 'turned the father and the sons against each other', and because he thus 'separated persons so united' (1). Dante holds him chiefly responsible for the enmity between Henry II Plantagenet and his sons Henry 'the Young King', Geoffrey, Richard and John. This separation is reflected by Dante's logical mind in a version of that very mediaeval idea of head and body as government and people, father and sons, the universally reflected hierarchy: Bertran's head is accordingly removed from his body,

> Ed eran due in uno, e uno in due.
>
> And they were two in one, one in two. (2)

If that sounds strangely like a formula describing the Trinity, Bertran's remark about his punishment also sounds liturgical:

> Vedi se alcuna è grande come questa.
>
> See if any is as great as this. (3)

Dante is uncompromisingly moral in his judgment upon the troubadour. But with his unique capacity for making such distinctions, he does not confuse morals with Bertran's value as a troubadour. When he

selects the three greatest subjects for poetry ('Salus vidolicet, Venus et Virtus') and says that 'valour in arms' ('armorum probitas') is necessary for the first of these, he cites Bertran as its greatest poet (4). He then quotes as an example 'Non puosc midar, un chantar non esparja' (5), which is also an excellent example of Bertran as a provoker of strife between lord and vassal.

3. Bertran's activity in this field covers almost the whole period in which we know of him. His first sirventes or 'verse-diatribe' concerns one of the two principal feudal struggles that continued throughout the late twelfth century in southern France: the struggle between the houses of Barcelona/Aragon and St Gilles/ Toulouse (1). This had begun as early as 1119 and at first was concerned with rival claims to the ownership of Provence, that is, in its more strict meaning, southern France to the east of the Rhône. In 1181, 62 years later, the feud still continued, and when Alfonso II of Aragon broke into the lands of Raymond of Toulouse, Raymond called for Bertran's poetic assistance (2).

4. Alfonso, with his base on the far side of the Pyrénées, would hardly have been able to conduct a struggle for Provence with the house of Toulouse (which lay between him and the prize) had it not been for one of the most potent factors in contemporary politics: the attitude of vassals. The vassal owed his lord loyalty, feudal dues and service in war. In return he received protection. Presumably the vassals of twelfth-century southern France no longer felt in need of protection, because they appeared to regard obligations towards any suzerain as a tie to be weakened as much as possible.

'...when war broke out, the minor nobles had the choice of supporting either one or the other of the two major forces. Their decision was based on a definite principle: when the vassal dared, he joined the enemies of his own overlord (or if two suzerains were involved, the more remote and consequently less exacting).' (1) The confusion of intermarriage was such that, as in the case of Barcelona and Toulouse, some case could be made out for loyalty to whichever lord was convenient; and as Pattison says, this was usually the one furthest away.

5. This principle also operated in the struggle with which Bertran's songs are most concerned: the spasmodic rebellions in his immediate neighbourhood, that is Limousin and Perigord. We have seen the troubles caused by Henry II's attempts to ensure his succession: the jealousy between Henry the 'Young King', who had a title but no land or money, and his brothers Richard and Geoffrey, who had lands and money but supposedly owed homage for them to their elder brother. Eleanor had helped to incite them all to the rebellion of 1173, which was speedily crushed, and now she found herself under permanent house-arrest. Richard 'Lionheart' was confirmed in the possession of Aquitaine and Poitou, and Henry his brother had to be contented with a couple of castles and a larger allowance (1). He was not happy with this, and Richard was not long in providing him with an excuse for trying to strip his 'vassal' younger brother of his possessions. Richard, dashing hero though he seemed to later ages, was a tyrant to his vassals; they revolted against him both because he took liberties with their women and 'propter nimiam ejus crudelitatem' (2). Henry the Young King could not fail, he said, to protect his people.

But Richard was also acting aggressively towards his 'overlord', by building a large castle on his lands and, apparently, by taking the road-tolls that were due to Henry (3). This at any rate is how Bertran taunts the Young King:

Since Ventadour and Comborn and Ségur
and Turenne and Montfort, with Gourdon,
have made a pact and sworn an oath with Périgord,
and the townspeople are looking up all round,
I like the idea of singing and getting to work
on a diatribe, to support them;
I am not, you see, interested in having Toledo
unless I dare stay there safely.

Ah! Puy-Guilhem and Clérans and Grignol
and Saint-Astier, you have indeed great honour,
and so have I, if anyone will recognize it,
and Angoulême has much more
than Sir Carter who forgot his cart
[viz. ? the Young King, who lost his cartage-tolls (4)];
he has no money, and takes none without fear;
so I regard honour with little land more highly
than having a great empire shamefully...

Between Poitiers and l'Isle-Bouchart
and Mirebeau and Loudun and Chinon,
at Clairvaux, they've fearlessly built
a fine castle, and put it in the middle of the plain;

but I don't want the Young King to know about it

or see it, because he wouldn't like it;
but it gleams so white that I'm afraid
that he would see it all the way from Mataflon.

We shall know for sure whether King Philip is like
his father [viz. the unwarlike Louis],
or whether will follow the Charlemagne-like manner
of Sir Taillefer, who does homage to him
for Angoulême, and Philip in turn recognizes him. (5)

6. Bertran obviously hopes to shame the Young King into joining the war on the side of these honourable rebels. But he makes no mention of his overlord Richard's cruelties; his whole argument is about the Young King's privileges; and thus his position is exactly that of the vassals of Provence who repeatedly allied themselves with Aragon because he was apparently further off, and weaker. The Young King had no effective power; as an overlord he was infinitely to be preferred to Richard, who, cruelties or no, was making himself felt uncomfortably in Aquitainian circles. When Bertran goes even further and tries to shame Philip of France, nominal overlord of them all, into supporting the rebels, he merely extends this policy to supporting the weaker of the two ultimate suzerains. Such manoeuverings form a continuous background to the development and fall of the Provençal civilization.

7. By far the largest group of Bertran's songs is concerned with this 1182-3 rising against Richard in Aquitaine. Bertran, or his own pride, certainly succeeded in bringing the Young King in on

the side of the rebels; but though Richard had defied Henry II's dynastic intentions by refusing to do homage to the Young King (1), Henry II seemed to regard the rebellion against Richard as something to be opposed on principle. The alliance between the barons of Aquitaine and the Young King was no match for the old King and Richard, perhaps the two most brilliant soldiers in Western Europe at the time. At one point during the conflict the Young King and his brother Geoffrey entered into negotiations with their father, and though this seems to have been purely a manoeuvre to gain time (2), Bertran got the impression that the young Henry was looking for peace. His reaction is typical for the way it compares his enemy's valour favourably to that of his ally:

> I don't want to avoid a diatribe any more,
> I am so keen to compose it and spread it around,
> because I have such a new and important subject
> in the Young King, who has withdrawn his suit
> against his brother Richard, because his father tells
> him to;
>
> he is so compelled!
> Since Henry [the Young King] holds and rules over no land,
> let him be king of the cowards.
>
> He acts like a coward, living completely
> off allowances by number and by measure;
> a crowned king who lives on rations from another man
> hardly resembles Arnaut, the Marquis of Bellanda,
> or the valiant Guilhem who took Mirmanda Tower
> [i.e. two <u>chanson de geste</u> heroes];

they thought so much of him!
Since he lies to them and betrays them in Poitou,
they won't like him any more there.

By sleeping he'll never be King of the English
of Cumberland, nor will he conquer Ireland,
or hold Anjou or Montsoreau or Candes,
or have the watch-tower of Poitou,
nor will he be called Duke of the Norman land,
Palatine Count
of Bordeaux here, or lord of the Gascons the other
side of the Landes,
or of Bazas.

I want to give some advice to the 'Alamanda' tune
to Sir Richard there, though he doesn't ask me for it:
let him never fool his men for his brother;
nor does he, but he lays siege to them and weakens them,
takes their castles and demolishes and burns down
on every side;
and the [young] King jousts over there with the man of
Garlanda [i.e. France]
and the other one, his brother-in-law [Philip of
France].

I would prefer that Count Geoffrey, to whom Brocéliande
belongs, had been the first-born,
because he's a statesman, and that kingdoms and dukedoms
had been at his disposal. (3)

8. To judge from poems like this, Dante was right: the Young King's motives in negotiating may not have been noble, but Bertran's attempts to get him fighting against his father once more appeal without any inhibitions at all to his foolish pride. Some ignoble scenes took place during this conflict, especially when the Young King and Geoffrey pretended to sue for peace: Henry II's men, sent to receive promised hostages, were shot at, and Henry II himself had been fired on by his sons shortly before (1). But the end of the Young King's irresponsible career came with amazing suddenness. Fever, and then dysentery, carried him off in a couple of weeks.

9. This left Bertran in a poor position: the barons of Aquitaine, who presumably had some strength from which to negotiate, quickly made their peace with Richard at no great loss to themselves, but Bertran was left to Richard's small mercy. He complains to Geoffrey:

> They leave me behind every year
> when they've brought me into the fighting,
> the nobles and the base men,
> after devastating my land
> and burning and scorching it,
> the men of Colombier [i.e. the barons] tell me
> to seek justice, if I feel like it. (1)

Geoffrey was no help to him, and Richard, with his father's ally Alfonso II of Aragon, in the words of Geoffrey de Vigeois

> came to Hautefort [Bertran's castle] and laid siege to the castle in strength, and, to make it short, on the seventh day, on the octave of the day of the Apostles Peter and Paul (i.e. the 6th July), the

> Duke [Richard] took the apparently-untakeable castle and gave it back to Constantine de Born, the son-in-law of Olivier de Lantourn, who had been kicked out of it treacherously by his brother Bertran de Born... (2)

10. One would assume that this was the end of Bertran's career; Richard was not known for his mercy, using 'barbarous cruelty' against some of the rebels he captured (1), and Bertran had been justly dispossessed for rebelling against his lawful suzerain. But it appears that Bertran was, or had been, on terms of personal friendship with his lord, for he had addressed a poem the year before to Richard's sister, mentioning that he owed the introduction to Richard himself (2). In any case Bertran now addressed a poem to Richard himself, asking, in terms more humble than those he used with any other prince, for the return of his castle, and offering as justification for this volte-face the very valid reason that his allies have betrayed him:

> I am not at all discouraged
> that I have lost,
> —not to the extent of failing to sing and amuse myself
> and to help myself
> to get back Hautefort,
> that I have handed over
> to the lord of Niort [i.e. Richard],
> because he wanted it;
> and since, pleading to him,
> I have come before him,
> and the Count, pardoning me,
> has given me the kiss of peace,
> I shall certainly not suffer for it,

whatever he said to me before,

nor am I sweetening any flatterer.

Have perjured themselves towards me

three palatine Counts,

and the four Viscounties

of Limousin

and the two greaseballs

of Périgord

and the three stupid Counts

of Angoulême...

I wish to ask Count [Richard]

to tell me to keep

my house

and to give me it... (3)

And it appears, from the following songs, that Richard did so. (4)

11. Bertran henceforth was Richard's loyal ally. He supported him in his struggle with Raymond of Toulouse (1), which almost led to a war between Henry II and Philippe-Auguste, and when it didn't he tried to taunt both his overlord and his enemy back into the struggle, with slanders on their manhood (2). Then began the long prologue to the Third Crusade. Following the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, Richard took the Cross, and Henry II and Philippe-Auguste pledged themselves to journey to the Holy Land together. But yet again Richard was involved in a struggle with Raymond of Toulouse, and his father and Philippe-Auguste once more came in on opposite sides. Because, it seems, Richard thought that his father intended to pass over him

for the succession to the throne, he eventually went over to Philippe's side (3), and it was after a humiliating peace in favour of Philippe-Auguste and Richard that Henry II finally died, on the 6th July 1189. 'Bertran, who lamented the deaths of the Young King and of Geoffrey, sang no songs on the tragic death of their father.' (4)

12. Richard, now I of England, was still under an obligation to crusade. There was some delay while he and Philippe-Auguste manoeuvred for an advantageous position, each fearing, as Bertran pointed out (1), that the other would pounce on his unprotected territories; and here Bertran shows for the first time an interest beyond the knightly deeds of his own locality, protesting vigorously that the two Kings are leaving Conrad of Montferrat in the lurch in his struggle against the infidel. When the long and disastrous Crusade was over, and Richard had eventually been ransomed from Leopold of Austria, Bertran was there to welcome him back with the happy news of more rebellions in Aquitaine (2); and it is on this note that he exists from history, unless we accept that he wrote the song 'Quan mi perpens ni m'albire' (3), renouncing the world and the sins that he had so enjoyed.

13. It is clear that, if this account of Bertran's life gives a realistic picture of the part he played in contemporary struggles, Dante was right to put him among the 'seminator' di scandalo e di scisma' (1). And the question as to whether Dante was right—whether in fact Bertran was in a position to do any effective harm—is important in studying Pound. I shall show that, for Pound in his earlier years, it was very important to believe that Bertran, in whom he was extremely interested, played an effective part in contemporary power-struggles. Of course the answer to this question will make no

difference to our opinion of either Dante or Pound as scholars. There is no evidence that either of them knew anything of Bertran beyond what was to be found (vidas and poems) in one or two manuscript Provençal chansonniers. Each poet drew his conclusions from this material, and chiefly, it seems to me (since they were poets, and thus more susceptible to the highly-charged language of poetry), from the poems. My suggestion is that, since their conclusions agree closely with what an examination of the historical material now available tells us, they used their 'intuition' to good effect; and that this 'intuition' consists simply of judging from the total content of the poems what could or could not have been the basic situation of the poet. If I am right, they thus 'proved' the contention of Pound and the Objectivists, that the registering of emotion in verse cannot be faked. There is a difference of kind between the situation of a man who influences the course of events, and that of one who does not; and both Dante and Pound were able to perceive this difference in Bertran's poetry.

14. But it is not so easy to prove by historical means that Bertran did play an effective role in the 'politics' of his time. Serious doubts have been raised upon the matter. I shall therefore consider this question.

Bertran's Relations with Eleanor's Sons

15. If Bertran de Born 'set the strife between friends and relations' (1), that is, in particular, between the Young King, Geoffrey, Richard and their father Henry II, it must have been through an influence he had over them; and this influence must have

been personal. It could not have been military or financial, because Bertran owned a list of tiny fiefs no longer than that of the poorest independent knights, and we know from Pattison's study of Raimbaut d'Orange, for example, how wretched the situation of such persons could be (2). Bertran's castle, Hautefort, though called 'valde inexpugnabile' by Geoffroy de Vigeois (3), is not likely to have had particular strategic importance, especially since we know that it was weakened from the inside by hatred between Bertran and his brother Constantine (4).

16. The assumption has always been that Bertran's influence was personal, and based on his friendship with the three princes. It is quite possible that the Provençal biographers got this impression from Bertran's poems, and all the later prose-writers, as O.H Moore shows quite clearly (1), took it from them. Bertran always addressed the three princes familiarly, sometimes abusively, or insultingly, and never without plenty of advice on how to conduct their affairs. He used nicknames like 'Oc-e-Non' (Yes-and-no, that is, Richard) and 'Nanna' (no known meaning, for Geoffroy) more frequently than correct names. It seemed natural to assume that he was fairly intimate with them. He boasted about his power with political figures, as when he says of his powerful Périgourdin allies:

> Every day I re-sole and trim down
> the barons (whom I intended to lay waste),
> and melt them and temper them... (2)

When the truce of Châteauroux was arranged, it seems that Bertran set out deliberately to get both sides enraged again:

> I shall make such a song that, when it's known,

> both [Richard and Philip] will think themselves slow to fight... (3)

17. But there has been a tendency in the more recent scholarship to take such statements with a very strong pinch of salt; and ultimately to call them hot air. In earlier Provençal scholarship the material in the _vidas_ and _razos_ was taken more or less at its face-value, as being almost contemporary with the troubadours. Then a series of studies showed that a great deal of it was in direct contradiction to ascertainable facts (1). Stronski, for example, denounced the _roman d'amour_ element not only in the _vidas_ and _razos_, but also the interpretation of the poems themselves. He asserted that the picture in the poems is in contradiction with what we know of the historical situation--'Comment s'imagine-t-on un troubadour de condition bourgeoise, marchand à Marseille, homme marié et père de famille, qui, à la cour vicomtale de sa ville, devient amoureux de la femme du vicomte, se mêle à des intrigues amoureuses, sème la discorde entre trois dames de la haute société féodale, provoque la jalousie de la vicomtesse...' (2)--the consequence of this impossibility being that the ladies in a troubadour's songs are, 'en règle générale, de purs fantômes imaginaires.' (3)

18. From here it was not far to claiming that Bertran de Born's politics are also hot air. O.H. Moore proceeded to this, in his _The Young King_ (1925), saying that historians had been too credulous not only with the _razos_ (the Provençal prose which comments directly on particular poems) but also with the poems themselves: 'The same historians who would accept with reserve the testimony of

serious prose chroniclers have often been disposed to admit without question the poetic statements of a highly imaginative troubadour.' (1) Moore discusses the historical evidence for the relations between Bertran and the three Plantagenet princes, and compares it to the statements in Bertran's poetry, and concludes that, for example, 'several passages in the sirventes... indicate positively that the poet could not have been acquainted with the Plantagenet family.' (2)

19. Leaving aside Moore's attacks on the credibility of the razos (1), which I am not concerned to defend here, his arguments are chiefly that there is no reason to take Bertran at his word when he claims to influence the great; that everything Bertran says about the three princes suggests he didn't know them at all well; and that the laments on the deaths of the Young King and Geoffrey are more repetitions of common themes (2).

20. We may accept the first of these arguments, though with the proviso that when Bertran claims to 'melt and temper' the barons, for example, one should hardly take it as literally as does Moore (1). There is quite obviously a certain amount of boasting in his scorn for these 'greaseballs', and it is difficult to imagine that Bertran would have denied it.

21. But Moore's more definite argument is constructed as follows: Bertran makes a number of statements which contradict the facts; and his remarks about the princes are incompatible with their characters. In one of Bertran's poems—

> Because if the King doesn't part them, their children
> Will be sick to death of the business. (1)

—'Richard is referred to as King, even though his father is still living.' (2) In another, Bertran notes that the Young King is without land or money (see above) (3), but in fact 'by the treaty of 1174, as we have already seen, the Young King was liberally provided with lands as well as with money.' (4) Then there is Bertran's nickname for Richard, 'Yes-and-no', which seems to imply a vacillating character; yet '...the nickname "Oc e No" was hardly appropriate for a monarch who was known everywhere by the name of "Coeur-de-Lion."' (5) Further, in the poem attacking the Young King for backsliding (see above) (6), 'the highly complimentary reference to Geoffrey was totally out of keeping with the facts regarding his character.' (7)

22. Bertran's supposed errors of fact we shall deal with later. Here we must point out the basic fallacy in the argument based on Bertran's attitude towards the princes. It is a fallacy that Moore himself points out when he deals with Jeanroy's argument on the question of Dante's knowledge of Bertran (1). Jeanroy supposed that, if Dante had known all that the vidas and razos had to say about our troubadour, he would have dealt with him differently; he could not have placed in Hell one who had died in grace. Moore says 'The danger of such subjective reasoning is too obvious to require extended reasoning here...', and offers the more empirical evidence of Dante's treatment of analogous cases. But as Moore is aware, this empirical evidence is not necessary; Jeanroy is wrong in supposing anything specific about Dante's reaction to any given information. Dante was Dante, and we are not to know his personal preferences.

23. Similarly, however, Bertran was Bertran, and Moore is

wrong in supposing anything about his reaction to the Plantagenet princes on intimate acquaintance with them. Were it not so, how does Moore suppose that men act differently enough from each other to be put, some in hell, some in heaven, whether by Dante or God? If all men appeared the same in character to all men, one can imagine little of the world's villainy coming to pass. Whatever Richard's real character, and whatever Geoffrey's real character, one can with difficulty imagine Bertran regarding them in the same light as would Moore, were he to know them well, or as did the contemporary chroniclers, knowing them in their differing degrees.

24. But my phrase 'real character' exposes another important fallacy in Moore's argument. Not only is there this fundamental variation in the way different people see a given man's character, but there is a double obstacle preventing the modern reader from forming any worthwhile idea of those of Richard or Geoffrey. The personalities of contemporary chroniclers and modern historians intervene. Moore is particularly at the mercy of the latter, since his method consists of confronting the <u>general</u> conclusions of modern historians about the characters of the princes, with the <u>particular</u> remarks of Bertran. 'Oc-e-No,' 'Yes-and-No,' was inappropriate for Richard because, historians tell us, he was a brilliant and very decisive warrior (1). Compliments to Geoffrey were inappropriate because, as Kate Norgate tells us, when he died 'No one regretted him...', and, as Ramsay tells us, for him '...no writer had a word of praise...' Benedict of Peterborough supports these estimates, calling him 'Filius proditionis Gaufredus.' (2) How the nineteenth-century historians who form the bulk of Moore's source-material for

these character-estimates (3), like nineteenth-century Shakespeare critics, tended to regard character as a very static and unified thing; the purpose of such historiography as then practised was to arrive at permanent and unassailable definitions of the 'characters' acting in the (real or stage) drama. Thus Ramsay strings together adjectives describing Henry II: 'a clever, plausible, self-confident, assiduous man of business; industrious and prompt in action, subtle, tricky, and unscrupulous...' (4)—in the kind of paragraph that the modern reader may well simply pass over.

25. But, with the passing of the centuries, it is not possible even to know how oneself would have regarded, say, Richard, had one known him; still less (or rather, since there is a difference in kind, not at all) is it possible to know what his 'real character was'. Bertran's knowledge, whatever its degree, of the princes, was obviously made up from knowledge of particular actions. So, we hope, it is with modern historians; but they must peer through a fog of some 800 years. Moore shows up this disadvantage as compared with Bertran by making a number of material errors even by the standards of what we do know concerning the particular circumstances of these men. Making out such a case as he does, he cannot afford to do so; especially when, apart from the supposed errors Moore himself picks out, no errors of fact have yet been discovered in all the 39 highly-allusive poems with which Bertran, is credited (and as Appel points out, no troubadour has received more attention from modern philologists). (1)

26. A similar error of false objectivity operates in Moore's discussion of the nicknames. 'Oc-e-No', he says, is inappropriate;

'Marinier' (Sailor, supposed by the razon to apply to the Young King) is inconsistently used (1). The obvious answer to this is that nicknames are not always awarded for publicly-known characterisation; and that it was so in twelfth-century southern France is proved by the fact that we know of no explanations for the 'senhals' or noms-de-chanson with which troubadours frequently addressed each other (2). One would rather think that, if Bertran were trying to heighten the impression of an intimate acquaintance, as of course he may well have been, a nickname mysterious to the general public would help, by implying some degree of shared private life.

27. Such a fallacy is also behind the argument about Bertran's laments for the Young King and for Geoffrey. It has always been held, Moore notes, that these laments are particularly personal and deeply-felt (1); but they don't contain 'one scrap of real historical information' (2), and in one of them 'The name of the Young King could be substituted throughout.. for that of Geoffrey' (3). The statements of these poems are, furthermore, purely conventional. The negative force of this must be accepted; the planhs certainly contain no evidence whatsoever, by way of historical allusion, that Bertran knew the princes at all well. But on the other hand this proves nothing definite. It would be more convincing if Moore had produced a single planh which does contain the kind of allusions he is looking for. In the absence, to my knowledge, of any significant number of such planhs, we must conclude that it was not the habit of troubadours, when writing laments, to make such allusions any more than it was the habit of any contemporary writers to draw particular characterizations of their subjects. If it be argued that

this supports Stronski, when he says that troubadours' ladies were mere phantoms, I think it can hardly be supposed that none of the dozens of troubadours who lamented in verse the deaths of their patrons knew these individuals personally. And finally, regarding the supposed errors of Bertran's fellow-troubadours about the three princes' appearances (4), we may suppose that they shared with Bertran the mental furniture borrowed from the chanson de geste (which I shall discuss later), which was quite inimical to the noting of anyone's warts and club-toes (5).

23. It remains to discuss the 'errors of fact' that Moore finds in Bertran's poems. I have mentioned two of them (1): that Bertran refers to Richard as King in his 'Un sirventes on motz no falh', at a time when Henry II was still living; and that he claims the Young King has no lands or money in 'D'un sirventes no·m chal far lonhor genda', though the Young King had been 'liberally provided' with both. The first is a simple misreading on the part of Moore. The song, as Moore was presumably aware, belongs to the period of the 1182 rising that Bertran had helped to stir up with his 'Puois Ventadorns e Comborns e Segur' (see above) (2); at this point he was trying to stir Guilhem de Gourdon to join two (unnamed) Viscounts in the alliance, and to get Talairan of Périgord to stir his boots (3). Since the first strophe concerns Bertran's brother and the second his brother's old allies Adémar of Limoges and Richard (who are now fighting each other), we may presume that the song is some kind of agitation about Bertran's private war over the possession of Hautefort; though, as Appel notes, many things are unclear in it (4). At any rate, the following is a translation of the relevant strophes:

I have made a sirventes where not a word is missing
that didn't cost me a head of garlic,
and I have acquired such a manner
that, if I have a brother, a cousin or a second cousin,
I share with him egg and groat, [5]
and if he then wants my share,
I throw him out of the partnership. [6]

I've got all my wits in my strongbox,
even though, between [7] them, Adémar and Richard
gave me a fright;
they have had me worried for a long time,
but now they've got such a brawl on
that their children (if the King doesn't separate them)
will have a bellyful. (8)

The King in question is quite clearly Henry II, who was the only person who could possibly be in a position to separate Adémar and Richard. For the second errors the lands and money with which the Young King had been 'liberally provided' by the treaty of 1174 amounted, according to Ramsay (a source extensively used by Moore) to 'two castles in Normandy (of his father's choosing), with £15,000 Anjevin (£3,750 sterling) per annum' (9). This would hardly compare, for instance, with Richard's effective control over the whole of Poitou and Aquitaine, with legal use of half Poitou's revenue (10). We know from the Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal that the Young King's allowance never kept pace with his spending; 'parum erat ad explendam latitudinem cordis ejus', in the words of Robert de Torigni (11); and he died heavily in debt. It does not seem after all that the allowance was very liberal, for a 'king'.

29. That is the sum of the specific errors that Moore finds in Bertran. As we see, they are in fact Moore's errors. Moore also misinterprets Bertran's Provençal at the end of the first strophe quoted above; he says that Bertran is inconsistent, taking the lines to mean 'and if he then wants my share, / I throw him some out of good fellowship'. This misreading, made by Raynouard (1817-19), was corrected by Clédat in 1879, and glossed clearly as '[aus der] Gemeinschaft' by Stimming in 1913 (1). The moral of all this is not that Moore is a particularly careless historian; the vicissitudes of Plantagenet politics are very difficult to keep track of; but that any modern historian would be hard put to it to equal the accuracy of Bertran, who never seems to make a mistake in his hundreds of allusions, and that without this knowledge of particular circumstances we can hardly dispute Bertran's claims about his acquaintance.

30. A certain amount of material in Bertran's songs still seems impossible to clarify, as Carl Appel for instance admits (1); and in this category come at least two points of Moore's argument. In 'Puois Ventadorns e Comborns e Segur' (see above) (2), Bertran refers to 'Sir Carter who forgot his cart'. The Provençal commentator explains that here Bertran is 'reproaching the Young King, because he was not more valiant in war, reminding him how Sir Richard had taken from him the revenue from the carts...' (3) In other words, presumably, Henry II had allotted his territories, including Richard's Poitou and Aquitaine; or perhaps, as Kate Norgate took it (4), those revenues should have gone, in Bertran's eyes, to anyone calling himself a 'real' King anyway; but that Richard, who as we know had

effective power in his territories, was taking them for himself. Stimming said outright that the Provençal commentator had this from a misreading of Bertran's text (5), which was really only a 'comparison', and Moore follows him in this (6); but Stimming gave no evidence for this view, and in particular no proverbs such as might put some significance into an otherwise-bathetic simile:

> and Angoulême has much more [honour]
> than Sir Carter who forgot his cart;
> he has no money, and takes none without fear...

Appel, whose work on Bertran supersedes that of Stimming on most points, leaves the case open (7).

31. Then there is the name 'senher de Niort' (lord of Niort) that Bertran uses at one point for Richard: Moore says that it is respectful, and thus inconsistent with the supposed implications of the nickname 'Oc-e-No' (1). That circumstances, and therefore personal attitudes, should change, is not incomprehensible. One can understand that in 'Ges no mi desconort' (see above) (2), where Bertran, entirely at his vanquisher's mercy, asks for his castle back, the tone should be more respectful than say in 'Corta e guerras o joi d'amor', where Bertran is still under the impression that he could, if necessary, count on the barons of his neighbourhood (3); or in the later songs where, if the content is credible at all, Bertran must be Richard's privileged friend. And Moore is certainly right in taking the tone of 'Ges no mis desconort' as respectful; but I am not at all sure that the particular phrase 'senher de Niort' contains any respect at all. The device of naming an apparently-insignificant town for a whole territory is very frequent in Bertran

and in other troubadours; but it does not to me have an air of respectfulness, even when used of someone approved of, as in Arnaut's 'bon roi d'Estampa' (4). In Bertran's case it would be consistent with what we know of him, always to retain a certain independence, even when asking favours. And given what we know of Richard's debauches and of Bertran's liking for puns, it is not too far-fetched to see in the similar name for Richard 'senhor de Bordel' a play on 'Lord of Bordeaux' and 'whoremaster' (5). But these things are impossible to determine.

32. There is therefore no firm evidence that Bertran was not the intimate friend of the princes that he claimed to be. Still this is no clear reason for taking him at his word. So far we are only brought back to considerations of general 'vraisemblance'; on which considerations, as we have seen, Stronski was able to reject the amours of the troubadours. I find this situation preferable in some ways to a reliance on 'fact'; it puts every student in the same position as Dante and Pound, with only the poems themselves and his own 'simple bon sens' (Stronski's phrase (1))to go on. The student is therefore forced to open his whole sensory apparatus to the poet's art, and to listen, not for allusions, but for the 'unusual intelligence working behind the words.' (2)

33. But I have made the claim that the results of Dante and Pound, using this latter approach, have been so objectively accurate as to agree (on the important point) with what we are able to determine from knowledge of the historical situation. I must therefore show some positive reasons for supposing that Bertran de Born wielded influence.

34. My reasons are chiefly of probability, though based on the most accurate historical knowledge that I am able to determine. First we must try to imagine a humanly-possible relationship between these persons; and in doing so we must reject any such impossibly-simplified model as that presented by Moore, where 'character-unit A', whom we have defined, either knows or does not know 'character-unit B', whom we have also defined, and where A's knowledge or non-knowledge of B can be determined by whether his behaviour conforms to a pattern predictable for all relationships with B. Certainly we have to form some 'idea' of the persons concerned; but this idea should tend towards the complexity and fluidity of our ideas of persons we know in real life.

35. Raymond of Toulouse, Bertran says (1), has asked him for a sirventes to help in Raymond's struggle against Alfonso of Aragon. This suggests (a) that Raymond had heard of Bertran and (b) that he was known to turn an effective diatribe; also (c) that diatribes were politically useful. These points are not inconsistent with what we know of twelfth-century southern France, where not only did people listen to poetry (a fact not to be taken for granted in all ages), but they paid for it. Many troubadours had no other means of support, as far as we can tell; while in the following century, Alfonso X of Castile was obliged to pass a law against verse-diatribes, which were damaging too many reputations (2). Nor are they inconsistent with the content of the resultant poem, which, especially for an age with a taste for chanson de geste, is such as to get the adrenalin moving:

And with us there will have come

the great lords and the barons
and the most honoured companions
in the world, and the most famous;
some will have come for wealth,
some on orders, and some because they were asked.

And as soon as we have arrived,
the jousting will start on the plain,
and the Catalans and the Aragonese
will fall fast and thickly,
because their saddles won't hold them up
we'll hit them so hard.

A certain 'realism', or spirit of personal independence and detachment, may already have been noticed in the general enthusiasm: Bertran doesn't give everyone the same motives for fighting:

some will have come for wealth,
some on orders, and some because they were asked.

And similarly he is very frank about his own motives:

I like the great barons to be
angry with each other all the time. (3)

36. We shall see in our discussion of Bertran's poetry that he always keeps his own independence in some degree. In the song asking Richard for his castle, where he is more respectful than towards any other person in any song, Bertran still manages to slip in a proviso while binding himself to the price:

If the Count is nice to me
and not greedy,

I shall be very useful to him

in his affairs... (1)

Now this quality of independence is rare in the extreme. In politics it is equivalent to not 'having one's price'; the career of Bobby Baker in the U.S. Congress shows how rare this is there, and things cannot have been so different in the time of the Plantagenets. The Papacy was for sale, its support being purchased by Philippe-Auguste in his 1194 wars with Richard, as William the Marshal's Histoire tells us (2). Bertran on the other hand was not for sale, as his song asserts:

and don't imagine that I make words for sale,

but one must always fight for a noble baron. (3)

37. I shall try later to show that this independence is basic to Bertran's attitudes. Now it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that such a quality should have appealed to the young princes. Obviously, if Bertran wielded influence over them, it must have come from some kind of personal respect, whether for integrity (which is unlikely) or for sheer personal courage. If it was the latter, then another of Moore's arguments is turned inside out. He objects to the passage from 'D'un sirventes no•m chal far lonhor ganda' (see above) (1), where Bertran says of the Young King

let him be King of the Cowards

saying 'Such strong language could hardly have been intended for the ears of a monarch notorious, as we have seen, for his silly pride of birth.' (2) But the princes may well have respected Bertran precisely because he did not respect their persons.

30. It is difficult to think of another explanation that accords with the historical facts. For it is known from a contemporary chronicler that Richard, with his ally Alfonso, personally laid seige to Hautefort and took it from Bertran (see above) (1); and we know from Bertran's songs that Richard returned it soon after. (Since Geoffroy de Vigeois' account agrees, in what it relates, with what Bertran says about events before the taking of his castle, we may take Bertran's word for what happened after.) (2) That Richard should have given back his castle to Bertran is surprising. Richard was known as a tyrant, and this had originally provoked the rising; he used, as I have mentioned (3), great cruelty towards the rebels he suppressed. Whatever Henry II's attitude towards Richard's bad government, he must have taken the view that the rebellion was an indirect threat to his authority. Neither he nor his son had any reason to deal kindly with Bertran. Furthermore, by collating what Geoffroy de Vigeois says with Bertran's songs, we may deduce that not only had Bertran forfeited his legal right to his share in Hautefort, but that Richard and Adémar of Limoges had supported the complaints of his brother, Constantine. Bertran speaks of his family quarrels and the part played by Adémar and Richard in 'Un sirventes on motz no falh', which I have quoted (see above) (4), and Geoffroy de Vigeois, as we have seen, says that Richard

> took the apparently-untakeable castle and gave it back to Constantine de Born, the son-in-law of Olivier de Lantourn, who had been kicked out of it treacherously by his brother Bertran de Born... (5)

It is thus doubly strange that Richard should now give the castle back to Bertran. That is, unless we assume a personal influence of Bertran over his suzerain.

39. The nature of this influence seems to me clear enough from the poems. Bertran had, as we shall see, a brilliant capacity for telling remarks, telling partly because of their truth:

> The French crown has five duchies,
>
> and if you count them, three aren't there... (1)

The force of such remarks, the courage with which they were pronounced, and the romantic fervour of their author must have been very impressive to princes surrounded by sycophants. Besides, it was useful to have on one's side a poet who, in all probability, commanded the very widest audience; and however blunt Bertran may be towards the young Plantagenets, they come out of his poetry infinitely better-off than either barons or French. Bertran doubtless ran a risk, but the princes were governed in their lives to some extent by a chivalric ideal which Bertran, after all, embodied; Appel aptly quotes on this point Richard's noble behaviour, on becoming King, to William the Marshal, who had defeated him in battle (2). There is also the reconciliation between William the Marshal and the Young King, which Paul Meyer describes as 'une scène de chanson de geste. Le preux chevalier ne demande pas quelles preuves on apporte contre lui, il n'a pas recours à la purgation par serment, à la "desreene": il prend résolument l'offensive et offre la bataille.' (3) Bertran and the princes clearly inhabited the same mental world. In all, it seems to me that Bertran probably describes the situation quite accurately in his 'Ara sai ieu de preta quals l'a plus gran' (4). Here he has taken the greatest possible risk, by telling Richard that he is afraid of Philip of France, and that their mutual fear keeps the two Kings from helping Conrad of Montferrat in Palestine. Then Bertran seems to realise the risk he has taken; he backs off,

temporises a little, and then says 'What difference does it make,
I've done it before';

Sir Conrad, I know two kings who hold off
from helping you, now you will hear who:
King Philip is one, because he goes in fear
of King Richard, and he fears him in return;
would that both of them were in Saladin's
chains, because they are cheating God,
having taken the cross and doing nothing about going...

Sir Conrad, King Richard is of such character
(though, when I feel like it, I say nasty things
about him)
that this year he will travel with as big an army
as he can, I hear this said bona fide,
and King Philip is getting out to sea
with other kings, who will come with such an army
that we shall go conquering beyond the Withered Tree.

I am not at the moment afraid of Yes-and-No,
because it worries him if I tick him off on anything,
and the French King is brooding too much,
and I'm afraid he will come down on top of me;
but never at the siege of Troy
were there as many dukes, princes or emirs
as I have turned against me by singing. (5)

<u>The content and art of Bertran's Poetry:</u> (a) War

40. The basis of Bertran's propaganda, as I see it, is that he is against fear. Fear of course may result in many kinds of defensive structure, personal and political; Bertran attacks all of them. First there is physical fear: Bertran's response to this is neither to run away nor to pretend it doesn't exist, but to attack it head-on and in full awareness of what happens:

> The Count has asked and urged me
> (via Sir Arnaut Lue d'Esparro)
> to make for him such a song
> that a thousand shields will be split in it
> and headpieces, hauberks and tunics sliced
> and doublets ruined and torn. (1)

(Bertran does not say 'The other side's shields, etc...') Were it not that Richard is playing him false, he says, he would already have

> taken blows on my shield
> and made a scarlet one of my white banner... (2)

The result of his courage is that war becomes an aesthetic pleasure:

> The delightful time of Easter pleases me,
> bringing leaves and flowers,
> and I am pleased when I hear the sounds
> of the birds making their song ring
> through the woodland,
> and it pleases me to see on the fields
> tents and pavilions pitched,
> and I am happy
> when I see lined up in the countryside
> armed knights and horses...

We shall see when the fight starts
war-clubs and swords, coloured helmets
and shields sliced and wrecked
and many vassals wounded at once.
so that horses of the dead
and fatally-wounded will run aimlessly;
and when he's in the mêlée
let no man of nobility
think of anything but splitting heads and arms,
because a dead man is worth more than a live prisoner. (3)

41. Not everyone shares this attitude; and Bertran asserts that those who act from fear, either of death or some real or imagined personal tyranny, are dehumanised. We have seen how honest he is about people's motives for entering these wars (1), now he says that those who are dishonest with themselves or lacking in courage are more cannon-fodder for Richard:

The Lord who owns Bordeaux [i.e. Richard]
sharpens them and hones them
and plays them like a knife;
but they are too thick on the ground
and numerous in front of the blade,
and more loyal than a prior;
by courtesy of the sharpener
they will all come to the life eternal. (2)

Lacking the courage of their individuality, they become frightened animals:

And King Philip is over there hunting with falcons

his partridges and the little birds,
and his men daren't tell him the truth
because little by little he is giving way
here to Sir Richard... (3)

Bertran, we have seen, talks of the barons as a blacksmith of his iron; or, as here, as groom of his horses:

Talairan doesn't trot or jump
or shift from his stall... (4)

To tell his allies that they were frightened animals might seem bad politics, but on the other hand one would hardly expect Bertran to flatter their timorousness; and in any case, if the object was to arouse their courage as individuals, such flattery would be counter-effective.

42. But there are other kinds of fear, kinds which it is perhaps more permanently-meaningful to attack (not all generations have wars to face, and many wars are factitious in any case). There are the fears of social change, social intercourse, loss of money, prestige and so on; which lead often to various kinds of hoarding. Nowadays people hoard real estate, that is their houses, following a known progression from bedsitter (at age 25) to suburb (at age 65). In Bertran's time the chief hoardable property was gold, and so he attacks the fear of losing it:

Don't imagine that a weak man
will ever climb two steps in worth,
but down in the cellar
he can stay quiet and curled up,
and let him stay there;
for a thousand marks in sterling
he could never climb two steps,

he is so afraid his wealth should be missing. (1)

When he complains to Geoffrey that the barons have made a separate peace, he predicts their stingy behaviour:

Now they will be wealthy commissionaires,
keeping their doors closed tight... (2)

43. Bertran's images for rich men's hoarding agree with a Freudian interpretation of the motivation (1). With a mechanistic model of how the body, and natural processes in general, work, the subconscious regards excretions as, in principle, irreplaceable, and therefore as treasures; this attitude towards faeces can be seen at work in childhood. Money soon joins manure and other sources of wealth in the same category, hence expressions like 'where there's muck there's money', 'filthy lucre' and so on. Gold is kept in dark, anus-like repositories; the age-old image of the usurer with his gold is said by analysts to resemble the child playing with its faeces. Constipation and hoarding are therefore found to be frequently associated. And so Bertran instinctively puts the hoarder with his gold in a cellar, or with doors closed tight, just as Pound complains that the art-treasures that death-duties take from the manor-house are hoarded in 'the dealer's cellar' (2). Found also constantly associated hoarded money with filth, in a hysterical and thereby-significant manner; and likewise he associates this complex with homosexuality, which is said by analysis to be related to a fear of spending:

Condomar 'devil in dung-cart' !

Finocus' translator wore the crown
The jew and the burgar dragged it down:
'Devil in dung-cart' Condomar (3)

44. The antidote to all these fear-reactions is, in Bertran's mind, war. War makes the great spend money:

Don't take me for a brawler
if I want one baron to hate another,
because that way vassals and châtelains
will be able to profit from them better;
because a rich man is freer, more generous and close
by the faith I owe you
in war than in peace. (1)

War also makes the inward-looking rich abandon their old men's pleasures and cultivate some social life once more:

I am very pleased that there is left neither truce
nor peace among the barons,
who just now were planting shrubberies.
They like gardens and parks
and leisure with little company so much
that they look as if they are expecting assassins,
because you'll never get in where one of them is
without a scuffle. (2)

45. Those arch-hoarders, the usurers, can be plundered at will when there's a war on:

We shall soon see trumpets, tabors, banners and pennants
and coats-of-arms and white and black horses,
because the time will be good,
for we shall take the usurers' wealth from them,
and no pack-horse will travel
safe by day, or citizen without fear,

or merchant coming from France,

but he who steals gladly will be rich. (1)

And another trick would put all the risk of war onto the usurers:

Barons, put in pawn

Castles and farms and towns

before you make war on each other. (2)

—or, as Pound takes it, 'De Born advises the barons to pawn their castles before making war, thus if they won they could redeem them, if they lost the loss fell on the holder of the mortgage.' (3) Thus Bertran believes in what Pound calls 'Confusion, source of renewals': (4)

I like it, when I see the lords change,

and the old men leave their houses to the young... (5)

—but, being well past middle age himself, he is not under the illusion that the young in age alone have the courage to risk anything:

A man is young when he puts his goods at risk,

and when he is impecunious;

he stays young, when hospitality costs him a lot,

and when he makes extravagant gifts;

he keeps young when he burns coffer and jar

and is in mêlée and joust and ambush;

he stays young when he likes womanising

and loves gaming. (6)

46. But the king-pin of all this, the only guarantee of the continued circulation of energy, is war. Bertran was not alone in

this opinion; and though it seems to me that his psychological 'phallism' is the unifying principle behind his attitudes, it is as well to discover if there aren't other reasons for his love of fighting.

47. In the Provençal chanson de geste Girart de Rossillon, which Paul Meyer called an unequalled source of information on the feudal civilisation of the twelfth century (1), following the conclusion of peace the knights put forward a plan to maintain a permanent army (2). 'This plan,' says Meyer, 'if one considers its context, has the main purpose of ensuring the subsistence of the knights without land, who were already complaining at the prospect of a peace which would remove their means of existence.' (3) Some such knights were doubtless deprived of their lands by the continual petty wars of the period, thus joining the noble poverty of the faidits who played such an important part for instance in the Albigensian Crusades. Many more must have been reduced to virtual if not total landlessness by the customs of inheritance and economic fact; following which, no doubt, some abandoned their hopeless positions to seek fortune in war.

48. The position of Raimbaut d'Orange, very similar to what we know of Bertran's, given a clear picture of the miseries of petty seigneurs. Walter Pattison analyses Raimbaut's impressive-looking list of fiefs in Provence and Languedoc, and finds that not only were they a mere 'patchwork of small holdings', as was true of all feudal possessions' (1), but 'the ownership of them was divided and subdivided to an astounding degree.' (2) Pattison found in his researches that the same was true of dozens of Raimbaut's contemporaries who had

to mortgage their lands (3). One cause of this state of affairs was that, with no principle of primogeniture, all properties were divided among all children. 'We find one example of the sale of one twelfth of one fief, one thirty-sixth of another, and one seventy-second of a third.' (4) It seems quite probable that Bertran, co-owner of Hautefort with a brother he hated (5), was a victim of this process.

49. But Raimbaut, and presumably Bertran, were both also victims of an economic process which, it seems to me, marks the end of the Middle Ages. The feudal system was based on the ownership of land and of the serfs who were tied to it. Nowadays one is accustomed to regard the mere ownership of property as appreciating one's capital. It therefore comes as a surprise when one finds, in the Domesday Book, land being quantified, absolutely, in terms of its rent-value; and that this quantification was valid for a couple of hundred years following (1). The value of land was static. This situation was tolerable so long as the total economy was static, as it was, by and large, during the feudal period; but in the twelfth century, especially in well-situated areas like south-western France, a commercial revolution was taking place. Towns were growing up along with an enormous increase in trade. The result was a tremendous rise in prices; and 'since the rents from land were fixed by custom, many a nobleman found himself ruined.' (2) Bertran is thus caught in a vice between the economics of the Middle Ages and those of what was to become the Renaissance; for we find that the rise of the communes in South-West France closely parallels that of the city-states of North Italy, which were also linked with them: 'For the rich trade of those cities the Italian maritime powers, especially

Genoa and Pisa, waged several wars and figures in many important agreements with the Lords of Montpellier, the Counts of Toulouse, or the rulers of Provence. Besides, Marseille and Montpellier had their own ships and their factories in the Levant.' (3)

50. Under these circumstances, as Pattison shows, Raimbaut d'Orange retreated into despising the bourgeois of the communes, masters of a revolution he did not understand (1). Bertran likewise despised the merchants and all that they stood for:

> I don't like the society of footpads
> or thieving prostitutes;
> bags of pounds sterling and sheep coins
> are ugly to me if they come from fraud;
> and tight-fisted stewards should be hung,
> likewise powerful men when they want to sell their
> generosity;
> one should never favour a greedy woman
> who can bend and stretch out for money. (2)

Pattison finds that Raimbaut's retreat was simply into archaism, into trying to 'maintain a court of rather archaic type, in which the new power of money could still be ignored, although at the ultimate cost of bankruptcy.' (3) It seems to me that in Bertran's case the retreat is more specifically into the world of the <u>chanson de geste</u>. He knew that he inherited a social position that 'by rights' ought to have had a power concomitant with its prestige; but at every turn he was frustrated by a humiliating lack of cash. He was unable or unwilling to participate in the new processes of earning it. The <u>chanson de geste</u> offered a world where cash came out of the

blue, or at least to those, like Bertran, who possessed the virtues of courage, honesty and loyalty. It came from above, that is from the king, and, as was obvious from the gente, the king got it from war. This structure was found by Tacitus among the Germanic tribes of Roman times, and was (according to the poet of the Sonfarer) dying by A.D. 750—

næron hi cyninge no ondsoran
no goldgiefan swylce iu wæron (4)

—but was still going strong in the Chanson de Roland, one of the earliest surviving chansons de geste. (5)

51. The king, as the Old English poets reiterate, must give generously. This giving was probably one of the main props of the (extremely primitive) economic structure of the Germanic comitas. By the time of Bertran it was probably essential only to those classes of society, such as wandering scholars, faidits (exiles) and landless knights, who were not incorporated into the basic structure. But a glittering model for this generosity, and its necessary companion continual war, existed in the Chanson de Roland and the other gestes. Bertran took this model for one of the chief items in his mental furniture. When Geoffrey died, he filled Paradise with gente heroes to keep the valiant prince company:

Trustworthy Count, I want Alexander
to keep you company there;
Oger, and Raoul de Cambrai,
Roland...
and Oliver... (1)

In this poem we see the basic economic reasoning and the model placed side-by-side:

I cannot avoid disseminating a song,
since Sir Yea-and-No has started fires and drawn blood,
because a great war makes a greedy lord generous,
so that I am pleased to see the pomp of the kings
who will need pegs, cords and tent-caps,
and tents will be pitched to sleep outside,
and we shall meet in thousands and in hundreds,
so that after us men will sing gestes about it. (2)

The last line of that strophe, in the original Provençal, sounds as stirringly as Henry V's 'And gentlemen in England, now a-bed, / Shall think themselves accursed they were not here' (3), in fact the spirit of that play and of Bertran's poems have much in common; but that spirit was probably as irrelevant to the real needs of Shakespeare's day as it was to those of Bertran's.

52. Bertran's descriptions of battle are a fine example of how our very vision is modified by our cultural models. Paul Meyer writes of the geste authors: 'Ils n'avaient d'ailleurs aucune idée de la puissance des coups portés ni des effets des blessures qu'ils se plaisent à décrire. A tout instant, il est question de gens pourfendus jusqu'à la ceinture, de bras et de jambes tranchés d'un coup d'épée... Les auteurs de chansons de geste nous représentent des chevaliers désarçonnés se remettant en selle après avoir perdu un bras, ou continuant à parler et à combattre alors que la cervelle sort de leur crâne entr'ouvert. Tout cela dénote un bien grand défaut d'observation.' (1) But it isn't necessarily a lack of observation; nor, as Meyer suggests a little earlier, the difficulty of sorting out what happens in a mêlée even for men who, of necessity, must have

witnessed several. The representations of artists must, because of their emotional power, be symptomatic of the way we do 'really see' events, to some extent at least. Bertran must perforce have known at some level of his awareness that this didn't happen:

> soon we shall see fields littered with quarters
> of helmets and shields and swords and saddles
> and of men split through the trunk right to the bolt... (2)

The mental world is that of the Chanson de Roland:

> He breaks his helmet where the garnets shine,
> splits his hair [?] and the skin of his skull,
> splits between his eyes and down his face,
> and the hauberk with its fine mail,
> and the whole body down to the fork. (3)

Again,

> ...and if I find a fatbelly Poitevin there,
> he'll see how my blade cuts,
> because on the top of his head I'll make a sludge
> of brain mixed with chainmail. (4)

—is a typical gesta deed, as in the Roland:

> he knocks both of his eyes out of his head,
> and his brains pour down to his feet. (5)

53. Bertran may also have borrowed from the gesten his attitude towards war, which for him hardly involved great moral enmity. In certain of his poems his effort is to get Philippe-Auguste, who is fighting against Bertran's suzerain Richard, to be valiant enough to stand up against his enemy, so that they can have a decent fight:

> and King Philip seems a lamb to me,
> Letting himself be disinherited thus. (1)

Similarly, in the Chanson de Roland, Margaris may be a black-hearted pagan, but he is

a very valiant knight,

and handsome and strong and swift and light. (2)

That this attitude could affect the conduct of real warriors is shown by Richard's conduct in Palestine, where, says Brooke, 'The contest between Christianity and Islam seems no longer a Holy War but rather a duel between two champions, a duel of chivalry...' (3)

54. But the keystone of the whole structure was the lord's generosity. Just as in the Seafarer the lord's defining function could be simply that of 'goldgiefa', and in Girart de Roussillon the Emperor of Constantinople hands out money and gold after negotiations 'in such abundance that the most greedy had enough', not for any immediate purpose, but simply because it was expected of him (1); so for Bertran a good court has

gracious welcoming and giving without a fickle heart

and sweet repose and we're-so-glad-to-have-you

and a large and well-kept-up establishment,

gifts, and equipping, and courteousness... (2)

Limousins, like Tartarin de Tarascon, have the advantage of a sense of humour over the Northerners, but also of generosity:

We Limousins and people who enjoy ourselves,

who want men to give and laugh,

shall vanquish sense with craziness... (3)

55. But since the cultural model was altogether too archaic for Bertran's own time, to follow it in real life offered grave

disadvantages. First there was the fact that the demand for continual gift-giving came, not from society as a whole, but from sectors unable to keep up with economic changes. The demand from the troubadours, for instance, seems so insistent that Jeanroy says the only political advice they can offer to their patrons is to 'tenir la bourse largement ouverte' (1). But if men like Bertran de Born succeeded in extracting largesse from their social superiors, they were also under the obligation to pass it on; this would annul any possibility of a way out of their permanent financial difficulties. It in fact aggravated them, according to Pattison: 'A second cause of financial decay was the new, ostentatious munificence which had become the vogue, and to which Raimbaut was probably subject in some degree even though Peire Rogier implies that he failed to continue his liberalities after making a good beginning.' (2) The desperate necessity of keeping the income up to the outlay seems to have turned the aristocracy of southern France into a race of gamblers. According to Paul Meyer: 'Le vice le plus grave et le plus répugnant de la société du moyen âge, c'est la cupidité. C'est surtout dans les hautes classes qu'il s'étale sans vergogne. Lorsque, dans les chansons de geste, nous voyons Charlemagne accorder ses faveurs à un coquin qui lui a fait un riche présent, nous sommes tout d'abord portés à croire qu'il y a eu de la part du poète une intention satirique. Il y a simplement peinture des mœurs du temps... Il fallait bien, du reste, qu'on fût peu scrupuleux au XI^{e} et au XII^{e} siècle on voit les grands rivaliser de luxe et de prodigalités, s'épuiser à entretenir des suites de plus en plus nombreuses. Leurs revenus, du reste très mal administrés, ne pouvant suffire à ces dépenses croissantes, il etait nécessaire — à une époque où il

n'était pas encore facile de s'endetter, faute de prêteurs — de multiplier les ressources extraordinaires. La cupidité des Latins est, avec leur insupportable loquacité, ce qui frappa tout d'abord les Byzantins lorsqu'ils se trouvèrent en rapport avec les croisés.' — And he quotes Anna Comnena on the 'money-grabbing Latins'. (3)

56. Meyer says that 'it was not yet easy to get into debt, for lack of lenders', but Pattison's researches on Rainbaut d'Orange show another picture. This unfortunate knight was 'plunged in financial difficulties from the moment he came into his inheritance, forced to pawn his lands again and again until he had probably only a titular claim to his father's legacy at the time of his death'. (1) His father had found it impossible to live within his income, and had therefore left the great majority of his tiny fiefs in trust for thirteen years after his death, to pay his debts (2). As regards the lands he could lay hands on, 'Rainbaut put his possessions in pawn as soon as he possibly could, and continued raising the loans until he had apparently taken the last cent of value from them.' (3) Pattison then details this amazing series of loans. After which, 'As soon as the thirteen years were up, during which Orolan and the neighbouring lands were entailed for the paying of [his father's] debts, Rainbaut went through a similar series of pawnings.' (4)

57. In Rainbaut's case the lenders were mostly related to him, and therefore members of the landed aristocracy; but it is significant perhaps that the chief of them, Guillaume VII of Montpellier, was connected with the wealth of the great trading town. The reaction

of the impoverished knight towards that class of persons, the merchants, who most commonly lent money, was not kind: 'In his poems he heaped abuse on "the rich" (*Ihomets*), by whom he certainly meant the newly enriched bourgeois.' (1) We have seen that Bertran similarly loathes the non-aristocratic rich, and that he goes so far as to recommend the wholesale robbing of usurers, citizens and merchants (2). But we have also seen that he proposes to make use of the money-lenders:

> Barons, put in pawn
> Castles and farms and towns
> Before you make war on each other. (3)

This is a most interesting suggestion.

53. Pound, we have seen, takes it that 'metre en gatge' means to pawn, or mortgage: 'thus if they won they could redeem them, if they lost the loss fell on the holder of the mortgage.' (1) He evidently means a system like the modern one, where the mortgagee remains in legal and virtual possession of the property unless he defaults on his payments. Under those circumstances, if the enemy won the battle he would obviously regard the property as belonging to the conquered, and would sequestrate it; the money-lender would lose his security, and the vanquished baron would have a chance of getting away with the loan-money, if he hadn't already spent it. Unfortunately the disadvantages to the money-lender are so obvious that he would make the baron pay through the nose for such a privilege. We know in fact that they were not to be cheated in this way; they made money through war, or at least sometimes did, and that by charging enormous rates of interest. 'Loans to kings or princes were rightly considered much riskier [than loans to municipalities] and

the rates of interest in these cases were generally kept on a much higher level. The Emperor Frederick II usually had to pay 30 to 40 per cent interest to his creditors. In 1319 the Angevin King of Naples had to agree to 30 per cent with his Florentine lenders...'

(2) It is hard to imagine the rates of interest charged to so bad a risk as the Young King, who was continually in debt (3), let alone to his allies, whom Bertran is here addressing.

59. Naturally the landed aristocracy complained when it had to pay up on the debts it so recklessly contracted, and probably to service them by contracting more debts. They clearly regarded as evil the magic power of the usurers, whose wealth was related to no value that they understood, neither to birth, nor courage, nor labour. Therefore, for example, when the runaway clerk encountered by William the Marshal admits that he is going to live off his capital, William thinks it a virtue to take it from him:

> Said the Marshal: 'By usury!
> By God's sword! I don't like it.
> It shall not happen, may it never please God!
> Take the money, Eustace!...' (1)

And for such reasons Jews, who were permitted only to trade and to lend money, were periodically massacred both in England and France. (2)

60. But it is quite possible that no such dramatic gains as Pound suggests were available. Meyer, suggesting that there were not enough lenders at the time for the aristocracy to get much into debt, notes nonetheless that 'There occur, in [Girart de Roussillon], people who have borrowed — naturally <u>sur nantissement</u> —...' (1)

In such a contract the property is actually (and, I think, legally) alienated from the borrower, just as in a pawn-shop, until such time as the borrower can raise the money to get it back. Thus Pattison says of the contract for Raimbaut d'Orange's first borrowings 'Since by the terms of the pledge all income from the pawned lands went to the creditor this was a virtual sale of the property for there was little chance of Raimbaut's redeeming the mortgage'; and of his later borrowings: 'Consequently, at the time of his death Raimbaut apparently had almost no claims to the lands near Montpellier. He had virtually alienated them by selling the income from them.' (2) In sum, 'he had probably only a titular claim to his father's legacy at the time of his death.' (3) It seems likely that, if a knight lost his battles under these circumstances, the victor would not regard the properties as his to take from him; the money lender would be sitting pretty with the security. So the bold stroke seen by Pound may not have been possible for Bertran.

61. But there were other drawbacks in this appeal to an archaic cultural model, and probably more damaging ones for the commonweal. We have noted throughout that the lord's generosity depended on more-or-less continual war. Bertran de Born connects the two quite clearly in this poem, where he reproaches Richard for banqueting and hunting, instead of keeping up the warfaring that used to do him honour:

> He toys with jugs and cups
> and pots
> of silver and casseroles
> and hawks and hunts,
> and here he used to capture and give:

let him not avoid

the troubles—

môlées and noise

and war with its torment

honour him. (1)

'E mai tolia e donava'—'and here he used to capture and give'—the formula for worthy kingship is remarkably simple. But this ethic was probably disastrous for the period as a whole. First there was the enormous suffering among the peasantry caused by contemporary tactics. Paul Meyer's remarks are extremely useful on these points.

> Voici quelques faits caractéristiques qu'on peut relever dans Girart de Roussillon. Après la victoire, on massacre les prisonniers, ne réservant que les riches barons qui peuvent payer rançon (laisse 69). C'est l'usage constant de tout le moyen âge. Après la prise ou la capitulation d'une ville, on mutile les soudoyers de la garnison, afin de les mettre hors de service (laisses 602, 607). On tue les paysans de son adversaire au même titre qu'on détruit ses moissons ou qu'on lui coupe ses vignes ou ses arbres fruitiers (laisses 121, 127, 132). Par là, on le ruine. (2)

62. Humbert de Beaujeu made extensive use of the policy of destroying crops in the Albigensian Crusade (1); it was normal; but the Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise does not mention that the peasants were regarded in the same light as the crops. This policy of strategic devastation was necessitated by the fact that, since it was difficult to inflict decisive victories in the field, wars

normally settled down to a series of sieges before the castles to which the weaker combatant had fled. The peasants were left to their inevitable fate. 'Ces dévastations sont opérées avec une cruauté systématique... Mais, malgré ces ruines, les deux adversaires, pourvu qu'ils aient des lieux de refuge suffisamment forts et assez d'argent pour entretenir de petits corps de troupes, peuvent continuer longtemps la lutte.' (2) This is clearly the kind of war that Bertran is involved in:

> ...and they ruin and burn my land
> and raze my trees
> and mix the grain with the straw,
> and I have no bold or coward
> enemy who isn't attacking me now. (3)

Again,

> ...after devastating my land
> and burning and scorching it,
> the men of Colombier tell me
> to seek justice if I feel like it. (4)

And Bertran might well suffer these losses courageously, for, provided that he could face the idea of the economic losses caused by the ruin of his lands and the death of the serfs who worked it, he was unlikely to be involved himself in the sordid business of these ravagings. Like the rest of the knightly class, he could restrict himself to pitched battles, and leave the more effective parts of war to his enemy. 'En fait, nous savons que, dans les combats du moyen âge, on se faisait beaucoup de prisonniers, mais qu'on se tuait très peu de monde. Les assauts de villes fortifiées devaient être meurtriers, mais les chevaliers ne s'en mêlaient guère: c'était affaire aux sergents et aux ribauds.' (5) Leaving the dirty work

to these 'ribauds', men of no country and quite beyond the law (6); the knightly class naturally had little control over what happened when a place was conquered. It was Simon de Montfort's 'ribauds' who massacred and burned the citizenry of Béziers in the Albigensian Crusade; such to the chagrin of the knights, who had hoped for rich loot and ransoms. (7)

63. The propaganda for war which, it seems to me, found its focus in the chansons de geste (whose enormous popularity must have been symptomatic of great psychological influence) probably slowed down the growth towards a city-state economy. We have seen Bertran gleefully threatening that not a merchant shall pass safely along the roads (1). The constant interruption of communications caused by continual petty wars was a major obstacle to development. Where communications are difficult, no specialist economy can develop; every community has to produce everything it needs, and would have no market if it produced anything beyond its needs. Mario Cipolla has shown that transport costs were a powerful brake on the growth of specialism; it was only worth while, in general, to transport goods of an enormous value-to-bulk/weight ratio, like jewels. 'The transportation of wine from Pisa to Florence by river, a distance of about 50 miles, cost more than 50 per cent of the original price of the wine; and the wine was very good and not cheap... The carriage of grains from Armenia to southern Italy by sea cost more than 160 per cent.' (2) Many factors contributed to these costs, and not least of these was incessant war. Altogether, there seems to be a good case for Pound's argument that 'when in Burckhardt we come upon a passage: "In this year the Venetians refused to make war upon

the Milanese because they hold that any war between buyer and seller must prove profitable to neither," we come upon a portent, the old order changes, one conception of war and of the State begins to decline. The Middle Ages imperceptibly give ground to the Renaissance.' (3)

64. There is also a good case for saying that Bertran de Born was on the wrong side of this development, fighting for the Middle Ages as against the growth of the economy that brought the Renaissance. There is no doubt that Bertran was an idealist, that is to say that his propaganda came ultimately from his love of courage; that he genuinely believed that a (partly-fictitious) 'old order' was the repository of courage and its attendant virtues. He despised the merchant class as the agent of its erosion and humiliation. It required perhaps more perception than men normally possess to see that this merchant-civilization would eventually produce a culture and a way of life as noble as anything the southern French aristocracy possessed. Among the poetasters in a typical Florentine anthology of Dante's period, almost none are remotely aristocratic; yet the themes, motifs, statements and desires are throughout knightly and courtly. It is not of course in that fact that the nobility of Florentine *duecento* poetry lies; I point it out to remark on the strange fact that as Bertran's poetic world looks back to the archaic and unsuitable myths of the *chanson de geste*, so the solid *borghesi* of Florence look back to the myths of Bertran's period. I think this is the fundamental reason for the shallowness that Pound points out:

> China is fundamental, Japan is not. Japan is a special interest, like Provence, or 12-13th Century Italy (apart

from Dante)... China is solid. One can't go back
of the 'Exile's Letter,' or the 'Song of the Bowmen,'
or the 'North Gate.' (1)

65. I find this last point of particular interest, because, without having seen Pound's remarks, I had in an earlier draft of this section compared the pageantry of Bertran with the universality of the war-poems among Pound's Chinese translations:

We grub the soft fern-shoots,
When anyone says 'Return' the others are full of sorrow.
Sorrowful minds, sorrow is strong, we are hungry and thirsty.

Our defence is not yet made sure, no one can let his friend return. (1)

Content, as Pound concludes in his Guide to Kulchur (2), ultimately determines the value of poetry, and no poet can make a great poem out of a shallow or half-felt emotion. It is therefore of necessity that hysteria shows through at the weak points in Bertr n's moral structure. These are chiefly where he feels called upon to give some reason why the person addressed should take up arms again. Philippe-Auguste, who is supposed to be his enemy,

seems to me a lamb,
letting himself be disinherited like that. (3)

And somehow we are supposed to believe th t both sides have just claims, which to abandon is dishonour:

Since this peace that the two Kings have made
annoys and displeases the barons,
I shall make such a song that, when they've heard it,

they'll both think they're slow to start fighting;
and I don' approve when a King remains at peace
if he's disinherited or is losing his rights,
until he has won the demand he made. (4)

We shall see that Pound's chief concern with Born, after the admiration of the first few years, was the significance of this conflict between the exterior glamour and the slightly shoddy content.

(b) Love

66. Bertran de Born was also a love-poet of considerable stature. Nine of his surviving poems are wholly or partly concerned with love—leaving aside for the moment the envois addressed to ladies that are tacked onto his political poems. According to Appel, who believes a lot of what Bertran says in his poems, it was his love-poetry that first brought him into the Plantagenet circle; or rather, the first surviving poem that stemmed from this circle is a love-poem (1). We have seen what a great importance Appel places on this entry into the Royal circle, as tending to convert what had previously been an unself-conscious poetry into an art whose practitioners received public acclaim (2); and, we might add, presumably became more aware of the concurrence of other poets. In any case, Appel suggests that without this personal contact between Bertran and the Plantagenets, we would not have had the political songs so deeply involved in their affairs, for Bertran would not have felt certain of an interested audience (3). We have no way of knowing how the contact first began, but it clearly developed with the aid of a common interest in courtly love.

67. In 1182, in autumn, Henry II and Eleanor were at Argentan in Normandy, where they received and 'established on a comfortable footing' (1) their 26-year-old daughter Matilda and her husband, Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony. These two had been exiled for seven years by their overlord, the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, though with HenryII's intercession this was reduced to three. It appears from Bertran's poem that Richard Lionheart had introduced the troubadour to his sister:

> Pretty, young person, free and true and faithful,
> of high and royal nob'lity,
> for you I shall be a stranger to my country
> and shall travel beyond Anjou.
> And, because your worth is so high above others,
> it will be higher:
> because the Roman crown will be honoured
> if your head is encircled by it.
>
> With the gentle look and the gay glance that she
> made to me
> Love made me her slave.
> And my lord sat me near her
> on an Imperial cushion... (2)

Henry the Lion had in fact been exiled for his attempts to gain control over the Holy Roman Empire, so that it is suitable flattery for Bertran to tell Henry's wife that the Imperial crown would suit her; also that the cushion honoured by her weight is thereby imperial. (3)

68. Another of Bertran's love-poems is also addressed to this

lady, who while she was at Argentan bore a son Otto, later to become the Emperor (1). Matilda is here identified by the name 'la Saisna', 'the Saxon lady' (2), and by the mention of Argentan in such surprising terms:

There will never be a distinguished court
where people don't amuse themselves and laugh;
a court without gifts
is no more than a baron-pen;
and the ennui and ill-breeding
of Argentan
would have killed me infallibly,
but the pretty loving person
and the sweet gentle face
and the excellent company
and conversation
of the Saxon lady saved me from that. (3)

References in this poem take us back to the period, presumably before he knew the Plantagenets, of Bertran's loves in Périgord and Limousin.

The three ladies of Turenne are praised
for all qualities of earthly love,
being straightforward and true,
but [the Saxon lady] is higher above them
than gold is above sand... (4)

Similarly, in the song I mentioned earlier where Bertran recalls his introduction to Richard's sister, he clearly abandons the worship of former goddesses in favour of Henry the Lion's wife:

I return among the people of Limousin
to greet the ladies who have the highest esteem.

My Beautiful-Lord and my Beautiful-Cembeli
may from now on look for someone to praise them,
because I have found the truest woman in the world
and noblest that was ever heard of;
so that her love is such a familiar thing to me
that I become rude to others. (5)

69. The 'three ladies of Turenne' are the three daughters of Raimon II of Turenne, a town about 40 km. south-east of Bertran's Hautefort (1). It is possible that the Beautiful-Lord and Beautiful-Cembeli, of whom he is also taking leave, are two of these sisters, since they are both mentioned in Bertran's famous 'Dompna puois de me no'us cal' along with an Elis who could well be Hélis de Turenne:

Lady, since you are not interested in me
and have sent me away
without any reason,
I don't know where to look...

Since I can find no lady equal to you,
who would be as beautiful or excellent,
or her fine person so happy,
with such beautiful clothes,
so gay,
or her fine worth so true,
I shall go everywhere begging
an appearance from each lady,
to make a borrowed lady
until I got you back.

I take the fresh unfaked colour
from you, Beautiful-Comboli,
and your sweet loving look,
and I act with great presumption
in leaving anything behind,
because you never lacked anything good;
from milady Hélis I ask
her clever witty talk,
to give help to my lady,
then she won't be stale or dumb...

Beautiful-Lord, I ask of you nothing other
than that I should be as greedy
for this borrowed lady as I am for you... (2)

70. The dating of these earlier songs is difficult; in general, all we can say is that whichever songs we take to be concerned with the Beautiful-Lord must be from before 1182, since in that year, as we have seen, Bertran says that she is as cold to Matilda's gold (1). Stronski appears not to have noticed this fact, since he places 'Dompna puois' after the arrival in Limousin of Guicharde de Beaujeu (who is called 'Mielhs-de-be' (better-than-good) in the poem), and therefore after 1185. (2) This event is the subject of two more poems by Bertran:

Ah, Limousin, free and courtly land,
I am very glad that such honour should grow in you,
because joy and esteem and fun and delight,
courtliness and amusement and womanizing
have arrived with us...

And, whoever is excellent or strives towards it,
it will not seem good if it doesn't show now,
since Lady Guichardo has been sent to us. (3)

Again:

Limousin, you should certainly be glad
because Better-than-good has reached you now... (4)

71. But unfortunately this glad event is very difficult to date. Stronski bases himself on the fact that Geoffroy de Vigeois, whose chronicle stops at the 26th February 1184, doesn't mention the marriage, though he mentions that of the husband's brother; and that sometime between 1190 and 1195, when Guichardo's cousin made his will, the lady already had two sons (1). However, this dating is fairly vague, and so Appel (2) takes it that we may well accept what the razos say: that 'Dompna puois' and 'Ieu m'escondisc' were composed by Bertran to excuse himself towards Beautiful-Lord for his over-enthusiastic reception of Guichardo (3). All this action would therefore take place before 1182, when Bertran was praising Matildo at Argentan: for if 'Dompna puois' must antedate the songs to Matildo, since Bertran there takes leave of the Beautiful-Lord to whom 'Dompna puois' was addressed, the songs to Guichardo also antedate the 'Dompna puois', according to the story in the razos.

72. All this merely proves how little we know of Bertran's loves. Appel is very optimistic when, noting the 'definite, individual traits' that Bertran ascribes to the various beauties in 'Dompna puois', he concludes that 'We are here, as in the songs to the Saxon lady and to Guichardo, on as real foundations with Bertran's love-poetry as

with his political sirventes.' (1) Clear allusions to persons like Matilda of Saxony, about whom certain facts are known from other sources, are a different matter from references to beautiful throats. Precise, 'realistic' observation of those latter was, as far as I can tell, simply unknown to the twelfth-century poet. O.M. Moore notes how four of the troubadours who lamented the Young King's death spoke of his physical appearance as identical to that of Geoffrey and Richard, while Miss Norgate says that Richard was big with blue eyes (2); we must assume that these poets must have known a lot about the princes who stormed up and down their provinces, and that in fact each of them must have known someone who had seen them; but the twelfth century, I suggest once more, was not in the least interested in 'realism' or 'naturalism' or 'representative art' (3).

73. In this situation, where very little is known about what happened in these loves, it is natural that some scholars should claim that nothing happened. This is after all the safest position. To me it seems a kind of 'gran rifiuto' (1), an abdication of the 'talents' or possibilities available to us as humans, because it refuses to take account of the total content of the poems.

74. In the poem addressed to Matilda of Saxony, 'Chazutz sui de mal en pena' (1), Appel is surprised (2) by the following strophe:

Her happy,
young, noble, loving person
nowise deceives in beauty,
nor does it make any illusion,
but grows prettier for a man who undresses it;

and wherever a man took off more

trappings

he would want it more,

because her throat makes night seem day

and if one saw

further down

the whole world would grow more beautiful.

'Would Bertran then', Appel asks, 'have painted a princess like Mâtilda, the daughter of a king, surrounded by her court, in such a manner as happens in these verses?' (3). His general conclusion is that Bertran did not mean it literally. 'An unbridgeable gap separated the troubadour, lord of a hardly-important castle, from the lady of royal rank (who, moreover, just in these months gave her husband a son, Otto). The troubadour was fifteen, perhaps twenty years older than the beautiful young princess. Could his stormy words have been anything other than the expression of a purely poetic homage?' (4)

75. My opinion is that Appel could well be partly right; and yet that such a poem would lose three-quarters of its meaning if things were quite as decorous as the great scholar suggests. I have mentioned the rumours that circulated concerning Matilda's mother and father, Henry II and Eleanor (1). These rumours may well have been in whole or in part untrue, but they suggest different expectations on the part of the contemporary public from those of Appel. Eleanor was supposed to have slept with her husband's father. When she was in Antioch her first husband, Louis VII, suspected her of adultery with her uncle Raymond (2). These supposed liaisons were

at least high-ranking on both sides; but the latter one leaves unprotected the royal lineage, which one would have supposed to be a feudal society's chief concern. Henry II had a large number of mistresses, all of them commoners; Bezzola mentions four of them, besides the famous Rosamond Clifford, whom legend supposed Eleanor to have poisoned. His bastard son Geoffrey, Bishop of Lincoln, was the offspring of yet another commoner (3). Though most of these liaisons would seem to have been without any ill effect on politics (excepting the disastrous alienation of Eleanor), the same cannot be said of his affair with a hostage, the daughter of Alde of Brittany, which helped to provoke a rising (4), or that with his son Richard's fiancée, which led to her repudiation (5). Richard's moeurs followed those of his father, who apparently was an angel compared to his grandfather; as we have seen, Richard's interference with the womenfolk of his vassals helped to provoke a major rebellion (6).

76. Besides this argument from the supposed moeurs of the period, Appel puts forward another, based on attitudes in Bertran's other poems and in those of contemporary troubadours. Here I would suggest that not all poems say the same things nor do all troubadours. Admittedly a poem like 'Cel qui chanja bo per melhor', where Bertran says that Guicharde has

> authorised me her love,
> when she wishes to have a knight,
> for she will admit as a confidant
> the man whose worth is greatest (1)

is pure courtly-love, and that therefore its goal is 'the admiration of a finely-educated, even spoilt, courtly circle of listeners.' (2)

But this poem contains no such passage as the one addressed to Matilda. Its tone is completely different. Surely we must allow a poem to have some individual existence. Similarly with a troubadour: Bertran must have had some things in common with the vast mass of mediocre Provençal poets who exhaled such a deal of hot air concerning wondrous (and identical) ladies, and what he had in common with them is probably to be found in such poems as the one Appel cites; but Bertran was very individual even for a member of that sharply-differentiated group, the great troubadours. Among these geniuses (leaving aside Folquet de Marseille, whose genius is arguable and whose method is unusually plagiaristic (3)), the one whose spirit is most conformable to the lowest common denominator of the courtly love spirit is perhaps Bernart de Ventadorn. How far from this spirit are many of Born's poems may be shown by imagining a statement of his, like for instance

> the boredom and the ill-breeding
> of Argentan
> would have killed me infallibly (4)

in the mouth of Ventadorn. It is impossible; the thought is too particular, the assertion of the poet's own tastes too unseemly. The whole technique and intention of the majority of Bertran de Born's poems is on a different emotional register from that of most troubadours.

77. I am not therefore asserting that Bertran slept with every lady to whom he addressed a poem; still less that, if he had, this fact would in itself add the slightest interest to his works. But it seems to me that Appel's suggestion, which is in line with a whole

tendency in twentieth-century Provençal criticism towards the position that the troubadours had no experience of that which they sang, twists the meaning of the poems. There is no particular, obvious and literal evidence as to 'moeurs contemporaines' in these poems. Yet it seems to me that the total content of Bertran's works is in contradiction with the world proposed by Appel. It presupposes an emotional 'atmosphere' other than that presupposed, for example, by Jane Austen's novels; not superior, but other.

78. In support of such an argument I can only adduce the poems, with a suggestion as to how they should be read. Modern criticism is more aware than earlier criticism that the 'total content' of a poem would not, for instance, be found in a literal translation; that some of the meaning inheres in the rhythm, the syntax, the word-associations, and so on. It is not unusual now to find a critic describing the poem's rhythm in support of his interpretation. But these approaches still tend to be little more than lip-service; the critic, for instance, obscuring the fact that his translation, description of rhythm and interpretation could still convey to the reader something as different from the content of the original as is 'The Waste Land' from 'Hugh Selwyn Mauberley'. What is needed is more quasi-subjectivism, in that the reader should read an original paying more attention to its <u>total</u> effect on him and all his feelings, while of course recognising that the human resemblances between author and reader will always preserve the poem's necessary 'objective' content.

79. I say this to prevent the impression that the following

quotations are offered for their literal meaning. Sixth-formers through the ages have babbled about 'Waking beside you'; the literal meaning has little to do with the genuine atmosphere of a poem or with the kind of life implied in it. Unfortunately, the reader who does not know Provençal will never know what the poem means; even a brilliant translation would simply be another poem.

80. There is in the famous 'Dompna puois' the strophe

I want Audiart, though she wishes me ill,
to give me some of her shapes,
because clothes go well on her,
and because she is straightforward,
for her love never broke
or twisted awry;
of my Better-than-good I ask
her fresh and remarkable body--
from what one sees
it would be fine to hold her naked. (1)

Luckily Pound has provided the reader lacking Provençal with an extremely useful guide to the understanding of this strophe, in his poem Na Audiart, which is expanded from these ten lines alone. There is a lot in Na Audiart which is not in Bertran's strophe, as I shall be explaining later, but there is at least an almost-perfect equivalent of the sensuality that breathes through Form's lines, even though Pound's means, a surging phrase-music, is not in the original:

Though thou well dost wish me ill,
Audiart, Audiart,
Where thy bodice laces start

As ivy fingers clutching through
Its crevices,
Audiart, Audiart,
Stately, tall and lovely tender
Who shall render
Audiart, Audiart,
Praises meet unto thy fashion?
Here a word kiss!
Pass I on
Unto Lady 'Miels-de-Lon',
Having praised thy girdle's scope
How the stays ply back from it;
I breathe no hope
That thou shouldst...
May no whit
Bespeak thyself for anything.
Just a word in thy praise, girl,
Just for the swirl
Thy satins make upon the stair,
'Cause never a flaw was there
Where thy torso and limbs are met
Though thou hate me, read it set
In rose and gold. ... (2)

81. If Born appears to be writing within the strictest courtly-love tradition when he regards himself as the lady's chosen 'confidant', (1) that term may nonetheless be open to its ambiguities, and again the tone of the poem is the only possible test. Appel, it seems to me, interpreted that term rightly in the poem where it occured. But

the fact that tones, not terms, are the constants is shown by the poem which Bertran addressed to Geoffrey on the subject of an unknown lady. In it he says

> for the most knowledgable and the best men
> now maintain her worth
> and hold her to be the most noble woman,
> for she knows how to confer the greatest honour,
> but only wants one suitor (prejador). (2)

It seems that this most estimable lady has preferred Bertran before all the princes of Christendom, for he says

> ...she is so desirous of esteem
> that she is loving towards the valiant poor;
> since she has accepted me as a counsellor (chantidor)
> I beg her to hold her love dear... (3)

Those terms prejador and chantidor amount to something very similar to the 'confidant' (entendedor) that Bertran aspired to be in 'Col qui chanja bo per melhor' (4). But, in this poem the position seems to require an unusual knowledge of the lady:

> Rassa [i.e. Geoffrey], I have a lady who is fresh
> and fine,
> pretty and gay and young,
> with yellow-brown hair and a ruby complexion,
> her body white as the whitethorn flower,
> her elbow soft and her breast hard,
> and her spine seems like a rabbit's... (5)

The poetic technique, and also the effect, are very similar to Villon's in the 'Regrets de la belle Heaulmière':

> "Ces gentes espaulles menues,

Ces bras longs et ces mains traictisses,

Petiz tetins, hanchen charmues,

Enlevees, propres, faictisses

A tenir amoureuses liesses..." (6)

82. Such attention to the detail of physical beauty is so far outside the poetic tradition in which modern Provençal criticism grew up, and in which a lady is more likely to appear as a pink haze (because the critic has suffered from an overdose of the Vita Nuova and its nineteenth-century backwash), that it is hard for the reader to see such writing as connected with real women. 'Real love' is something that can only occur in poetry when the lady is as blank as one of Shakespeare's heroines, according to this approach. For this reason Appel says of the 'Domna puois': 'No genuine passion would, in a quarrel with the beloved, imagine itself a replacement, made out of the sorted fragments of the other beautiful women' (1)—the lover is not supposed to be able to see other women, in the blindness of his passion. Now it cannot be denied that such blindness occurs; and it is possible that where it is absent, the love is not of the deepest kind. But there are various kinds of love, and more than one of them are acceptable to different women at different times. To me it seems quite possible that the 'Domna puois', with its series of compliments to the various beauties of the ladies Bertran admired, which are then all subordinated to those of Beautiful-Lord, should have worked not just as 'eine höchste Galanterie' (2) but as a means to an end. Thus Bertran closes his poem with words of pure greed, and his self-restraint seems impressive:

Beautiful-Lord, I ask you nothing other

than that I should be as covertous
of this [borrowed] lady as I am of you;
because a greedy
love has sprung up
with which my body is so avid
that I prefer asking you
to kissing another woman;
so why does my Lord refuse me
when she knows I have wanted her so much? (3)

83. Were it not so, and were such poems merely 'the courtesy of a mature courtier' (1) (Appel) and their ladies 'de pure fantômes imaginaires' (2) (Stronski), it would appear strange that the Church should have condemned so vigorously the licentiousness of the troubadours. If Guibert de Nogent has regarded his efforts as no more than elegant compliments, he would not have regretted so bitterly 'le temps de sa jeunesse';

> Having stooped my mind unduly in the study of verse-making, so as to put aside for such worthless vanities the serious things of the divine pages, under the guidance of my folly I went so far as to read the poems of Ovid and the Bucolics of Virgil and to aim at the aims and graces of a love poem in a critical treatise and in a series of letters. My mind therefore... was led away by these enticements of a poisonous licence, giving weight only to this: whether some courtly phrase could be referred to some poet... By love of which I was doubly taken

captive, being snared by the wantonness of the sweet words I found in the poets and those which I poured forth myself... Hence it came to pass that, from the boiling over of the madness within me, I fell into certain obscene words and composed brief writings, worthless and immodest, in fact bereft of all decency. (3)

Now Guibert could be speaking of compositions which were much more openly obscene than those of Bertran; Arnaut Daniel and Folquet de Marseille, for instance, wrote such poems, as of course did Guilhem IX of Aquitaine (4). But the general attitude of the Church was that the effect of the troubadours' works as a whole was to excite libidinous thoughts. As Stronski remarks, 'Tous les troubadours qui, comme Guillem de Poitiers ou Bertran de Born..., ont composé, vers la fin de leurs jours, des chansons pieuses, s'y repentissent de la légèreté de leurs chansons: dels crois cantars c'ai fags per mon abelliment, comme dit Raimon de Castelnou dans son Doctrinal (v.151). Les ennemis de l'évêque Folquet [de Marseille] ne manquèrent pas de lui rappeler son passé: témoin l'auteur de la Chanson de la croisade contre les Albigeois qui attaqua vivement "ses chansons mensongères et ses dits insinuants qui sont la perte de tout homme qui les chante ou les récite"... Or, Folquet lui-même se montra sévère pour ses productions poétiques et, d'après un passage de Robert de Sorbon..., quand il lui arrivait d'entendre chanter, à une fête, une de ses chansons, il interrompait le repas et ne prenait que de l'eau et du pain.' (5) We may take it therefore that the way of life and the atmosphere implied by the troubadours' songs, or at least a good proportion of them, was less of an elegant courtly game to their contemporaries than it seems to modern critics.

Bertran in Found

84. Found needed Bertran de Born in his earlier years chiefly as proof that poetry could have a closer relation to life than was usual in his own period. His use of Bertran can be divided into treatment of this theme in the two spheres of love and war, with a strong bridge between them in Near Perigord, and with subsidiary themes in both spheres. In Pound's youth, the literary atmosphere was of an extreme unreality; in poetry, as elsewhere, this meant that the poet was expected only to experience an extremely narrow range of feelings. Perhaps Pre-Raphaelitism helped this, as Pound suggested: '[Gourmont's Songs d'une Femme] is untranslatable into English, but should be used before thirty by young men who have been during their undergraduate days too deeply inebriated with the Vita Nuova.' (1) He himself underwent fairly thoroughly, to judge from A Lume Spento:

Soul,
Caught in the rose-hued mesh
Of o'er-fair earthly flesh,
Stooped you this thing to bear
Again for me? And be
Bare light to me, gold-white
In the shadowy path I tread? ... (2)

Many years later Pound was aware that this atmosphere still existed in America at least, as he remarked to Orage concerning Professor Hale's refusal to see anything in Propertius' 'puella tacta': 'If I were, however, a professor of Latin in Chicago, I should probably have to resign on divulging the fact that Propertius occasionally copulavit, i.e. revered the lady to whom he was not legally wedded.' (3)

85. This battle is perhaps well fought and won now, to the extent of becoming very tedious. To Pound in 1907, trapped and lamenting in that citadel of 'Comstockery', Wabash, Indiana, it must have seemed a symbol of the dead hand of provincialism. For the suppression of sex, like that of other human feelings which are not in themselves maleficent, stems from causes; and these causes have a lot to do with fear. Pound's attitude had a lot in common with that of Bertran in this respect: that the basis of his propaganda was an attack on the fear which manifests itself so tyrannously. Provincialism here may be described as the 'desire to square all things to the ethical standards of a Salem mid-week Unitarian prayer meeting' which Pound attributed to the early Henry James (1). The ethics arise from a need to suppress all activity which endangers the orderly acquisition and preservation of property. Such ethics cannot tolerate foreign standards, because the attempt to understand them would lead the subject dangerously near to the basis of a more genuine ethic, i.e. human nature. The effect on the arts is profound: it filters out all material that would tend to upset local opinions of the world, and, like Henry James, is apt

> to judge the merits of a novelist on the ground that the people portrayed by the said novelist are or are not suited to reception into the household of Henry James senior; whether, in short, Emma Bovary or Frederic or M. Arnoux would have spoiled the so delicate atmosphere; have juggled the so fine susceptibilities of a refined 23rd Street family at the time of the Philadelphia 'Centennial'. (2)

These susceptibilities are at the bottom of Pound's struggle by

letter with Harriet Monroe to establish international standards for her magazine, beginning in 1912:

> Can you teach the American poet that poetry *is* an *art*, an art with a technique, with media, an art that must be in constant flux, a constant change of manner, if it is to live? Can you teach him that it is not a pentametric echo of the sociological dogma printed in last year's magazines? (3)

In 1913 the lady was still unconverted, for she wrote on Pound's 'Mœurs Contemporaines' a series of comments whose tones reveal a whole world of drawing-rooms: 'lovely, but—frank!'; 'Impossibly frank—*virgo*'; 'Amusing—about Lowell—but "stomped into my bedroom"'. (4)

86. Pound therefore had much to fight against, and it is not surprising that, stuck in the depths of the Mid-West, at Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, he should have called on the help of Bertran de Born. Here he wrote

> I am homesick
> After mine own kind that know, and feel
> And have some breath for beauty and the arts. (1)

He also wrote at this time what is in my opinion one of the best of the poems before 'Hugh Selwyn Mauberley', *Na Audiart* (2). After the manner of Browning, which he used a lot in his early poems (3), Pound took an incidental idea from the fabric of Bertran's 'Domna Piois' and expanded it according to his own vision. I have already translated Bertran's strophe (4); what Pound takes from it is chiefly the idea of rejection (*Que be-m voln mal*, 'though you wish me ill') (5)

and that of Audiart's bodily beauty. He uses the device of taking 'literally' what is merely idiom in most Romance languages, namely the 'be' ('well') which is a part of 'Que be' ('although'), in order to create both antithesis and assonance in the first line:

Though thou well dost wish me ill, ...

The etymology of 'liazos' ('clothing', but cogn. 'liar', 'to bind', and perhaps reminding him of Fr. 'enlacer', Eng. 'to lace') took Pound's imagination, for he has

Where thy bodice laces start
As ivy fingers clutching through
Its crevices, ...

and

Having praised thy girdle's scope
How the stays ply back from it;...

And perhaps he misread (or had another reading for)

Qu'anc no·s frais
S'amors ni·s vols en bials (6)
(for her love never broke
or twisted awry)

—for he has

'Cause never a flaw was there
Where thy torso and limbs are met ...

07. If the first half of Na Audiart is mostly an expansion of the lady's ill-will and of the beauty of her and 'Hielhs-do-be' ('Better-than-good'), both of which are to be found in Bertran's lines, the second half is at once more Pound and more Browning. The scenario is Browning:

Or when the minstrel, tale half told,

Shall burst to lilting at the praise

'Audiart, Audiart'...

Also the contral idea, which is not in Born:

Thy loveliness is here writ till,

Audiart,

Oh, till thou come again.[1]

—with footnote:

[1]Reincarnate.

This is much after the manner of Browning's continual exhumations of cadavers, a manner central to his 'Sordello', which Pound cited as the key to his 'Cantos', and whose influence was pervasive in the first drafts of the Canto. As Browning says of Sordello

though I might be proud to see the din

Abysmal Past divide its hateful surge,

Letting of all men this one man emerge

Because it pleased me, yet, that moment past,

I should delight in watching first to last

His progress as you watch it, not a whit

More in the secret than yourselves who sit

Fresh-chapleted to listen... (1)

—so Pound suggests that Audiart may well be born again in such a manner as to regret her present coldness:

And being bent and wrinkled, in a form

That hath no perfect limning, when the warm

Youth dew is cold

Upon thy hands, and thy old soul

Scorning a new, wry'd casement,

Churlish at seemed misplacement, ...

Thou shalt then soften,

Knowing, I know not how,

Thou wert once she

Audiart, Audiart

For whose fairness one forgave

Audiart,

Audiart

Que be-m vols mal.

68. The idea of reincarnation had several uses for Pound. As Browning used it, it suggested simultaneity, or at least that all historical periods were simultaneous for the man of genius whose spirit could penetrate them. This was necessary for one of the fundamental purposes of Pound's Cantos: to tour the kingdom of Dis and to bring back all the useful experience of past ages, for the construction of the new. In such a vision the ghost of Sordello would play the same kind of role as does Tiresias in Canto I, 'So full of knowing that the beefy men know less than he' (1). In this context it is extremely interesting to note that Pound seems to identify, at least for his immediate purposes, Audiart with Eleanor of Aquitaine, who is as, I have suggested elsewhere, an example par excellence for Pound of the way cultural awareness may be passed from generation to generation. Audiart, whose identity remains extremely uncertain (2), is identified by Pound in his translation of the 'Dompna puois' (where Born only has 'M'Audiartz'):

Of Audiart at Malemort,...

This lady appears in the prose of the Provençal biographers, but

unfortunately only in those contexts which we know to be the least reliable: the love-stories attached to the various poems. Thus she plays a part in the great saga of Gaucelm Faidit, which is constructed from various themes standard to these writings. In the razo to a poem by Pons de Capdoill, she is identified as the 'wife of the lord of Marseille', whom one manuscript identifies further as Roscelin, brother of the famous Barral (3). Be all that as it may, Pound may have identified her with Eleanor, for he makes great play with Malemort, in the 'Domna Puois' translation and in Near Perigord, and then in Canto VI he places the interview between Bernart de Ventadorn and Eleanor there (4). He says that she was 'Turning on thirty years', which would be around 1152, the year in which Eleanor divorced Louis and married Henry II; Bertran would then be exceedingly young, but Pound may not have had a clear idea of the chronology (5).

89. Audiart, as I have mentioned, occurs in Bertran, but Malemort does not; neither occurs in Bernart de Ventadorn. Bertran, according to the razo, was the lover of 'Maent of Montaignac', whose sisters were Maria de Ventadorn and Helis de Montfort (1); their father was Raimon II of Turenne (2), and Bertran calls them 'the three of Turenne' in an earlier song (5). Maria de Ventadorn married Eble V de Ventadorn around 1190 (4).

90. Now the lady sung with unfortunate zeal by Bernart de Ventadorn must have been one of the two wives of Eble III, lord of Ventadorn some years earlier (1). But Pound may well have thought that this lady was Maria de Ventadorn, sister of Bertran de Born's mythical 'Maent of Montaignac', who, according to the razon, was

a close friend of Audiart of Malemort (2). Since Audiart is otherwise unknown, Pound seems to identify the beautiful and hypnotic lady of his poem with Eleanor of Aquitaine. After all, Bertran paid compliments to Eleanor's daughter, Mathilde (3). We thus find Eleanor addressed as 'Audiart' by Bertran de Born (in 'Dompna Puois') and directly by Bernart de Ventadorn, as we have seen elsewhere (4). It is therefore natural that, embroiled hopelessly with Maria de Ventadorn, Bernart de Ventadorn should appeal for help to her 'friend' Audiart-Eleanor of Aquitaine: which is what Pound has him do in Canto VI (5).

91. It is interesting, then, to see Eleanor 'reincarnate' in Canto XCIV:

> Acre, again,
>
> with an Eleanor
>
> who sucked the venom out of his wound ...
>
> and two years later she died and his luck went out,
>
> Edwardus, who played the Baliol against the Bruce (1)

These lines, recalling the

> When ever sea till day's end (he, Louis, with Eleanor)
>
> Coming at last to Acre. (2)

of Canto VI, refer to the queen of Edward I of England, who was in fact distantly related, even before her marriage, to Eleanor of Aquitaine. She was the half-sister of Alfonso X 'the Wise' of Castile; Alfonso III of Castile had married Eleanor, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II, in 1170 (3). It is obvious from the Canto XCIV passage that Pound sees Eleanor of Castile as contributing to Edward I's status as the great justicer that he is in these late Cantos; thus the influence of the line of Guilhem IX continues.

92. Reincarnation was also incorporated into Pound's ideas on justice. In The Spirit of Romance (1910), he analysed the significances of the Divina Commedia: 'In a fourth sense, the Commedia is an expression of the laws of eternal justice; "il contrapasso," the counterpass, as Bertran calls it or the law of Karma, if we are to use an Oriental term,' (1) This idea was important enough to Pound to find a place in his poetry, in Near Perigord:

> And our En Bertrans was in Altafort,
> Hub of the wheel, the stirrer-up of strife,
> As caught by Dante in the last wallow of hell—
> The headless trunk 'that made its head a lamp',
> For separation wrought out separation,
> And he who set the strife between brother and brother
> And had his way with the old English king,
> Vised in such torture for the 'counterpass'.

—and again: 'Ah me!

> I severed men, my head and heart
> Ye see here severed, my life's counterpart.'

It is commented on in another passage of The Spirit of Romance: 'There is little doubt that Dante conceived the real Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise as states, and not places. Richard St Victor had, somewhile before, voiced this belief, and it is, moreover, a part of the esoteric and mystic dogma... It is therefore expedient in reading the Commedia to regard Dante's descriptions of the actions and conditions of the shades as descriptions of men's mental states in life, in which they are, after death, compelled to continue...' (2)

93. In the following year, 1911, Pound met G.R.S. Mead, and

began that line of speculation which resulted in the 'Psychology and Troubadours' lecture delivered to the Quest Society in 1912 and ultimately incorporated as Chapter V of The Spirit of Romance (1). Pound was also very interested in the subject of reincarnation, to judge from the anecdote which is also to be found in the Cantos: '...he had a sense of humour, as in "I know so many people who were Mary Queen of Scots. And when I consider what wonderful people they used to be in their earlier incarnations, I ask WHAT they can have been at in the interim to have arrived where they are."' (2) Pound may have believed quite literally in the transmigration of souls; found it more likely to say of it as he said of the ecstasies of mystics: 'Se non è vero è ben trovato.' (3) But in some manner or other, the idea of the perpetuation of states of mind beyond death is fundamental to his conception of the universal order. It is behind the construction of his Hell-Cantos, with their

> back-scratchers in a great circle
> complaining of insufficient attention,
> the search without end, counterclaim for the missing
> scratch (4)

It is also behind the (quite serious) warning to those who are looking for more elegance in poetry: Caina attende (5), hell is waiting, or:

> And if you will say that this tale teaches...
> a lesson, or that the Reverend Eliot
> has found a more natural language... you who think
> you will
> get through hell in a hurry... (6)

94. In this manner Na Audiart threatens the recalcitrant lady

with a punishment, in some future state of being, exactly suited to her present tetchiness, when

thy old soul
Scorning a new, wry'd casement,
Churlish at seemed misplacement,
Finds the earth as bitter
As now seems it sweet...

It would be to overload the poem, to see in it the seriousness of all those themes in their later, full development; they are there, but so far only as a witty means of reproaching the lady, and as a compliment, in that her beauty (here and now) is sufficient to counter-balance this 'moral' deficiency:

For whose fairness one forgave
Audiart,
Audiart
Que be-m vols mal.

The more important content of the poem is its attitude towards love, which (despite its Preraphaelite images;

Just for the swirl
Thy satins make upon the stairs)

is a counterblast both to Preraphaelite bleatings and, in its underlying sensuality, to provincial prudery.

95. Pound gave particular praise to Bertran's 'Domnn puois' in The Spirit of Romance (1910) and in 'Arnaut Daniel' (1920) (1), and, by now well-established as a poet-about-town in London, he returned to the poem to translate it in 1914 (2). In the following year it had given rise to another poem, this time considerably more ambitious,

taking the form of the Browningesque reconstruction which so dominated his early thinking, and entitled Near Perigord. It probably suffers from the chief defect of his model, Browning:

> 'His weakness in [his translation of 'Agamemnon'] is where it essentially lay in all of his expression, it rests in the term 'ideas',—'Thought' as Browning understood it—'ideas' as the term is current, are poor two-dimensional stuff, a scant, scratch covering. 'Dumn ideas, anyhow.' An idea is only an imperfect induction from fact.' (3)

If the essence of a poem is an idea, then its merit must probably be the complexity of that idea, and that is why Browning's Sordello and Pound's Near Perigord are so difficult to unravel.

96. Leaving aside for the moment the relation of Pound's 'données' to historical fact, the situation he imagines is as follows. Bertran, enemy of the counts of Périgord and of their brother Talairan who holds the castle of Montaignac, addresses a song, the 'Domna puois', to Bels-Senhor, 'Beautiful-Lord', who is Maent, châtelaine of Montaignac. In this song he says that he will make a 'borrowed lady' with the finest attributes of all the contemporary beauties; and he addresses each of them in turn, asking permission. Pound has noticed that the castles inhabited by those ladies (Chalais, Rochechouart, Malemort and Montfort) effectively encircle Périgord, but that Maent's castle, Montaignac, if acting in alliance with Périgord, outflanks his own position:

> Chalais is high...
> And Rochechouart can match it...
> And Malemort keeps its close hold on Brive,
> While Born, his own close purse, his rabbit warren

His subterranean chamber with a dozen doors,
A-bristle with antennae to feel roads,
To sniff the traffic into Perigord.
And that hard phalanx, that unbroken line,
The good ten miles from there to Ahent's castle,
All of his flank--how could he do without her?

97. The poem then asks a series of questions: was Bertran attempting to eliminate Montaignac, the fly in his strategic ointment, by making the other ladies jealous of Maent, and thus provoking war? But was Bertran in love with Maent? And then, extrapolating the guesses, was the song an attempt at alliance with all these castles, possibly using the compliments merely as a means of covering up his communications? Betrayed, perhaps, by the astute Sir Arrimon, with the result that Bertran is thrown out of his castle by Richard?

90. A discussion between Arnaut Daniel and Richard leaves the questions open, and then Pound offers his central suggestion. In a love-scene on the banks of the Auvézère (which runs near Hautefort) the lady laments her fragmented personality, and then Pound speaks of an estrangement, perhaps following the break between Bertran and the lords of Périgord, and finally she is a prisoner in his enemy's castle:

There shut up in his castle, Tairiran's,
She who had nor ears nor tongue save in her hands,
Gone--ah, gone--untouched, unreachable!
She who could never live save though one person,
She who could never speak save to one person,

And all the rest of her a shifting change,

A broken bundle of mirrors...!

So that the poem seems to leave another question: was Bertran's intriguing quite separate from his love for the lady, which was of the very particular kind described in these last few lines of the poem? If so, the first strophes of Bertran's poems could be as well as a piece of complex political manoeuvring, a large-scale metaphor for this special personality. Just as Bertran's 'borrowed lady' is made up of the fragments of other women's personalities, so Maent, who

had nor earn nor tongue save in her hands

was, except to Bertran, to whom alone those hands could speak,

A broken bundle of mirrors

—adapting the metaphor of David Hume. (1)

99. The most striking thing about Pound's poem is perhaps the pervasive question-marks; the way questions are half-elaborated and then cut short by other questions:

'Papiol,

Go forthright singing—Anhes, Cembelins...

Where am I come with compound flatteries—

What doors are open to fine compliment?'

And every one half jealous of Maent?

He wrote the catch to pit their jealousies

Against her; give her pride in them?

Take his own speech, make what you will of it—

And still the knot, the first knot, of Maent?

Is it a love poem? Did he sing of war?
Is it an intrigue to run subtly out, ...

The effect of all this is to make the reader very conscious of his own function as part-arbiter of the kind of reality being purveyed; of how the re-creation of the past depends as much on him, as receiving intelligence, as on the poet; or even, as we see Arnaut and Richard unable to decide anything, as on contemporary audiences and protagonists. Browning's kind of reality and non-reality is very effectively created. Hereby Pound could most effectively make the past real and hard, with the psychological clarity that attaches to an analysis of character in which we must participate; yet at the same time force the reader to realise that such situations are based on nothing more 'real' than his own experience, with its uncertainties and shifts of emphasis.

100. The basic effort is, once more, to bring reality into poetry. By that I mean what I meant in my earlier discussion of the poetic environment that Pound had to fight against; to enlarge the concerns treatable by poetry to the same kind of range as the concerns of people's experience; at the same time to bring the treatment into closer relationship with the experience. Thus one of the aims of the Imagists: 'Direct treatment of the 'thing' whether subjective or objective.' (1) This aim may require a wide interpretation, as for example in Pound's four-tiered analysis of the Divine Comedia (2), but it stood the test of his later work. In Near Perigord it works also by uniting the themes of love and war. It was already shocking to the nineteenth-century idea of poetry that so pure (that is, aethorial) thing as love could be in any way involved with so sordid (that is, practical) a thing as war and politics. And the treatment

of war itself is new; as Pound wrote to Schelling in 1922: 'De Born writes songs to provoke real war, and they were effective. This is very different from Romantic or Macaulay-Tennyson praise of past battles.' (3) But the reality of Bertran's warfaring was itself, for Pound, a tricky question, which will require separate treatment.

101. To me the poem is, by comparison with for instance the troubadour passages in the Cantos, a failure, for the reason of method that I have mentioned in quoting Pound's criticism of Browning; a reason which he somehow managed to eliminate between the first drafted Cantos and those now included in the Cantos, thereby guaranteeing that the latter will last to posterity. The virtue of an 'idea-poem', as I have said, must be its complexity, by which it approximates to the complexity of our experience. But ideas are only part of our experience, and probably the least important to us. The material out of which ideas may be compounded is lacking in Near Perigord, and even if we succeed in following the complexity of Pound's thought we are left with a mere shell of opinions on the nature of persons, history, art and so on, such as might be resumed in some such paragraphs as I have just offered. To say this is not to agree with any such interpretation of Locke as that put forward by Ivor Winters (1), whereby Pound should be attempting in his poetry to reproduce what we experience when seeing natural objects, etc., (which neither Locke, nor, I hope, Pound, would consider as by any means possible); yet the poetic version of 'direct experience', though a very different thing from the experience itself, is what works in Near Perigord, and that is confined mostly to the few lines that present the Languedoc so vivid to Pound:

Bewildering spring, and by the Auvezero

Ear, ear for the sea-surge;

rattle of old men's voices.

And then the phantom of Romo,

marble narrow for seats

'Si pulvis nullus' said Ovid,

'Exit, nullum tamen excute.'

To file and candles, e li mestiers escoutes;

Scene for the battle only, but still scene,

Pennons and standards y cavals armats

Not mere succession of strokes, sightless narration,

To Dante's 'clocco', brand struck in the game. (2)

This passage is about perfection in the arts of poetry. Homer, who, Pound said, probably had his power of imagination accentuated by being blind (3), captures the surge and the rattle of sea and old men. Ovid paints the nocurn of the Imperial capital. These are arts which may be worked at with the 'amorosa lima' and the midnight oil:

To file and candles, e li mestiers escoutes;

—which the Annotated Index translates 'and the mysteries heard', but I would say is probably a mistake for something like 'et li mestres escoutes', 'and listen to the masters (of the craft)' (4). Then in the four following lines Pound, in the incomparable way that he has in these early Cantos, captures the whole essence of Bertran's multicoloured, but living, pageantry. 'Y cavals armatz' (from Bertran's 'Be.m platz lo gais temps de pascor') and 'clocco' (from Dante's Paradiso XVIII.100 (5)) are both examples of Bertran's central gift, which is that of moving images, which have just that advantage over a

mere succession of strokes

Poppies and day's eyes in the green hail
Rose over us... (2)

102. It is of interest, for the study of Pound's method, to see what historical and poetic material he used. Pound figured an historical situation where Bertran was threatened by the power-greed of the lords of Périgord:

Talairan held hall in Montaignac,
His brother-in-law was all there was of power
In Perigord, and this good union
Gobbled all the land, and held it later for some
hundred years...

Now we have seen that the most accurate dating it is possible to give for Bertran's 'Dompna puois' places it before 1182, that is before his involvement with the Plantagenet princes (1). This rules out Richard's interference; he did not take Bertran's castle until 6th July 1183, a date specified by Geoffroy de Vigeois (2). Furthermore, Bertran's songs against the barons, including the house of Périgord, do not begin until 1183, being occasioned by the treachery of those lords who left him at the mercy of Richard (3). It is true that Clédat, whose work Pound could have read, since it was published in 1879, put in 1176 the song quoted by Pound under his title: 'Un sirventes on motz no falh' (4). But not only had Clédat misinterpreted the poem as dealing with the fall of Périgueux (it only mentions the seige there by Richard's Poitevins), but Pound misinterprets the name strophe as implying that Périgueux is in the enemy's camp, i.e. Richard's. Talairan of Périgueux is in the alliance with Bertran, like all the other tardy barons urged on by the poem; thus the object of Pound's strategic exercise, the alliance against Périgueux, was necessarily

absent in Bertran's poems of this time.

103. There are also considerable divergences of detail, mostly taken from the accounts given by the Provençal razos. Talairan is, in Pound's poem, chatelain of Montaignac and brother-in-law to the Count of Périgueux; the razo-writer speaks of 'milady Maeut of Montanhac, wife of Sir Talairan, who was brother to the Count of Périgord, and she was the daughter of the Viscount of Turenne and sister of milady Maria de Ventadorn and milady Hélis de Montfort.' (1) Again, he speaks of 'Sir Talairan, lord of Montanhac' (2). Pound must have noticed that the lady could hardly be born 'de Turenne' and married 'de Montanhac' if her husband's brother was Count 'de Périgueux'; he therefore made the gentlemen brothers-in-law. Then he must have noticed that the razos spoke of 'Montanhac' while the place in question was called nowadays 'Montignac' instead of the 'Montagnac' one would have expected; he therefore spelled it as a compromise, 'Montaignac'.

104. This process is very similar to that by which the razo-writer originally invented Bertran's supposed heroine. For Maeut (Pound's 'Maent') is not to be found in Bertran's poems; she only exists in the razos written many years later. Stronski reconstructs thus the writer's method:

> He learned that in the time of Bertran de Born a lady of Turenne brought to the house of the Counts of Périgord the castllany in which was situate the important town of Montagnac. Not knowing the name of this lady, he called her Maeut, probably because the wife of Raimon I [of Turenne] had borne this name at

the beginning of the twelfth century, and a memory of this traditional name had reached him. Then, not having any exact information of the house of the Counts of Périgord, he made her the wife of a brother of the Count of Périgord, perhaps because people remembered at Montagnac that this town still belonged at the beginning of the 13th century to an appanage that was only incorporated into the Counts' lands after the death of Archambaut de Ribérac in 1211.

105. Unfortunately the lady was not sister to the famous beauties of Turenne, but came from another branch of that house; did not marry the Count of Périgord's brother, but the Count himself, who alone could carry the surname 'Talairan'; and did not bring in her dowry Montignac (this is not the mistake of the razo-writer, but that of modern historians), but Ménesterol-Montignac, known as Montagnac at least in the 13th century (1).

106. Pound and the razo-writer have therefore between them constructed a situation unknown to Bertran, in which Bertran's ally Talairan changes his identity and becomes, with his fictitious brother-in-law, Bertran's chief enemy, perhaps sabotaged by his fictitious wife Maent with the purpose of taking from his control the castle Montignac that is supposed to outflank Bertran, but whose historical prototype was some 66km. the other side of Périgueux. Pound then adds to this further fictions. In his poem

We came to Ventadour

In the mid love court, he sings out the canzon

—presumably because Maria de Ventadorn, wife of Eble V, was sister to the other two beauties of Turenne who are mentioned in Bertran's poem, Hélis de Montfort and (perhaps) Beautiful-Lord, who has received the name 'Maent'. Maria was not to marry Ventadorn, however, until several years later (1). Then Pound mentions Bertran's domestic troubles:

> The four round towers, four brothers—mostly fools

The razon and history only know two brothers: Constantine, whose struggles with Bertran I have mentioned, and Itier (2); but Pound misread the poem where Bertran wished on himself all sorts of horrible situations, if he had really been untrue to his lady:

> Let me be lord in a co-owned castle,
> and let us be four equals in the keep,
> and let us never be able to love one another...
> if I ever wished to love another lady. (3)

And finally,

> Or take his 'magnet' singer setting out

is a misreading of the tornada which Pound omits from the end of his translation of 'Dompna Puois'. It says:

> Papiol,
> you will go and tell my magnet, singing,
> that love is snubbed
> here, and has fallen from high to low. (4)

'Azimar', 'magnet', being in the oblique case, cannot be identified with Papiol, and may indeed be a nickname that Bertran and Folquet de Marseille applied to each other (5).

107. So the situation in Pound's poem is his own construction,

being unknown to Bertran de Born. It is interesting to see that his method is very like that of the razo-writers: each took a situation (in Bertran's poems) that was to him psychologically suggestive, and, not understanding all the points and not knowing many referents, squared off inconsistencies, the razoist for example by making the lady marry the Count's brother, and Pound by making her marry the Count's brother-in-law. Such remarks are perhaps all the conclusions one can draw from comparing historical sources and resultant poem. Inaccuracy does not in itself affect the value of the poem as an independent work, be it never so flagrant. And it may not much affect the poem's value as a window into the medieval world. Near Perigord proposes the question, which scholars have not touched upon for lack of information, of the relation between the love-affairs and the political aims of such a troubadour, known to have engaged in both. May not the one have served the other, and if so, how? Bertran de Born is a very apt example of this problem, for a considerable group of his songs are half-love, half-war, first one and then the other. One might conjecture that the love-half served to gain entry to the courts of Languedoc, ruled by their salon-queens, from which the political propaganda might most effectively spread. If the jongleur gained entrance more easily by announcing that he had a song about the lady of the house, the troubadour could very well insert a mention just so as to have his agent visit that particular castle. And so, if we look on the map and find that the traceable indices in a song form a neat circle round the troubadour's castle, as despite all Pound's mistakes they do in 'Domna pueis', may we not suspect some kind of political intrigue? It is this kind of particular realization of circumstances, coming simply from a vivid experience of a good poem, that Pound excels

ing; and it leads to many further questions, especially about what exactly the jongleurs did, that still await firm answers.

108. A year after he published Na Audiart, that is well before he was attempting the psychological complexity of Near Perigord Pound brought out another piece from Born, Sestina: Altaforte. It offers some insight into the affinities between Pound and Bertran de Born, and their common hatred of the fear-structures, hoarding, etc., that I have described. The poem is not taken directly from any of Bertran's pieces, but is an attempt to bring him across as a set of living and powerful emotions, as the headpiece says:

> Dante Alighieri put this man in hell for that
> he was entirrer up of strife.
> Eccovi!
> Judge ye!
> Have I dug him up again?

It is a pugnacious poem, starting:

> Damn it all! all this our South stinks peace

but alternating that tone with one of ecstasy:

> Then howls my heart nigh mad with rejoicing.

But the chief mood is attack, whether the sun's:

> His lone might 'gainst all darkness opposing.

or his own:

> When our elbows and swords drip the crimson
> And our charges 'gainst 'The Leopard's' rush clash.

109. Pound was proud of it: 'Technically it is one of my best, though a poem on such a theme could never be very important.' (1)

It appealed to something important in his personality, which perhaps was not allowed its full play in London society. After the meeting with Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, described so ecstatically by Pound, he relates how he arranged to meet him again and carefully chose poems to read to him which would be energetic enough to impress a man nearly ten years younger than himself. He chose 'Sestina: Altaforte', and it worked (2). He wrote on 19th December 1913 to William Carlos Williams: 'Have just bought two statuettes from the coming sculptor, Gaudier-Brzeska. I like him very much. He is the only person with whom I can really be 'Altaforte.' (3)

110. 'Altaforte' then became for Pound a cipher for the kind of aggressiveness that comes across in the poem. The Romance roots, meaning 'high-strong', could just as well describe the way Pound rendered the poem as the description of Bertran's castle; Stock says 'Pound is said to have read it so forcefully at a poets' dinner arranged by Hulme at the Tour Eiffel restaurant in Percy Street in 1909 that the management placed a screen round their table.' (1) The Annotated Index understandably takes 'Altaforte' in Canto LXXX to be a kind of metaphorical adverb meaning 'riotously, belligerently':

> y cavals armats with the perpendicular lances
> and the red-bearded fellow was mending his
> young daughter's shoe
> 'Ne Hercule! c'est notre comune'
> ('Borr', not precisely Altaforte) (2)

The context is elucidated by Impact (2), and the primary meaning is probably geographical, but it is noteworthy that the Cavals armats ('armed horses') are phallic with their perpendicular lances. This

indeed seems to be what Pound was when he was 'Altaforte' with Gaudier-Brzeska, for Pound always referred to the statue that Gaudier made of him as either hieratic or phallic (4).

111. Though I do not know much about the psychology of it, it seems to me that this state of mind in Pound and in Bertran (which I shall call 'phallism') was that part of them which most hated the living-patterns generated by fear. Pound quite clearly came (perhaps later, but as a result of this cast of mind) to see himself and his mind as a phallus. He says so in the Postscript to his translation of Gourmont's Physique de l'Amour. He proposes that the human brain may be seen analogically as a large clot of genital fluid, and says that there are traces of this idea 'in the symbolism of phallic religions, man really the phallus or spermatozoide charging, head-on, the female chaos. Integration of the male in the female organ. Even oneself has felt it, driving any new idea into the great passive vulva of London, a sensation analogous to the male feeling in copulation.' (1) From here it is a very short step to the idea of the 'factive personality' (2), the man who gets things achieved, as a phallus, and Gaudier-Brzeska seems to make the step: 'ALL MOMENTUM, which is the past bearing down upon us, RACE, RACE-MEMORY, instinct charging the PLACID, NON-EXISTENT FUTURE.' (3) The whole idea of directio voluntatis, that the will shall not be a mere passive instrument of its psychological aetiology, which is so essential to Pound's thinking, is dependent on this concept; and thus Mussolini, example of the factive personality, is defined as 'a male of the species' (4). The chief process in thought is intuition, which is (for Pound) quasi-sexual: 'And as Gourmont says, there is only reasoning where there is initial error,

i.e. weakness of the spurt, wandering search.' (5) The effort in creation is not the act, but the preparation, since the act itself is not under the artist's rational control; as Pound quotes Brancusi, 'Hais NOUS, de nous mettre en état DE les faire.' (6) And thus the requirement of Pound's Confucianism:

> But their First Classic: that the heart shd/be straight,
> The phallos perceive its aim. (7)

112. It seems to me that there is a clear emotional conflict between this idea and the fear-structures we have seen both Bertran and Pound attacking: hoarding, usury, crouching in cellars and so on. It may be seen in Pound's incessant use of the word 'clean' for one half of his moral antitheses. It is present when phallus-worship appears in the Cantos:

> The tower, ivory, the clear sky
> Ivory rigid in sunlight
> And the pale clear of the heaven
> Phoibos of narrow thighs,
> The cut cool of the air,
> Blossom cut on the wind, by Helios
> Lord of the light's edge, and April
> Bloum round the feet of the God,... (1)

It is the basis of Pound's whole aesthetic of the 'clean line': the line in painting must not hedge, wobble, or attempt to cover up where it is going, but must charge, like the knights in Sestina: Altaforte, fearlessly to wherever it wants to get to. The antithesis of this attitude, and the kind of semi-hysteria that such an antithesis arouses in Pound, can be seen in his words about 'bad and niggled sculpture

(Angoulême or Bengal)':

> Against these European Hindoos we find the 'mediaeval clean line', as distinct from mediaeval niggle. Byzantium gives us perhaps the best architecture, or at least the best inner structure, that we know, I mean for proportions, for ornament flat on the walls, and not bulging and bumping and indulging in bulbous excrescence... Perhaps out of a sand-swept country, the need of interior harmony. That is conjecture. Against this clean architecture, we find the niggly Angoulême, the architectural ornament of bigotry, superstition, and mess. (2)

113. And thus we find in Pound that good economics are always characterized as 'clean', while usury is 'filty'. And just as, it seemed to me, Bertran accurately perceived that hoarding had to do with an anal orientation, putting his hoardors down in their cellars with their gold, so in Pound's Sestina: Altaforte the fearful crouch near the earth and try to protect what they've got:

> The man who fears war and equats opposing
> My words for stour, hath no blood of crimson,
> But is fit only to rot in womanish peace
> Far from where worth's won and the swords clash
> For the death of such sluts I go rejoicing;
> Yea, I fill all the air with my music.

114. I do not know the origin of this emotional conflict between Pound's cast of mind, shared with Bertran, and the attitudes which they

so obviously dotect. It seems to me that 'phallism' is probably the chief source of Pound's strength, and that part which he saw as particularly American; it prevented him from being dragged to the earth by all the temporal snares that catch at those who try to change things. But it clearly led to hysteria, for instance when we find him insisting in the later Cantos that usury is 'on a par'with buggary (1) (which, morally, throws light on neither), or when he enunciates the following commendable thought in the tones of an irritable old man:

Tinkle, tinkle, two tongues? No.
But down on the word with exactness,
against gnashing of teeth (upper incisors)
chih, chih!
wo chih^{3} chih^{3}
wo^{4} wo ch'o ch'o, paltry yatter
wo$^{4-5}$ wo$^{4-5}$ ch'o$^{4-5}$ ch'o$^{4-5}$ paltry yatter.
(2)

Or again:

In statement, answer; in conversation
not with sissified fussiness (chiao)[1]
always want your own way.
Let 'em ask before taking action;
That there be no slovenly sloppiness
between goodman & wife...
Dress 'em in foldorols
and feed 'em with dainties,
In the end they will sell out the homestead. (3)

115. By the time he came to write the Cantos, Pound's attitude towards Bertran de Born was changing from a simple admiration of the aggressiveness that comes across in Sestina: Altaforte. In the

earlier years he regarded Bertran's verse as an expression of, and a component in (the latter before the former) real involvement in real war, and therein for him lay a lot of its value. 'Villon's verse is real, because he lived it; as Bertran de Born, as Arnaut Marvoil, as that mad poseur Vidal, he lived it. For those men life is in the press. No brew of books, no distillation of sources will match the tang of them' (1). My analysis of Bertran's work and its background supports this view, and Pound never changed it. But he began to change his attitude towards the kind of war that Bertran was involved in. In 1910 he put its importance very high: 'Much of such song is, of course, filled with politics and personal allusions which today require explanation. The passages on the joy of war, however, enter the realm of the universal, and can stand without annotation.' (2) But in the essay 'Troubadours—their Sorts and Conditions' (1913), which seems to me a watershed, Pound makes, as I have said elsewhere (3), a kind of pretty tapestry out of the troubadour biographies, and then, as if horrified by the way his favourite material is coming across, suddenly tries to bring in a note of social reality with a long piece about the iconoclastic Foire Cardenal. At this point come doubts about Bertran's relevance, though for the moment they are resolved by saying 'his time was past':

> As for justice, there is little now: 'If a rich man steal by chicanery, he will have right before Constantine (i.e. by legal circumambience) but the poor thief may go hang.' And after this there is a passage of pity and of irony fine-drawn as much of his work is, for he keeps the very formula that De Born had used in his praise of battle, 'Bolh mon quan vey'; and, perhaps,

in Sir Bertrans' time even the Provençal wars may have appeared to have some element of sport and chance in them. But the twelfth century had gone, and the spirit of the people was weary, and the old canon [viz. Peire Cardenal] 's passage may well serve as a final epitaph on all that remained of silk thread and singlatons, of viol and gai saber. (4)

116. Then came the First World War, the magnitude of whose disasters and the unrelieved horror of which, when they finally became known, had a big effect on Pound. He changed his ideas about the nature of war, and began to look for the rot in the commonweal that could have produced such a monster. In 1920 he wrote his damnation of the treachery, starting with lines whose hopefulness are strikingly reminiscent of Bertran's 'who will have come, some for wealth, some on command, some by request' (1):

> Some quick to arm,
> some for adventure,
> some from fear of weakness,
> some from fear of censure,
> some for love of slaughter, in imagination,
> learning later...
> some in fear, learning love of slaughter;
> Died some, pro patria,
> non 'dulce' non 'et decor'...
> walked eye-deep in hell
> believing in old men's lies, then unbelieving
> came home, home to a lie,

home to many decoits,
home to old lies and new infamy;
usury age-old and age-thick
and liars in public places. (2)

117. The real truth about what happened in the war took a long time to filter through, as it always does, and in 1916 Pound was still writing unreservedly of patriotism versus 'the Boche', and quoting his dead friend Gaudier: 'Perhaps you ignore what is Rosalie? It's our bayonet, we call it so because we draw it red from fat Saxon bellies' (1); in 1918 still speaking of 'civilization against barbarism' (2). When he came to reissue this last piece in 1929, he felt obliged to add a footnote: 'I should probably be incapable of writing this paragraph now.' Similarly, to his enthusiastic praise in 1910 for Bertran's war songs he added a footnote in 1929: 'This kind of thing was much more impressive before 1914 than it has been since 1920. The pagentry can still be found in the paintings of Simone Martini and of Paolo Uccello.' (3)

118. Was Bertran's poetry then valueless, and if so, how had it once appeared so genuine? Was its apparent value entirely in its closeness to life, and when that was disproved, was there nothing left? For it does not seem to have occurred to Pound to tell himself that things had been different in the twelfth century; it was against his whole approach to past ages to think that such a universal thing as war could have differed more than superficially. Or again, if it had, then it was likely to have been a war within the limits of some temporary code, and thereby subject to the limited relevance

of all games. In 1938 he seems to have reached this conclusion, for, as we have seen, he used the Chinese poets as a touchstone for relevance to the more universal realities: 'The weariness and fact of war already there in the Songs of Tsao, Odes I.15... At any rate 3000 years ago the Chinese poets were aware of the unutterable dullness of warfare. The fine edge of chivalry is something utterly different from the weariness of plugging along in the mud, season after season.' (1)

119. But it will be noticed that Pound here says nothing derogatory about 'the fine edge of chivalry'; nor was the comparison with Paolo Uccello any insult to Bertran. It must be admitted that if Bertran's world is accurately described thus, then it must necessarily be of less importance to succeeding ages of mankind; very few ages and classes have benefited from the safeguards and privileges necessary to the kind of war implied in the word 'chivalry'. But as we have already seen, Bertran's class probably did, and chivalry is probably what his poetry is about.

120. Nonetheless, Bertran undoniably produced an extremely accurate and vivid portrait of a particular kind of world, however narrow, and a portrait that will not rot 'in the unhermetic jars of bad writing', as Pound said Henry James' record would not (1). It seems to me that this is the view of Bertran reached by Pound in 1921, when he published Canto VII:

Eleanor (she spoiled in a British climate)
Yolandrea and Violetta, and
poor old Homer blind,
blind as a bat,

that the ideogram has over the static images produced by the Imagist movement (6).

121. Pound also harnessed Bertran in the cause of distrubutism, it seems to me unreasonably. His economics take note of the fact that in order to manipulate the value of currency for one's own profit, it is necessary to possess of it a large quantity; or in other words to hoard it. It is not possible to buy or sell a given currency at convenient times to the desired effect (i.e. either to improve or depress the market) unless one has large reserves. One of the chief aims, if not the chief aim,of the Gesellist banknotes described in Pound's 'Money Pamphlets' (1), was to eliminate the hoarding of money by taxing it; by obliging the owner to affix tax-stamps to it at given intervals. This was also the chief aim of his drive to eliminate gold as a type of money, thus eliminating the use of money as a commodity tied to its own market-movements; and to establish that money should be simply tokens, of no intrinsic value and purely a measure of price.

122. Pound came to regard the feudal economy as a possible alternative, or at least as offering features that could be copied. In the following passage he moves from the concept of revenue-sharing to the feudal economy, the common factor being (in Pound's eyes) a means of keeping the wealth in circulation:

> We have one Mohammedan fact that will take a headline in future histories. One of the early kalifs did pay a national dividend. He ran with an empty treasury no national debt and a share-out. Conquest in his day was far less productive than the 20th century industrial system.

Whig historians have not emphasized feudal distribution...

The praise of <u>largesse</u> in the troubadours is a fact in history. The attempt of Frederic II of Sicily to enlighten Europe both culturally and economically was a MAJOR event.

Feudal dues have been stressed and the feudal duties (noblesse oblige) have been overshadowed...

S. Malatesta gave away a lot of castles on, or shortly after, his accession. Such acts have a meaning and a social significance. Ridox Ford used to talk very vehemently, but not very coherently, of the damage done in England by the commutation of duty of overlords to their people into mere money payments. (1)

In other words, the feudal lords, kept up to the mark by the troubadours for example, had a sense of their duty to their dependents which showed itself in a great deal of <u>largesse</u>; this was a potent factor in the economy, and one which gave it an emphasis on use of money rather than hoarding of it. Alexander the Great and Bertran de Born are brought together in Canto LXXXV to express this concept and to claim that it leads to a different moral atmosphere:

Báros notets on gatgol

Alexander paid the debts of his troops.

Not serendipity

but to spread

德

tô thru the people. (2)

Bertran's words are from the tornaln where he tells the barons to pawn their castles before fighting--in other words to put at risk their possessions, investing all their property in the struggle; tê is glossed in Pound's Confucius as '"know thyself" carried into action.' (3)

123. How Pound's ideas about currency certainly seem to be applicable to the mediaeval period. Nowadays, as he says, private bankers are able to affect the value of the public currency without suffering any public responsibility, since they are able to trade not only in the commodity to which many currencies are tied, namely gold, but also in the currencies themselves; the Swiss Franc, for example, is a commodity which keeps its value, while the Pound Sterling is not. Recent years have shown the very evident effects of this on national economies, when heavy selling by private bankers has triggered successive devaluations. In the Middle Ages, money was also regarded as a commodity, and this, according to Mario Cipolla (1), was a source of perennial difficulties. There were effectively-international currencies, but they were only of large denominations, such as the middle- and lower-class citizens would not normally ever expect to get their hands on. These persons were at the mercy of the local régime and its currency. Local currencies were normally farmed out to private interests, whose means of making a profit was to put a higher denomination on the coin than the value of the metal it contained. Under these conditions they made a quick profit by flooding the market with their coinage, with the result that the value of the coinage as against commodities declined, and it ceased to be profitable to issue it. They might then either reduce still further

the metal value of the coin, or cease issuing it until its value against commodities had crept back to its earlier level.

124. Nowadays this juggling with intrinsic value seems foolish, since we expect our coins to be worth very little as metal. But throughout the Middle Ages, and as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was considered dishonest to issue coins of an intrinsic value less than their face value, and the people only used such coins when they had to. And a by-product of the fact that most coins were therefore worth almost as much for their metal-content as for coins, was that people readily hoarded them and traded in them as their nominal value fluctuated. Not only was the populace at the mercy of those who had enough capital for this kind of profiteering (1), but the hoarding led to an almost-perpetual shortage of money, with the result that for most of the Middle Ages Europe had a largely barter economy (2). All this, combined with the natural obstacles to trade, make it surprising that commerce in areas like Languedoc and Northern Italy ever managed to get on its feet.

125. Now the answer to these problems, as Cipolla suggests (1) (and as modern practice has universally proved) for petty currency, and as Pound suggests for all currency, is to control the quantity of coins in circulation (so as to prevent fluctuations in value) and to ensure that the coins are only tokens. Pound would argue that in our time neither of these has been achieved, since our money is still tradable by private interests as a commodity, ultimately against another commodity (gold), and since private interests are able to affect the quantity of money in circulation. As far as the feudal economy is

concerned, his argument is that 'feudal distribution' prevented the hoarding that permitted manipulation, and that, as an ethos and a way of life, this could usefully be copied by the modern age.

126. To some extent those ideas seem to be in conflict with the capitalism on which our technology is based. If 'distribution' stems from an Emersonian three-acres-and-a-cow terminology, there is certainly a conflict; the proceeds from a cow will never finance a factory. It seems to me that, to judge from the strictly agrarian Utopia that Pound has described in his 'Money Pamphlets' (1), he is working within this strongly-American tradition of thought. This may or may not be an objection, depending on the aims of the reader. But for what concerns the feudal model that Pound is using, it seems to me that my remarks about Bertran de Born's 'praise of largesse' have shown a large discrepancy between the troubadour's propaganda and the needs of his time. The preservation of the 'fine edge of Chivalry', and the adherence to Bertran's chanson de geste models, required him to attack all that was working towards the growth of urban economies, in fact all that foreshadowed the Renaissance.

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER FIVE: ARNAUT DANIEL

1. Arnaut Daniel does not occur in Canto VI, which forms the overall skeleton of this Section, but he has an important place in the Canton as a whole. Little is known about him, and little of his work remains. He probably 'flourished' poetically between about 1180 and 1200 (1). We can gather from the scattered remarks of various exceptionable sources that he was probably an impoverished gentleman of the lowest rank who was unable to enjoy any of the privileges due to his quality. His vida tells us that he was a gentils hom 'and learned letters well and became a jongleur' (2); there seems a certain incongruity in this, since a gentleman of letters would normally either live on his rents or enter the Church. Other MSS of the vida perhaps sense this when they say 'and he learned letters well and delighted himself with trobar (composing) and abandoned letters and became a jongleur' (3). We may see him at work in this lowly profession, if he is indeed the person referred to, when Bertran de Born says:

> Take my old-and-young sirventes
>
> to Richard, jongleur Arnaut, so that it may guide him...(4)

Benvenuto da Imola, who is extremely unreliable, being given to concocting whole anecdotes from puns on people's names (5), adds his slight weight to this view of Arnaut's condition when he recounts that while he was growing old in poverty, he made a very beautiful song that he sent via a messenger to the King(s) of France, England, and to the other western princes; in it he asked that just as he, with his person, had aided them in enjoyment, so they with their wealth should help him in utility. When, following

> this, the messenger brought back a lot of money. Arnaut said: 'Now I can see that God is not thinking of abandoning me.' And immediately he put on the monastic habit and was always of most virtuous life. (6)

While Arnaut is here able to command the services of a jongleur (perhaps for promises?), it is evident that he had not acquired the benefits that might accrue to a successful troubadour, like Raimbaut de Vaqueiras for example (7). So he may well have had to eke out his income with singing the songs of others.

2. This seems to be confirmed by some passing insults in a controversy of wit that Arnaut joined. The vida says that 'Raimon de Durfort and Sir Ture Malec were two knights of the Cahors district, who made sirventes about the lady who was called Milady Aia, she who say to the knight of Cornil that she would not love him, if he did not blow her horn' (1)--this request being an obscene pun on the knight's name. Bernart de Cornilh having refused, he was reproved for this unknightly behaviour by Raimon de Durfort and Ture Malec; whereupon Arnaut came to Bernart's defence, pointing out the objectionable nature of the request (2). In his counterattack Raimon says to Bernart:

> You are even more of a wretch
> than Arnaut the scholar,
> whom dice and gaming-boards undo
> and he goes around like a penitent,
> poor in clothing and cash... (3)

And then he invites this poor 'Arnaut escolier', so called for the second time, to take a message to the lady. How much slanders of

troubadours are not unknown; some of our most exact information for dating purposes comes from two long and detailed libels by the Monk of Montaudon and Peire d'Alvernhe of all the famous troubadours of their day, and these are filled with outrageous accusations (4). But the accusations vary with the person accused, and their direction, if not their force, is significant. Arnaut was therefore probably poor. But if we are reluctant to associate him with the beggarly behaviour of the troubadours attacked by Peire d'Alvernhe (5), we may see him with Benvenuto da Imola as retaining his dignity:

> ...this great 'finder' was a Provençal of the time of the good Count Raimon-Berenger of Provence, by name Arnaut and by surname Daniel, a certain man of court, prudent and sage, who 'found' many and beautiful compositions in the vulgar tongue.' (6)

3. But men have more than one side to their behaviour, and the controversy over the lady Aia (Ayma)'s request sheds an interesting light both on Daniel and on the troubadours in general. We have seen that the issue of how the troubadours behaved in love has a bearing on our idea of the function of the poetry of, for instance, Bertran de Born. If we concede that his addressees to Matilda, Henry the Lion's wife, were merely a gracious, if rather strange, compliment, we tend towards the position of Stronski which denies any relation between the troubadours' poems and their loves (1). In this our conclusions may be queered by a misapprehension of atmospheres, based on the very narrow range of thought and feeling expressed in many troubadour poems. It is therefore interesting to try to relate together the poetic world of the works that form the basis of general opinions

about the troubadours and their world, and that of the works that remain untranslated and, for the most part, available only in diplomatic editions or in critical texts executed for philological purposes in the learned journals. For frequently these latter obscene works come from the troubadours whose other poetic world is of the most refined. The obscene poems of Guilhem IX form too large a part of his corpus to have passed unnoticed; but their relation to his courtly poems (at least one of which is as 'ideal' as any Provençal production) is thought of as a problem peculiar to him. Yet here Arnaut, normally a 'courtly' poet, is coarser than a rugby club. Folquet de Marseille, who denies his relationship with 'Vermillon' by saying that it would stain his hand to touch her (2), is accused in this untranslatable manner:

E lai de Marsoilla•n Folquet
qe chanta de fotr' o folot
per una brutta cui n'aten
o'a plus ample con d'un cabot
o fora•l noills pesques ab rot
on mar can no la move•l ven. (3)

As Stronski says of Folquet's denials, 'On sent derrière cette chanson quelque chose de réel, de vivant, et l'on sort avec elle du domaine de l'imagination dans lequel les autres chansons de Folquet nous maintiennent.' (4) Now Stronski may be right to a certain extent in making this hermetic division into the imagined and the purposeful. The poetic effect of many troubadour songs comes from an implied world that has no necessary relation to any intrigue or other 'faits divers' such as might happen in 'real life'; there is a suspense, but it comes from a conflict arising out of elements that are rarely realised in

the ordinary world. On the other hand, it is as well to remember that this other world, the more normal one, was probably the one they actually moved in; to judge from outbursts like that of Folquet, they may even have been the noisy, smelly and avaricious mob that Poire d'Alvernhe portrays. Thus when we come across an oeuvre, like Bertran's, that seems to imply sexual ambitions and possibilities, we shall probably not (like Appel) rule out such a background on the grounds that it conflicts with the public morality of the era.

4. There is a further marginal interest in Arnaut's exchange of sirventes with Raimon de Durfort and Truc Malec. Pound's interest in and approval of the troubadours stems in large part from the attitude towards women which, he thinks, is implied by their poems:

> The whole break of Provence with this world [i.e. that of 'Plastic plus immediate satisfaction'], and indeed the central theme of the troubadours, is the dogma that there is some proportion between the fine thing held in the mind, and the inferior thing ready for instant consumption.' (1)

This theme may be related to the 'suspense' I have just mentioned. I shall not discuss the rationale of this 'suspense' here; but Fiedler has pointed out how too abject a worship of the Great Mother, or female principle (which is the cause of the suspense) can lead to narcissism, a condition often closely related to homosexuality (2). It is often said that the troubadours are more interested in themselves than in any lady (3). We have seen, in our study of Bertran, how abhorrent any such implications as these latter are to the psychological approach of Pound (4); we may conclude that if he saw the troubadours in that way he would cease to be interested in them.

It is interesting therefore to note Pound's remark in his 'Arnaut Daniel' essay: 'It is like that men slandered Arnaut for Dante's putting him in his Purgatorio, but the True Malen poem is against this.' (5)

5. The referents of this remark are a little difficult to establish. It is impossible to tell whether Pound's independent manner of reading would have saved him on this point; but a surprising series of scholars (Diez, Canello, Lavaud, Hoepffner, Kolsen, Vossler) perpetuated the error that Arnaut was in Dante's Purgatory as a sodomite (1). Now we know that Canello's edition of Arnaut was used by Pound, though he may have stuck more to Lavaud (2); it is possible then that he followed Canello in his certainly-erroneous opinion that the verb cornay in the sirventes meant 'usare sodomiticamente' (3). On the other hand Pound may have realised both that Arnaut is in Purgatory not as a sodomite but as a bisexual (the group of sodomites has already departed, Purg. XXVI.79) (4); and that the sirventes to Raimon de Durfort and True Malex contains no specific indications about Arnaut's sexuality. If either of these referents could be cleared up, we might know more about Pound's intentions in his remark; but since bisexuals may include the other category in any case, we may assume that Pound was concerned to clear his favourite troubadour of suspicion of the one mode of behaviour 'qui ne nuit pas aux autres' (5) that, to my knowledge, he ever condemned.

6. All this seems far removed from that which is the reason for any interest in Arnaut Daniel, namely his love-poetry. Its outstanding feature is technical complexity, which is here of such an

order that one might consider his 17 love-poems the equivalent in poetic labour of a much larger corpus in a more fluent style. The most easily-verified statistic is the number of rhymes; as Pound says, 'he uses ninety-eight rhyme sounds in seventeen canzos' (1). Toja has reduced this for easier comparison: Arnaut uses one new rhyme per ten lines, approximately. The other famous master of the trobar clus or difficult style, Raimbaut d'Orange, only used one new rhyme per 14⅔ lines, while Giraut de Bornelh and Peire Cardenal use 1 : 56⅔ and 1 : 25 respectively (2). This is obviously not just an indication of how often rhymes occur in the poems, but of the range of sounds that the poet is able to rhyme on. Many a Provençal poet was able to turn out poems with seven rhymesounds per strophe, reoccated in the same order in all the other strophes; which might seem difficult in English, unless one stuck to meaningless rhymes like -oth, -ing, or other purely morphological tags. Folquet de Marseille for example has no worries about doing just that; he rhymes -ar, -or, -ar, -ar, -ons, -ens, -an, -an in 'Meravil me cum pot nulz hom chantar' (3). Things are different when you try to rhyme on rarer morphological tags and even on word-roots, as Arnaut does; and more so when you shorten some lines to one word, so that there is absolutely no room for manoeuvre within the line. I mention all this not so as to define Arnaut's manner of working, but merely to give an idea of what critics and Pound are talking about when they speak of his difficult art.

7. The things that Arnaut 'says' in these forms, that is, the residue that is left when one translates literally, are not especially unusual or striking. He shares, for example, some annoying ratiocinations with Bernart de Ventadorn:

...and if she doesn't cure my tortures
with a kiss before the New Year
she kills me and sends herself to Hell. (1)

Again,

Sweet calls and cries...
of the birds I hear...
and so I whose desires are fixed on the finest lady
must make a song of better workmanship than all
theirs, etc. etc. (2)

I do not want to collect and classify all the things that Arnaut 'says', because they do not differ much from those of other troubadours like Bernart, though Arnaut for instance does not share Bernart's insistent plaintiveness. One could well say of the 'literal meaning' of a poem what Eliot said of the plot of stories by great writers: that it is provided merely as a bribe or trick to keep the reader's attention, while the real import is being conveyed. This is going too far; there is no part of a work of art which does not contribute to its meaning, in varying degree. With Arnaut I think that the literal meaning is not a major component, and that attempts to analyse it will be counter-productive because they will focus, in our literal-minded age, too much attention on its emptiness. Much of the import of Arnaut's poetry will come out, I hope, in my discussion of critics' and Pound's attitudes towards it. It is nonetheless interesting to quote Pound's opinion and exemplar, in an article which is not now in print:

> Beyond its external symmetry, every formal poem should have its internal thought-form, or, at least, thought progress. This form can, of course, be an

well displayed in a prose version as in a metrical one. It is usually the last thing to be learned by a maker of canzoni. In the present example it is neither remarkable or deficient.

EM BREU BRISAIAL TEMPS BRAUS [Arnaut Daniel]

I.

Soon will the harsh time break upon us, the north wind hoot in the branches which all swish together with their closed-over boughs of leaves; no bird sings nor "peeps" now, yet love teaches me to make a song that shall not be second nor third, but first for freeing the embittered heart.

II.

Love in the garden-close of worth, a pool of prowess (i.e., low flooded land) whence all good fruits are born if there be one to gather them faithfully; for not one does ice or snow destroy while the good trunk nourisheth them; but, if knave or coward break it, the sap is lost between the loyal.

III.

A fault mended is matter for praise; and I feel in both flanks that I have more love without thinking of it than have those who strut talking about it; it girds against my heart worse than a buckle. And as long as my lady shows her face angered against me, I'd rather bear pain in the desert where never bird hath eyrie.

IV.

Good doctrine and gentle, and the body clear,

subtle and frank, have led me to the sure hold of love of her whom I most wish to receive me; for if she was harsh and crabbed with me, now would we cut long time short with pleasure, for she is more fine in my eyes and I am more set toward her than were Atalanta and Meleager, the one to the other.

V.

I was so doubtful that for lack of daring I turned often from black to white, and desire so raids me and my mind that the heart knows not whether to dance or mourn; but Joy, who gives me faith to hope, blames me for not calling to her, for I'm so skilled at praying and have such slight wish for aught else except her.

VI.

It vexts me to think of her, and I've both my eyes cankered when they're not looking at her; and think not that my heart turns from her, for neither prayers (ovvrs—I think perhaps here, "prayers," ecclesiastical) nor jesting nor viol-playing can get me from her a reed's breadth. "From her!" What have I said? God cover me, may I perish in the sea (for setting those words together).

Arnaut would have his song offered up somewhere where a sweet word ends in "Amo." (3)

This translation is accurate enough in its main lines, and will give a sufficient idea for the time being of what Arnaut's poetry is 'about'.

Daniel in Dante

8. It is fairly clear that Pound would not have paid the attention to Daniel necessary to perceive his value, had Dante not recommended him: 'The De Vulgari Eloquio refers us to Richard of St. Victor, Cordello, Bertran de Born, and Arnaut Daniel. Dante was my Baedeker in Provence...' (1) In his essays on Arnaut, Pound constantly referred to Dante's opinions. When he returned to the troubadours in the Thirties, it was to those whom Dante had recommended, and it was to find that Dante's opinions about at least two of them had been wiser than his own youthful judgments: Cordello, quite absent from his earlier enthusiasms, was now praised: 'Only after long domesticity with music did I, at any rate, see why Dante has mentioned Cordello, or has he even done so in De Eloquio?' (2). It is obvious that certain troubadours were, on the recommendation of Dante, almost subconsciously earmarked by Pound for investigation, and were tested out over the years against this recommendation; with the result that Dante came to have 'authority' as that term is provisorily defined in Kulchur (3). Similarly, it is safe to say that Arnaut would not now receive the attention from critics that he does, were it not for Dante's recommendations. For Arnaut is not much in favour with the critics (4), and has not been for nearly two centuries now, so that he is often discussed only in order to explain the differences between Dante's opinion and that of the writer. It is therefore incumbent upon us to outline Dante's criticisms.

9. The De Vulgari Eloquentia is both very tightly-knit on a rational plane and soundly-rooted in examples of great complexity. Everything is proved by what precedes, from beginning to end, and

many points are succinctly exemplified by the first lines of canzoni which might in themselves be the subject of extended examinations. I shall not therefore try to fit the statements on Arnaut into their closely-argued context, but shall treat them as isolated statements. They are misleadingly simple. The book itself has that appearance; it syllogises patiently and, apparently, naïvely, from 'fundamentals' (as required by Aristotle's Physics) (1) to particulars; the former being things like 'although in Scripture we find that the lady spoke first, nonetheless it is reasonable to believe that the man was the one who spoke first' (2), and the latter things like the repetition of rhymes within the strophe. Nonetheless, despite this very mediaeval frame work of concepts, the book was written by one who practised the art it speaks of, and so it is worth looking for merits such as might have led Pound to say 'The De Eloquio is ever excellent testimony of the way in which a great artist approaches the detail of métier.' (3)

10. The following are all the references to Arnaut in Dante's books:

> Therefore these three things, that is to say Safety, Venus and Virtue, seem to be those great matters which must be treated of in the highest manner; or rather those things which are most necessary to these three, that is valour in arms, the arousal of love, and the direction of the will. Concerning which things, if we consider well, we find that distinguished men have made poems; namely, Bertran de Born, arms; Arnaut Daniel, love; Giraut de Bornelh, rectitude; Cino da Pistoia, love; his friend [i.e., Dante himself] rectitude. For

Bertran says: Non pose mudar o'un cantar non esparia.

Arnaut: L'aura amara - fai bruol branqua - clairir.

Giraut: Per solas revelllar Cho s'es trop endormitz.

Cino: Digno son eo de morte. His friend: Doglia mi reca nello core ardire... (1)

And then there is the wise and beautiful and also lofty, which belongs to the distinguished writers... We call this level of construction the most excellent, and this is the one I am seeking, when I pursue the highest things, as aforesaid. Only the distinguished canzoni are found to be woven of this; like Giraut, Si per mon Sobreton non fos; Folquet de Marseille, Tan m'abellis l'amoros pensamen; Arnaut Daniel, Sols sui cho sai lo sobraffan chem sorz... Do not be surprised, reader, that I have reminded you of so many authors: I cannot indicate this level of construction that I call the highest except by examples of this kind. (2)

I therefore say that every stanza is harmonised to receive a certain melody; but they seem to be made in different manners; because some progress with a continuous tune to the end, that is to say without the repetition of any musical phrase and with a dieslo; and I call a dieslo a turn from one tune to another (which when I speak in the vulgar tongue I call a volta [turn]); and Arnaut Daniel used this kind of stanza in almost all his songs, and we followed him when we sang Al poco iorno e al gran cerchio d'ombra. (3)

> And I leave on one side the relationship of rhymes, not saying anything about rhyme in itself: for I am postponing a discussion of them until later, when I am concerned with mediocre poetry. At the beginning of this chapter there are therefore certain points to be distinguished. One is the stanza without rhymes, in which no manner of rhyming is to be expected; and Arnaut Daniel used stanzas of this kind very frequently, as here: Sem fos Amor de joi donar, and I sing: Al poco iorno... (4)

11. These are all the mentions of Arnaut in the De Vulgari Eloquentia, and they all seem to be straightforward, even superfluous. They have been taken so, for instance, by Salvatore Santangelo, when he assumes as the basis of his reasoning on Dante's sources that Dante took the order of examples in II.vi straight from his manuscript source; and suggests that the order of the first three examples (if it be read as an order of comparative merit) was taken straight from the opinions in a Provençal grammar-book (1). Since discussion of the Purgatorio passage on Arnaut, whichhas aroused the most controversy, will inevitably refer back to the De Vulgari Eloquentia, it might be as well to decide whether such things could be so.

12. First, on general grounds: Dante by writing such works as the Divina Commedia showed himself to be among the greatest masters of the art of versification. The De Vulgari Eloquentia chiefly concerns this art. We might therefore not expect him to be ignorant of the examples therein quoted, or to have to refer to a book to remember

the titles of the (to him) foremost specimens of what has been achieved in his métier. Such a mental fog would ill become one who achieved more precise mental distinctions within one work of art than any writer so far. There is here no question of Dante's knowledge of fact, but of his treatment of the one subject he was more qualified than anyone else to write about: versification.

13. It is perhaps necessary therefore to point a few of the important things being said in the De Vulgari Eloquentia, both in general and concerning Arnaut. Pound called it 'excellent testimony of the way in which a great artist approaches the detail of métier.' (1) This is not apparent from what I have so far said about the book. But leaving aside the naïvely syllogistic method, we may perceive that Dante does in fact treat of many of the most important things that are necessary for the writing of great poetry. In the first part, for example, the question of primary and secondary language, the one which 'infantes adsuefiunt ab adsistentibus, cum primitus distinguere voces incipiunt', as against 'alia locutio secundaria nobis, quam Romani grammaticam vocaverunt.' (2) The opening of possible literary languages from the 'gramatica locutio' of nineteenth-century poets to the mother-tongue, i.e. that which is organic to our thought and feeling, was probably the most important step taken in literature this century. Then there is Dante's long disquisition in the first book of the D.V.E. on the relative merits of Provençal and Italian, Aquilian and Istrian, and all the other dialects he can think of; this is probably the part that seems most local and dated to the modern reader. But however subjective and temporary Dante's criteria seem to be, the discussion hits on the central truth that every

language or dialect is better fitted for rendering certain areas of man's possible consciousness than any other; and that the man who attempts the Tuscan romance in the language of London had better be careful. He may have to re-invent the language. That is why Swinburne, for all his technical brilliance, could never achieve the hardness of Villon; or Pound, so long as he stuck to the language of his forebears, the hardness of Cavalcanti. Pound exemplifies this excellently in the specimen-translations at the end of his 'Cavalcanti' essay (3). It is the reason for all the foreign language in the Cantos (4).

14. These are general merits in Dante's book; I shall be referring to others later. There are also very important points in the remarks about Arnaut. The first one, for instance, follows all the material in Book I establishing the pre-eminence of Italian as a literary language, and in particular the speech of Florence; which, patriotic as it may be, coincides with the truth in Dante's time. Preceding the paragraph I have quoted, there is a long ratiocination about the matters which are best to be treated in this pre-eminent language, with the aim of establishing perfect concordance between matter and vehicle. (This seems to me another fundamental truth which is frequently ignored in practice: no elevation of language will help a trivial content. As Dame Edith Sitwell said of post-war British poetry, the proper subject of mankind is no longer man, but spiders in baths.) Dante concludes, reasonably, that the three greatest subjects are Safety (and therefore war), the pleasures of Venus (and their stimulation) and moral rectitude (1). When he gives examples we would therefore expect a double purpose: to 'prove' by

demonstration that what he has been arguing gives the noblest results in practice; and to point out those authors who embody what he has been arguing and who are therefore most worthy of being read. The reader who wishes to learn anything will therefore study the poems cited. Examples are the only kind of 'proof' worth anything in talk about art, as Pound has often repeated (2); which is precisely why Dante says, in the second paragraph I have quoted, 'Do not be surprised, reader, that I have reminded you of so many authors: I cannot indicate this level of construction that I call the highest, except by examples of this kind.'(3) To dismiss the examples as having been copied from the nearest MS is therefore to misunderstand the whole purpose of the book.

15. Arnaut's poem L'aura amara is, then, cited in II.ii. as being a perfect unification of the noblest style and the noblest matter. In II.vi. Sols sui is cited as an example of a construction of sentence which combines the wise, the beautiful and the lofty. And Arnaut is cited in II.x. as the poet whom Dante followed when he wrote Al poco giorno. From all these statements nothing will be learned without recourse to the texts; and it is contrary to Dante's purpose to write lengthy aesthetic disquisitions on the texts. They are what they are, and cannot be reproduced in prose.

16. Other points arising from the citation of Arnaut will be discussed when I come to Pound's treatment of him. For the moment I must move on to the famous passage in the Purgatorio (1) which has chiefly aroused critical discussion. In the seventh girone Dante sees two crowds of souls rushing backwards and forwards and kissing

when they meet, in memory of their shameful lechery; and he eventually gets a reply from one of their number, who announces himself as Guido Guinizelli.

17. Guinizelli, as Pound mentions in The Spirit of Romance essay 'Il Miglior Fabbro' (1), is a mouthpiece of some significance; Dante here defines him as

> my
>
> father and the father of my other better poets, who ever wrote in sweet and graceful rhymes... (2)

The meaning of 'my other better poets' is difficult to establish, since Dante never rates contemporaries higher than himself (3); but it is certain that this is the only occasion on which he ever speaks of anyone other than Virgil as his 'padre' (4). When Dante gives the highest compliments to this authoritative figure, he passes them on, perhaps over-modestly but with great precision and definiteness (5), to Arnaut Daniel:

> "O brother," he said, "this man I point out to you
> with my finger," and he pointed to a spirit in front,
> "was the better craftsman in the mother-tongue.
> Poetry of love and prose-writings of romances,
> he mastered them all, and let the fools talk
> who believe that he of Limousin [Giraut de Bornelh]
> is ahead.
> They turn their faces more to fame than to truth,
> and thus they fix their opinion
> before they have heard art or reason.
> Likewise many of our forebears did with Guittone
> [d'Arezzo],

giving him approval from shout to shout
until the truth has conquered it with greater numbers..."
(6)

18. At least as much has been written about Arnaut's role in this passage as about the whole of the unfortunate poet's works; I shall therefore try to add to it as little as possible. The critics, giving to Dante that godlike authority that hero, since it is a question of his métier, poetry, we must concede, have tried to show that the passage does not mean what it seems to say. It cannot, they reason, for Arnaut was not a very good poet. There seem to be points in their favour. For instance, I think that Pound is not right in his interpretation of 'questi... Fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno', 'this man... was the better craftsman in the mother tongue.' (1) The phrase could mean either 'a better' or 'the best', but can only refer to the competition in Provençal. In view of Dante's immediately-preceding compliment to Guinizelli, it seems reasonable to presume that Guinizelli is modestly preferring Arnaut's performance to his own, in their respective mother-tongues.

19. The point is not of huge importance; it is not much denigration to admit that Arnaut was not the <u>best</u> craftsman in Provençal, when Guinizelli (whom Dante has just 'father of the better poets') is saying that Arnaut was better in Provençal than Guinizelli was in Italian. But then comes the comparison with Giraut de Bornelh, which has stuck firmly in the throats of scholars. Dante calls those men fools who prefer Giraut to Arnaut; Pound wonders whether 'modern writers on the subject' should be included in this category (1), and

at least one such writer as volunteered to join it rather than renounce his preference for Giraut (2). For not only was Giraut, to judge from his vida, 'apellata maestre dels trobadors' (3) in his own time, but modern critics find it impossible to prefer what they regard as the obscurity and preciosity of Arnaut to Giraut's harmonious rhythms.

20. Taking it as fundamental that Arnaut's laboriously-achieved style is out of harmony with his content, with'l'insignifiance totale de sa pensée' and 'ces bizarreries parfois puériles' (1), several writers have suggested that Dante, as a fellow-craftsman, admired the former but not the latter. Santangelo, arguing over-subtly from the order of the words 'dulcius...subtiliusque' in the D.V.E. that Dante regarded himself as the best in the latter quality, and claiming that the 'my other better poets' in the Purgatory shows Dante admitting that he was not the best in 'Rime d'amore dolci e leggiadre', says that Dante now regarded Daniel as the greatest poet in subtlety alone (2). This is confirmed, he says, by the fact that Guinizelli, as an Italian, and following the doctrine in the D.V.E., is naturally recognised as superior in dolcezza; that 'the expression 'miglior fabbro'... in itself gives the idea of a laborious and difficult language'; and that Arnaut's use of the verb cobrire in his Purgatory speech is an echo of the cobert or difficult style (3).

21. Jeanroy's approach is similar; referring to Arnaut's works as "vers tintinnabulants et creux" and "pantalonnades", he can only admit to an influence on Dante's form (1); and in order subtly to diminish Dante's praise of the troubadour he allows himself to rewrite the 'fabbro' considering that 'disoleur' 'est encore plus exact;

l'instrument que manie Arnaut, ce n'est pas le marteau, mais, il nous l'a dit, la lime; ce qui sort de son atelier, ce ne sont pas de majestueuses ferronneries, mais de brillants et fragiles "Emaux et Camées".' (2)

22. Such an approach is slightly arrogant. Dante's word 'fabbro' has its own connotations and meanings, which Dante was presumably aware of when he used it; to substitute 'cisoleur' is simply insert Jeanroy's idea in the middle of Dante's poem. 'Fabbro' implies a more masculine activity than the making of 'de brillants et fragiles "Emaux et Camees"; not that the comparison with Gautier is in itself an insult, but it is simply not what Dante meant. The idea of fragility, and therefore of slightness, helps Jeanroy's argument that Dante took nothing from Arnaut, but it is not in the word 'fabbro'.

23. 'Fabbro', says Gianluigi Toja, 'is the word that fully expresses, in the lexicon of the mediaeval poetic, the poet's personality, more artisan than artist...'; and the examples that Toja adduces show that the artisan's atelier was a common image for the poet's chamber in the Middle Ages (1). 'Fabbro', after all, means and meant 'blacksmith', one who beats his material into the shape he wants by a combination of physical strength and heat; the transferred meanings of this metaphor are too obvious to need mentioning. It seems to me that Pound took it correctly in the following comments on the Purgatorio translation of Binyon, who had taken the maliscalchi of XXIV.99 to be a military term:

> the marshalls are I think more interesting than Wellingtons and Blüchers. A 'maroscallo' or 'maros-

chalco' up to at least 1450 was a 'master blacksmith' and know all about bronze... As Dant calls Arnaut Daniel 'miglior fabbro,' so here I think he is paying [Virgil and Statius] a similar honour: The Craft and not the military pomp. (2)

24. If it is arrogant on Jeanroy's part to rewrite Dante's poem for him, it is perhaps no less arrogant on the part of Santangelo to claim that Dante, at the time when he was writing the Purgatorio, was capable of praising a poet in the highest terms merely for cleverness in the art of manipulating recherché ideas and words. I insist on this point because many, perhaps most, modern critics have shared this idea (1). It is argued explicitly in the De Vulgari Eloquentia, the Ars Poetica of Dante that we have already seen treated so cavalierly by Santangelo, that the highest manner will not usefully adorn a low matter: 'Et ubi dicitur quod quilibet suos versus exornare debet in quantum potest, verum esse testamur; sed non bovem epiphyatum, non balteatum suum ornatum, imo potius deturpatum ridemus illum; est enim exornatio alicuius convenientis additio' (2) (my italics). And even had the D.V.E. perished for good, as it so nearly did, we would have the evidence of the Purgatorio itself: no poet has ever written work like that while he still bore within him the illusion that great poetry could be word-play alone.

25. On the other hand it seems to me quite right to concede with Toja that the passage is loaded 'with a particular, polemic, affective and autobiographic emotiveness, and... loses thereby the cold objectivity' of the De Vulgari Eloquentia (1). What Dante says in that Arnaut

is better than Giraut de Bornelh; that is all; the emotion comes in when it is a question of those who disagree. They are 'stolti', 'fools', and like those who used to prefer Guittone d'Arezzo, they go by reputation alone. Now it is an elementary and perennial truth that great artists have through most of their lives a millstone round their necks, in the form of the 50-year delay before recognition comes. This delay stems from nothing other than people's concern with the externals of art, such as fame and society success; 'A voce più ch'al ver drizzan li volti', and it is not until many years later that the great artists 'emerge' in their true colours, to the amazement of 'gli stolti' who wonder where they were hidden; while the society artists are heard of no more. In these circumstances it is natural that the great poet's frustration should come out in bitterly condemning false reputations.

26. This is the reason why Dante's poetic hierarchy seems a little inconsistent. Guittone d'Arezzo is always damned, for in the De Vulgari Eloquentia Dante says: 'Let therefore the followers of ignorance cease, those who extol Guittone d'Arezzo and certain others who are continually plebeian in words and construction' (1) Yet in the same passage, as we have seen, he places Giraut (who in the Purgatory passage seems damned by association with Guittone) among the makers of illustrious canzoni, the only ones which are woven out of the 'wise and beautiful and lofty' level of construction.

27. Surely the point is that Dante always (at least in this nature period) preferred Arnaut to Giraut, only placing the latter at the top of the 'singers of rectitude' (1) because, as Pound remarks, there 'the competition was certainly not so keen' (2). Nonetheless

he clearly had a great respect for Giraut, as we have just seen. But the preference of the many for Giraut over Arnaut was as great an insult to true value in poetry as was the contemporary preference for Jonson over Shakespeare.

20. Jeanroy's arrogant scepticism was only typical of his period. In 1909 W.P. Ker said that he was unable to make out Dante's division of word-sounds into pexa et irsuta (combed and shaggy) in connection with the examples given, but 'it is plain that there is, somewhere in his theory, a principle of verbal euphony; and it is certain that no force or persuasion can make Arnaut's syllables agree with any such law.' (1) He referred to Dante's rule that 'shaggy' words should be kept down to those which, mixed judiciously with the 'combed' words, will create a harmony of structure (2); and he claimed that a passage like Daniel's

Els letz
Locs
Dels auzels ramencs
Ten balps e mutz... (3)

is impossible to reconcile with the rule. This claim is on the whole subject to what Toja has said of most of the earlier criticism: that it can deal either with content or with style, never with both (4). For surely the proportion of 'shaggy' words must vary with the sentiments being expressed; if it were not so, there would be an optimum proportion that could be prescribed to all aspiring poets for every line they intended to write, with Nobel Prizes guaranteed for all. This is in fact very much the tendency of Ker, for he says for example that in the right proportion between the heptasyllable and

the heroic line, 'it is not too much to say, lies the secret of the Italian Canzone, as well as the elective affinity between Italian and English verse in their noblest passages.' (5) Content is considered irrelevant. The cantabile lines that he then quotes from Lycidas are in fact a perfect proof of the opposite view; for they contain nothing of the density of thought typical of the best Italian Duecento work. More recent criticism has come round to a better appreciation of Dante's remarks. Bowra has made the point that for the choice of the nexa and irrita words, feeling and artistic taste are necessary (6). So that, as Toja says,

> 'There is no doubt that Dante's recognition of the perfect constructio involves a problem of form and of content, that is to say the integral evaluation of an artist, in conformity with the criteria of the mediaeval poetic, in which the two values that modern aesthetics have fused in an intimate and indissoluble unity are quite distinct.' (7)

29. Dante then was quite as capable as Pound of hearing the 'onomatopoeia giving sound of angry twitter of birds in autumn' in this song:

L'aura amara
fa·ls bruoills brancutz
clarzir... (1)

or the 'opening bass onomatopoiea of the wind rowting in the autumn branches' in those lines;

En breu brisara·l temps braus,
e·ill bisa busin' ols brancs... (2)

As Zukovsky quotes the De Vulgari Eloquentia, 'the exercise of discernment as to words involves by no means the smallest labor of our reason' (3); and the discernment must be according to some variable, which is, Dante argues, the content; for we do not call an ongirdled pig 'adorned'. (4)

Pound and Daniel I: the craft

30. Arnaut Daniel occupied a large part of Pound's energies for some ten years. Nothing of his appears in the shorter poems (1), for Pound reserved him, like Cavalcanti, for his treatises on poetics and translation. The first of these was delivered to the Poet's Club in London on December 20, 1909, and became chapter II of The Spirit of Romance a year later. Another essay eventually found its way into Instigations (1920) and then into the Literary Essays which are still in print (2). In the winter of 1911-12 there appeared twelve articles in Orage's New Age magazine, the last nine of which were chiefly concerned with Arnaut; many traces of them appear in the Make It New 'Cavalcanti' essay of 1934. At least two planned publications containing translations from Arnaut never materialized (3), and it seems reasonable to suppose that the fruits of the work on them are in the translations that make up Part II of the Literary Essays piece. Arnaut was also the subject of a great deal of musical study with Walter Morse Rummel, the results of which came out in the Testamens Rossa of 1913.

31. The earlier part of all this work, to judge at least from what Pound said, concerned Arnaut as a craftsman, one superlatively able to unite the motz el son, the 'words and the sound' as Pound

always called them (1). Only later did the ideas on Arnaut as a religious figure, which were perhaps latent all the time, come out. I shall therefore first discuss Pound's treatment of Arnaut as a craftsman.

32. The Poet's Club/The Spirit of Romance essay is the least interesting of the three available pieces on Arnaut. It discusses at length Dante's remarks, and shows why Arnaut's metric is not in conflict with his rules, as Kor had alleged. But the most important points on this question and on the metaphors that Arnaut uses are all taken up in the New Age series and in the article now in the Literary Essays (1).

33. By 1911 a considerable change has taken place. Pound still talks of onomatopoeia, metric and craftsmanship, but he has found these inadequate to account for the power and infinite variability of art, and its un-mechanical relation to life, and has begun to speak of the concentration of energy, and of virtù. Orage contributes a little note saying that 'Mr Pound will contribute expositions and translations in illustration of the "New Method in Scholarship."' (1) Pound explains that this method is his 'method of Luminous Detail':

> If a man owned mines in South Africa he would know that his labourers dig up a good deal of mud and an occasional jewel, looking rather like the mud about it. If he shipped all the mud and uncut stones northward and dumped them in one heap on the shore of Iceland, in some inaccessible spot, we should not consider him commercially sound. In my own department of scholarship

> I should say the operations are rather of this complexion. There are many fine things discovered, edited and buried... Any fact is, in a sense, "significant." Any fact may be "symptomatic," but certain facts give one a sudden insight into circumjacent conditions, into their causes, their effects, into sequence, and law... These facts are hard to find. They are swift and easy of transmission. They govern knowledge as the switchboard governs an electric circuit.

34. It is noteworthy that the central metaphor is now electrical, as it is in the 'Psychology and Troubadours' essay for Read's Quest in the following year (1). How the luminous 'facts' that Pound is after may be artistic as well as historical; in fact they are more likely to be artistic, for 'The artist seeks out the luminous detail and presents it.' (2) The 'donative' artist, that is the artist who is not merely a reflection of his time but whose work 'remains the permanent basis of psychology and metaphysics' (3), 'seems to draw down into the art something which was not in the art of his predecessors. If he also drew from the air about him, he draws latent forces, or things present but unnoticed, or things perhaps taken for granted but never examined.' (4) His ability to do this depends on his capacity to 'discriminate'; that is, presumably, to sort out with a finer-than-average scalpel those forces which are the important ones. And his work, the luminous 'fact' (painting or poem) that the artist produces in this manner, is not a static museum-specimen, but, it is clear from Pound's analogy, a source of energy:

> Let us suppose a man, ignorant of painting, taken into

> a room containing a picture by Fra Angelico, a picture by Rembrandt, one by Velasquez... If... he is a specialist, a man thoroughly trained in some other branch of knowledge, his feelings are not unlike mine when I am taken into the engineering laboratory and shown successively an electric engine, a steam-engine, a gas-engine, etc. I realize that there are a number of devices, all designed for more or less the same end, none "better", none "worse", all different. Each, perhaps, slightly more fit for use under certain conditions, for certain objects; minutely differentiated. They all "produce power"— that is, they gather the latent energy of Nature and focus it on a certain resistance. The latent energy is made dynamic or "revealed" to the engineer in control, and placed at his disposal. (5)

35. Now since what the work of art concentrates is not information but 'energy', and since it transmits that energy as emotions, it will not work unless we have an accurate perception of it. Not only must the artist discriminate when he's making it, but we must discriminate when perceiving it. That is the purpose of Pound's presentation of Daniel and Cavalcanti:

> As for myself, I have tried to clear up a certain messy place in the history of literature; I have tried to make our sentiment of it more accurate. Accuracy of sentiment here will make more accurate the sentiment of the growth of literature as a whole, and of the Art of poetry. (1)

Since it is the sentiment that must be accurate, first-hand perception is indispensable. A translation is not the same as the original. 'A few days in a good gallery are more illuminating than years would be if spent in reading a description of these pictures.' (2)

36. The difference from the approach of the critics I have mentioned will already be apparent. 'Accuracy of sentiment' depends on the total effect of the work or art; therefore it is not possible to separate out the 'content' and then blame it for being empty. Toja rightly labels this approach, in the case of Jeanroy, 'positivistic' (1) since it belongs with that variety of philosophy which denies all realities that do not satisfy the critoria of a school physics lesson. It rules out whole areas of history, because they were 'only in the mind'; as Fiedler says, 'there have always been blasphemers, for whom the myth by which Dante and Chaucer and Spenser lived and dreamed has seemed an insufficient and unreliable truth.' (2)

37. But Pound's approach brings some surprising differences in his method. Where an interest in, for example, Dante's 'literal meaning' could only bring out the virtues in his scenario, Pound shows more concern for the 'continuous undercurrent' (Coleridge) (1), or what one might call the 'tone'. Thus Milton's dramatics are ignored because of basic defects in the texture of his language; and thus Pound discourses at length on qualities which he calls 'The Hard and Soft in French Poetry.' (2)

38. What we must therefore do with Arnaut is to read his poems; to 'swallow them whole', rhymes, rhythms, content and all, and to

judge the total effect on ourselves; whether we then evaluate them by the criterion of 'hardness', or that of 'continuous undercurrent' of individuality, or by metaphors taken from music, we must remember that all these are only metaphors. The most useful thing a critic can do under these circumstances is to point out ways in which the various poetic devices do, or do not, contribute to the power of the total meaning. This Gianluigi Toja has successfully done at a number of points (1).

39. Pound's theory of 'Luminous Detail', it seems to me, overcomes the deficiencies of both major nineteenth-century currents of thought, that is of Positivism and Romanticism, as he describes them:

> ...the prevailing mode of to-day--that is, the method of multitudinous detail, and... the method of yesterday, the method of sentiment and generalisation. The latter is too inexact and the former too cumbersome to be of much use to the normal man wishing to live mentally active. (1)

More Pound shows that he himself is one of the artists, those able to draw down from the air 'latent forces, or things present but unnoticed' (2); for he sees the two major defects of the nineteenth-century consciousness, and the way to conquer them. The Romantics, if we put together a sentence from one of these articles and a later remark about Erlming, probably suffered from 'ideas': 'Each historian will "have ideas"--presumably different from other historians--imperfect deductions, varying as the fashions, but the luminous details remain unaltered.' (3) 'His weakness in this work is where it essentially lay in all of his expression, it rests in the term 'ideas'.--'Thought'

as Browning understood it—'ideas' as the term is current, are poor two-dimensional stuff, a scant, scratch covering. 'Damn' ideas, anyhow.' An idea is only an imperfect deduction from fact.' (4) The Positivists, on the other hand, were unable to differentiate within the area of fact. For Marxist historiography, no human is more important than any other. Philology emphasizes that which makes all poems the same, at the expense of that which differentiates them. For linguistics, no type of utterance is preferable to another. The current of thought is now moving against these positions, but it is typical of Pound's vision that he could foresee this fifty years ago.

40. The method of 'Luminous Detail' offers, against the 'défaut de méthode dans les sciences' of Positivism, a means of discriminating; against the generalisation of Romanticism it offers 'accuracy of sentiment', coming from direct contact with the 'fact' presented. But I do not think Pound considered that the artist could simply take perceptions and hand them over untouched to the audience, as Yvor Winters has suggested (1). Pound was clearly aware of the difference between a word and a rose, between a Van Gogh and a sunflower. Further, already in these essays the metaphors suggest that the artist is dealing in forces which are beyond normally-classifiable perception, because they relate to humans. This may or may not be related to Orage's interest in extra-sensory perception, or what in Pound's later shorthand comes out as 'awareness of the gods'. If we do not believe in these things, as I do not, I do not think it matters; the theory still works if one only admits that the interaction between human and human, between human and object, or between human and art, contains elements that will not permit of scientific quantification. This

comes out as follows in the 1934 'Cavalcanti' essay:

> The bird, the phonograph, sing. Sound can be exteriorized as completely as plastic. There is the residue of perception, perception of something which required a human being to produce it. Which may even require a certain individual to produce it. This really complicates the aesthetic. You deal with an interactive force: the virtu in short.' (2)

41. The perception of this virtù is not an unscientific process. It only requires us to admit that we are not phonographs or computers. Pound describes the process from the artist's point of view in a later New Age article, and it may be summarized as the pooling away of expressions which are not the artist's own until he reaches his true microcosmos; the adequate expression of this microcosmos, however narrow it may be, is the only useful function of his art (1). And since both the microcosmos perceived, and the perception of the resulting work of art by an audience, are to do with humans, the work of art must be related to what Olson calls 'breath'; to human rhythms, and, in poetry, to the rhythms of human speech. Arnaut, Pound says, built on these organic bases using all the elements of poetry that are related to them:

> He perceived... that the beauty to be gotten from a similarity of line-terminations depends not upon their multiplicity, but upon their action the one upon the other; not upon frequency, but upon the manner of sequence and combination. The effect of "lais" in mono-rhyme, or of a canzon in which a few rhymes appear too often, is monotonous, is monotonous beyond

the point where monotony is charming or interesting. Arnaut uses what for want of a better term I call polyphonic rhyme.

At a time when both prose and poetry were loose-jointed, prolix, barbaric, he, to all intents and virtually, rediscovered "stylo". He conceived, that is, a manner of writing in which each word should bear some burden, should make some special contribution to the effect of the whole. The poem is an organism in which each part functions, gives to sound or to sense something—preferably to sound and sense something. (2)

42. Arnaut's chief means of adding to his meaning, or rather the most obvious means and the one which, it has been claimed, runs away with the rest of his poems, is rhyme:

> Le style est bizarre, sans doute, mais de cette bizarrerie inhérente au genre des bouts-rimés, où l'idée devient la servante du mot, par une necessité à laquelle le lecteur doit se soumettre comme à la règle du jeu. Dans une piece bâtie sur les rimes -*ocs*, -*anca*, -*im*, permettons à l'auteur d'introduire les mots *cocs*, *flancs*, *poirim*, dût-il pour cela nous dire qu'il consentirait à remplir chez sa dame les fonctions de "cuisinier", que la passion endolorit ses "flancs", et qu'il n'y a pas de plus affreux "alevain" que celui des losengiers... Les métaphores aussi souffrent de cette contrainte; il serait peutêtre plus juste de dire qu'elles lui doivent d'échapper, par la bizarrerie, à la banalité ordinaire.' (1)

43. Setting aside the claim that the rhyme is for the reader only a game, which I shall discuss in due course, it is worth considering whether in fact the rhyme does impose Arnaut's 'literal meaning' on him. First, Jeanroy's example: it is not, as it would seem, taken from one poem, where (if translated as Jeanroy does) it would indeed seem strained. There is no 'piece built around the rhymes -ocs, -anca, -im' in Arnaut's corpus; these rhymes, and the words cocs, flancs and noirim, are only to be found in three separate poems: XIII (22), XVII (18, actually flanc, for the image Jeanroy gives, but XI.18 for a similar one with flancs), and II (35) (1). Noirim I would translate 'upkeep, maintenance [of spies]' in the following context, where it does not seem to me strained:

> It is not in order to complain that I turn elsewhere,
> / good lady, whom I adore; / but rather I pretend
> not to want you / for fear of detection, / that Joy
> shakes [with fear] about; / for you and I never
> liked / to contribute to their upkeep [i.e. of spies];/
> I regret being nice to them. (2)

Taking flancs in the context that Jeanroy gives (i.e. XVII.18, flanc), Emil Levy, who is not wont to be imprecise, gives in his Petit Dictionnaire 'flanc, côte' (3), the latter of which seems a reasonable place in which to feel the pain of desire; especially since, as Toja points out, Arnaut's previous line has 'unloaded' him of this desire, which therefore was weighing on his shoulders like the Pilgrim's burden (4). For the 'cuocs' (XIII.22) I can see no reasonable explanation. Arnaut says 'I want very much to be her cook again / and that such a day should happen to me / because It would make me live much more than twenty years...' (5)

44. Jeanroy further weakens his case by saying 'Dans les séries en -gare, -andre, -ebre, -ayne, -ong, acceptons de voir figurer pêle-mêle Méléagre, la Flandre, l'Ebre, Luisorne et le Puy-de-Dôme, et ne chicanons point sur la convenance ou le naturel de ces mentions ou allusions.' (1) One gets the impression that all these names come flooding into one poem; but in fact only two occur in the same piece (2). There is no difficulty about the suitability of Meleager; the stanza runs like this:

A good and sweet wisdom
and a straightforward, intelligent and frank heart
had led me to the love-citadel
of her that I most wish to accept me;
for if before she was hostile and querulous to me,
now delight shortens the long time for me,
for she is more faithful to me, and I loyal to her,
than Atalanta and Meleager. (3)

--alluding to Meleager's love for Atalanta in Ovid. Of the other allusions it is probably true to say that there is no special precision about them; several of them occur in hyperboles, like 'I [would] see her in my heart, even if I were in Apulia or Flandres' (4); but since they only occur at the rate of about one per poem, it is no great loss to the content (5). It is true that the kind of hyperbole itself is something that seems very dated, in that it was considered obligatory for the troubadours but now seems quite empty; but given the fashion, the allusions were quite unavoidable.

45. Yet many of them suffer, perhaps quite innocently, from the same fate that has struck the numerous 'unique' words that

Arnaut uses. Jeanroy counts 20 of these, not to be found in any other Provençal writing (1). Arnaut, unlike many of his follow-troubadours, set no limits on the range of his vocabulary other than that it should be precisely right in 'tone', sound etc. to contribute to the finished artefact. In the case of many troubadours, the range is narrow and extremely repetitive, so that if a word is not to be found in contemporary prose we can nonetheless guess the meaning from the numerous surviving poetic contexts (2). With Arnaut it is not so; and since the amount of ancillary general-purpose literature surviving in twelfth-century Provençal is very slight, we are forced to rely in many cases on etymology, a very unsound guide, and what Chabaneau, Frédéric Mistral and others have noted of modern dialects in the area. The case is not so extraordinary when one thinks that the British reader in the nineteen-seventies may already be having some difficulty with terms in Pound, which when he used them may have seemed precisely le mot juste, but which happen not to have endured and will now only be found by hunting through the back-numbers of Midwestern newspapers. But the final proof as to whether the rhymes force the meaning is in reading the poems, or if that is not possible, in reading literal translations. I have already quoted the one that Pound did experimentally, several stanzas of Arnaut have been quoted in passing, and I shall translate another poem when I discuss Pound's translations (3); it seems to me clear enough from these specimens that the meaning is rarely strained.

46. Jeanroy's argument contains, as well as the assertion that the rhyme dictates the meaning, the implication that the rhyme itself has nothing to offer beyond the interest of a game. This idea would probably be accepted with ease nowadays, when rhyme

appears to be one of the inorganic 'forms', like the sonata-form, that are imposed arbitrarily on content. It is an erroneous idea. Rhythms are organic to life; each rhythm has human connotations; all speech uses rhythm to accentuate its effect; so does poetry, in greater degree. The composition of poetry implies a choice of rhythm. Rhyme is merely another kind of rhythm, of sound-repetition at more-or-less equal intervals, though much more marked and obvious. It is an ornament, like all the others of which Dante speaks, that must be chosen with respect to suitability, if the poem is not to appear like the 'engirdled cow.' (1) Pound asserts 'That a vast number of subjects cannot be precisely, and therefore not properly rendered in symmetrical forms.' (2) Dante had not allowed for this, for as Pound remarked, 'Dante, of all men, performed [the erection of his microcosm] in the most symmetrical and barefaced manner' (3); yet he allowed for the most extreme variation in rhyme-scheme, in the following manner.

47. In the <u>De Vulgari Eloquentia</u>, as Pound notes, Dante cites Arnaut's <u>Si·m fos Amors</u> as an example of the 'stanza without rhyme', though remarking that he will leave discussion of rhyme until he gets to mediocre poems (1). This, says Pound, 'implies no carelessness concerning the blending of rhyme sounds'; and I translate the passage from which he then quotes:

> There are therefore three things concerning the position of rhymes that must not be used by one composing noble poems: that is, the excessive repetition of the same rhyme, unless perhaps something new and untried in the art requires this;... And the

> third thing is harshness of the rhymes, unless it is perhaps mixed with softness; for a lofty and elevated style receives splendour from a mixture of smooth and harsh rhymes. (2)

48. Thus, all rhyme-schemes have their attendant effects; and if, as he says, Dante followed Arnaut in having no rhymes within the stanza in his Al poco Giorno, (1) it was presumably because he saw in it an effect such as Pound points out: 'In the delayed rhyming of Daniel, we have a maintaining of suspense. In every beautiful or unusual arrangement of words we have "dénouement"—surprise.' (2) And in the extreme form of the 'unusual arrangement', the sestina that Arnaut invented and Dante copied, the rhyme takes on an immense importance. Pound called it 'a form like a thin sheet of flame folding and infolding upon itself' (3). That may be too 'subjective', or rather too imprecise, but the important thing is to recognise that the form has its own psychological realities. Canello has attributed them to the obsessive return of the idées-fixes, embodied in the rhyme-words that occur in every stanza in a different order, which are tormenting the poet:

> taking up in the first line of the second stanza the last rhyme-word of the first stanza, he suddenly satisfies the ear; but then when in the second line he picks up the rhyme-word of the first line of the first stanza, that the hearer has almost forgotten, he leaves him as if lost in an disharmonised void, which is slowly filled by the picking-up of the nearer rhyme-words. (4)

It is in this kind of observation that we must look for Arnaut's value.

Pound and Daniel II: the content

Arnaut Daniel as scientist

49. Pound says that Dante's De Vulgare Eloquentia was his Baedeker during his wanderings in Provence (1). We may deduce that Pound's first interest in Daniel was technical, because all citations of Daniel in Dante's book are about stanza-form.

50. The way in which technical precision leads into keener perception can be seen in this article from the 'I Gather the Limbs of Osiris' series:

> At a time when both prose and poetry were loose-jointed, prolix, barbaric, [Arnaut], to all intents and virtually, rediscovered "style". He conceived, that is, a manner of writing in which each word should bear some burden, should make some special contribution to the effect of the whole... Intense hunger for a strict accord between these three [i.e. words, rhythm, and that part of music which we do not perceive as rhythm] has marked only the best lyric periods, and Arnaut felt this hunger more precisely than his fellows or his forerunners.
>
> ...that fineness of Arnaut's senses which made him chary of his rhymes, impatient of tunes that would have distorted his language, fastidious of redundance, made him likewise accurate in his observation of nature. (1)

The implications of this are enormous. When we find Pound writing:

> He discovers, or better, "he discriminates". We advance by discriminations... (2)

we can see the connection with Pound's all-embracing definition of knowledge, "the sorting of things into ordered categories", or the

> ...discerning that things hitherto deemed identical or similar are dissimilar; that things hitherto deemed dissimilar, mutually foreign, antagonistic, are similar and harmonic. (3)

This definition of science agrees exactly with <u>dianoia</u> as we shall see it defined by Erigena: 'the purest discrimination of all things by means of their own reasons, collecting them under the most general essences, both in the more general kinds and in the determined forms and species.' (4). Pound equates this process with the Confucian dictum that the first step in government is the proper naming of things (5).

51. The importance of Daniel's function as discriminator may be seen in the fact that in Canto CVII he is linked with two other great classifiers, Coke and Linnaeus:

> Coke: the clearest mind ever in England
>
> vitex, white eglantine
>
> as tenthril thru grill-work
>
> wave pattern at Excideuil
>
> A spire level the well-curb,
>
> Mme Pierre bought a lamb in the market. (1)

<u>Vitex</u> is the name given by Linnaeus to the 'agnus castus', chaste-tree or white eglantine (2), which agnus or lamb is present in the last line I have quoted. The curve-against-grid of the eglantine's tendrils reminds Pound of the wave in the stone at Excideuil, which

is throughout linked with Daniel (3). A musician is likewise placed with the scientists as a discriminator in Canto CXIII:

Yet to walk with Mozart, Agassiz and Linnaeus (4)

Pound clearly regards the writing of music as a scientific activity as much as he does the writing of poems; Mozart is not known for his librettos. But Daniel is not in the same position as Mozart. Though two of his melodies are known (5), it is not on their account that Daniel is praised, but for his words. A poem becomes for Pound a scientific instrument roughly as follows:

(Arrangement of the Song book)

1. He [Confucius] said: From Wei I came back to Lu and the music was put in order, the Elegantine and the Lauds were each put in its proper place. (6)

In the 'Procedure' prefaced to the Analects Pound remarks:

He liked good music, he collected <u>The Odes</u> to keep his followers from abstract discussion. (7)

Again

'Not study the Odes, won't be able to use words.' (8)

There is nothing particularly philosophical or lexicographical about the Confucian Odes, they are just good poems. A good poem uses words in an accurate way, and the study of it purifies the language of the student.

Good writers are those who keep the language efficient. That is to say, keep it accurate, keep it clear. It doesn't matter whether the good writer wants to be useful, or whether the bad writer wants to do harm... (9) Your legislator can't legislate for the public good, your commander can't command... save by language. (10)

And accurate use of words consists of, once again, discrimination:

> Unless a term is left meaning one particular thing, and unless all attempt to unify different things, however small the difference, is clearly abandoned, all metaphysical thought degenerates into a noun. A soft terminology is merely an endless series of indefinite middles. (11)

52. This strong emphasis on distinguishing activity explains the attraction for Pound of those philosophies which underline the 'thisness' or inconfusibility of entities. Ecology and Structuralism have tended to deny such boundaries. Pound however is a Platonist, at least in his belief that the 'thisness' of an entity is something separate and can be made eternally so by art:

> "I made it out of a mouthful of air"
> wrote Bill Yeats in his heyday. The *forma*, the immortal *concetto*, the concept, the dynamic form which is like the rose pattern driven into the dead iron-filings by the magnet, not by material contact with the magnet itself, but separate from the magnet. Cut off by the layer of glass, the dust and filings rise and spring into order. Thus the *forma*, the concept rises from death
>
> The bust outlasts the throne
> The coin Tiberius. (1)

Pound's interest in the 'doctrine of signatures' also relates to this; it does not stem only from the fact that Heydon held 'the vertue of Plants' to be visible in their outward *phainomena*, but

also from Haydon's belief in this 'virtue' itself (2). It is the ultimate distinguisher between entities in nature, and is used as such by the entities of nature:

> Beasts have knowledge in the virtue of Plants as well as Men; for the Toad being overcharged with the poyson of the Spider, (as is well known) hath recourse to the Plantane-leaf. The Weasel, when he is to encounter the Serpent, arms her self with eating of Rue. (3)

In fact the 'doctrine of signatures' is simply Gestalt + Menelus, i.e. with the addition of what Pound says in Canto LXXXVII:

> 'We have', said Menelus, 'but phenomena.' (4)

—in other words, our only means to Gestalt is through phenomena. Compare also the gloss on 'Ven da veduta forma' in Donna mi prega:

> As to 'form'; you may here add the whole of mediaeval philosophy by way of footnote. Form, Gestalt, 'every spiritual form sets in movement the bodies in which (or among which) it finds itself'. (5)

53. It remains to describe the manner in which a poet may carry on this distinguishing activity, the effect of which is to purify the language and simultaneously to increase the sum of man's knowledge, as a scientist does, by improving the categories into which things are sorted. Since poetry is a science whose procedures are different from, say, those of physics, Pound has not attempted the language of a scientific journal to describe them. The method is more that of an ideogram whose components are to be found throughout his works. I will begin by calling the poet's distinguishing activity

that of the 'thin line'. It is Pound's belief that 'with usura the line grows thick' (1), that there is a constant correlation between the degree of toleration for usury in a given culture and the clarity, expressed as thinness of line, of its cultural products. Now Pound normally speaks of painters on these occasions; whereas it is noteworthy that many of the cited painters hardly use lines, instead blocks of colour. 'The line grows thick' is therefore a metaphor (2). The reason for its choice is important. Pound finds it an adequate metaphor for the whole of art. In any given 'total situation' there is, as it were, a 'line' which is the adequate expression of its totality. One could trace a shaped line in the air between two persons, or in the middle of a room, and if a Brancusi can give sculptural form to that line it is the expression, or concentration, of the whole of those two persons, relationships and all, or of that room. The details are not necessary; therefore Daniel's 18 poems for Balzac's Comédie Humaine. Thus

> the sculptor sees the form in the air... (3)

The poet:

> Thing is to cut a shape in time. Sounds that stop the flow, and durations either of syllables, or implied between them, 'forced onto the voice' of the reader by nature of the 'verse'. (4)

Musician:

> In music there is representation of the sole matter within which music can be "literally" representative, namely sound. Thus the violinist reading Janequin's music transposed said: a lot of birds, not one bird alone.

> Down on through Vivaldi and Couperin there is this kind of music, music of representative outline. (5)

54. With the mention of Janequin, who in Kulchur is constantly coupled with Daniel (1), one might think the problem solved; but Daniel's music only is covered thereby, not his words; and 'to cut a shape in time' (see above) describes only that part of poetry which we perceive as music. What is equally important for Pound is that part which we perceive as images. Here the 'thin line' is expressed in a number of ways. One could begin with the much-quoted passage from the Cavalcanti essay:

> We appear to have lost the radiant world where one thought cuts through another with clean edge, moving energies mezzo oscuro rade, risplende in sè perpetuale effecto, magnetisms that take form, that are seen, or that border the visible, the matter of Dante's paradiso, the glass under water, the form that seems a form seen in a mirror, these realities perceptible to the sense, interacting, a lui si tiri... (2)

'Thin lines' are abundant here. Thoughts 'cutting': compare Analects, 'the proper man's words have an edge of definition' (3). 'Mezzo oscuro rade' (more properly 'mezzo oscuro luce rade'), 'in the middle of darkness shines infrequently', 'risplende...' ('shines in itself, an eternal Effect'), and 'a lui si tiri' ('draws to itself') are from Cavalcanti's great canzone (4). The first belongs with a group of images for light of a certain peculiar, one might say almost supernatural, clarity. Thus the 'form that seems a form seen in a mirror', a reference to the extended passage in Paradiso, Canto II,

where Beatrice explains why the beings in Paradiso appear as dense as those on earth (5). The 'glass under water' suggests the great series of crystal, wave and jewel imagery in the Cantos (6). Water becomes glass and crystal, and crystal is the abode of the gods:

Glass wave over Tyro,
Close cover, unstillness (...) (7)

And there are gods upon them (...)
The silvery water glazes the upturned nipple,
As Poggio has remarked.
Green veins in the turquoise. (8)

The liquid and rushing crystal
beneath the knees of the gods.
Ply over ply, thin glitter of water; (9)

55. In particular, and more germane to my subject, it suggests the metamorphosis whereby the sea manifests the presence of the gods:

and I saw then, as of waves taking form,
As the sea, hard, a glitter of crystal,
And the waves rising but formed, holding their form.
No light reaching through them. (1)

It is germane because it leads to the wave in the stone, which is Daniel's signature throughout the Cantos; and which is another part of this ideogram I am trying to show.

'as the sculptor sees the form in the air...
'as glass seen under water,
'King Otreus, my father...'

and saw the waves taking form as crystal,
notes as facets of air,
and the mind there, before them, moving,
so that notes needed not move. (2)

Sculptor, visual poet and musician are all there. This metamorphosis simplifies itself to the wave in the stone, which is an illustration of the 'thin line' I am talking about because it suggests (a) the whole mass of the sea and (b) the whole metamorphosis. Thus all good art, one could deduce, is a 'divine moment' or metamorphosis. The wave in the stone appears with Arnaut, for instance, in Canto XXIX:

So Arnaut turned there
Above him the wave pattern cut in the stone (3)

As important to Pound as the wave is the 'diaphan', whose key occurrence is in Cavalcanti's Donna mi prega:

In quella parte/dove sta memoria
Prende suo stato/sì formato/chome
Diafan dal lume/d'una schuritade
La qual da Marte/viene o fa dimora (4)

In Pound's version, Love is 'Formed like a diafan from light on shade'. Pound gives this gloss to Diafan: 'Cf. Paradiso X, 69' (5) where we find:

Io vidi più fulgor vivi e vincenti
Far di noi centro e di sè far corona,
Più dolci in voce che in vista lucenti.
Così cinger la figlia di Latona
Vedon talvolta, quando l'aere è pregno
Sì che ritenga il fil che fa la zona. (6)

(...thus we see the moon sometimes girdled, when the air is impregnated, so that it retains the line that the halo makes.)

It is the supernatural clarity that attracts Pound, but more important here, the extraordinary sharpness of line. So Daniel in Canto XX

and the light falls, remir,
from her breast to thighs. (7)

This is from Daniel's Doutz brais o cris, where he says 'that between kisses and smiles I should uncover her body / and look at (remir) her against the light of the lamp' (8) (the 'thin line' again, like Pisanello's modals and scals); thus Canto VII

Lamplight at Bouvilla, e quel remir (9)

--a reference to Daniel's love for the wife of William of Bouvila.

56. We could consider Pound's statement 'Points define a periphery' (1) as an adjunct to the 'thin line'. He makes it with reference to the Confucian Analects, which 'have no... coherence or orderly sequence; they are the oddments which Kung's circle found indispensable...' (2) As the 'thin line' is an attempt to capture a situation or form by means of the 'representative outline', so the points of the Analects are an attempt to capture the situation by placing boundary-markers. As the situation 'represented' by the line is in no other way effable, so is that 'enclosed' by the markers or points. This is the method of the Cantos; it is arguably the method of all poems, though perhaps the 'line' is a better expression in some cases; it is the kind of thing Pound is talking about when he says that the fables etc. of Ovid's Metamorphoses say something vitally important which could not be said in any other way (3). It

is also the method of the Guide to Kulchur:

> The hurried reader may say I write this in cypher and that my statement merely skips from one point to another without connection or sequence.
>
> The statement is nevertheless complete. All the elements are there, and the nastiest addict of crossword puzzles shd. be able to solve this or see this. (4)

Again:

> I have small doubt that no reader will have taken this book, up to this moment, for anything save an universal receptacle, yet it has limits, and its edge is a demarcation. (5)

57. I include the method of peripheral points under the heading of the 'thin line' partly because its effect is the same, that is, minimal yet totally significant representation, and partly because the two metaphors may merge, by way of 'periplum'. If we connect the points defining the periphery, or the towns on a sea-coast, we got a contour or outline, or a periplum-map (1). A structural line, like that of the Cantos, is also a 'line cut in the air', and it is formed by joining the points, lumps of poetry, images, speeches, presented to the reader. It is a boundary line, a line round the area of the ineffable being demarcated, and to that extent it is a distinction on a large scale, a discrimination between what comes into the category being indicated and what does not: a scientific distinction, a thin line, a cutting. These points themselves are discriminations, delineations in the air; thus Pound introduces his translation of Daniel's En cest sonet:

Manning, in his "scenes and Portraits", compares Dante's similes—similes like those of the arsenal at Venice, or of the hoar frost—to the illuminated capital letters in mediaeval manuscript. Daniel in this canzon has produced the same effect, and solely by suggestion, by metaphor that is scarce metaphor, by suggestive verbs;... (2)

—and he shows the poem as a ribbon of these barely-delineated pictures; the reader of the poem in fact has to look closely to notice their existence. Pound saw the images as distinctions, as lines drawn in the air, part of the scientific, clarifying activity that for him forms the basis of art. In Canto XC, therefore, Arnaut at Excideuil belongs with those who can bring into shape 'the <u>forma</u>, the immortal <u>concetto</u>':

Taking form now,
the rilievi,
the curled stone at the marge (3)

<u>Further meanings in the wave in the stone</u>

58. The wave frozen into the parapet at Excideuil is not only a metaphor for scientific clarity of distinction. It will have been noticed already that the many variations on the image all partake of a clarity which gives the illusion of being beyond the normal, or suggests a more 'real' kind of reality; and further that many of them are associated with metamorphosis. Metamorphosis is for Pound at the basis of religion:

Our only measure of truth is, however, our own perception of truth. The undeniable tradition of

> metamorphoses teaches us that things do not always remain the same. They become other things by swift and unanalysable process. It was only when men began to mistrust the myths and to tell nasty lies about the Gods for a moral purpose that these matters became hopelessly confused. Then some unpleasing Semite or Parsee or Syrian began to use myths for social propaganda, when the myth was degraded into an allegory or a fable, and that was the beginning of the end. And the Gods no longer walked in men's gardens. The first myths arose when a man walked sheer into 'nonsense', that is to say, when some very vivid and undeniable adventure befell and he told someone else who called him a liar. Thereupon, after bitter experience, perceiving that no one could understand what he meant when he said that he 'turned into a tree' he made a myth—a work of art that is—an impersonal or objective story woven out of his own emotion, as the nearest equation that he was capable of putting into words. That story, perhaps, then gave rise to a weaker copy of his emotion in others, until there arose a cult, a company of people who could understand each other's nonsense about the gods. (1)

53. How the nature of these metamorphoses, a kind of cinematic fade-in-and-out, as exemplified by Pound's meeting with Pan (= Arnold Dolmetsch) in this essay, is I think very close to that of the perceptions we have been discussing: diafans, moon-haloes, and other quasi-invisible reflections of what is ordinarily seen. They are all,

as it were, actualisations of a world of shadow-beings, related to ordinary beings but partaking of the divine. The doctrine is probably from that of G.R.S. Mead, the editor of The Quest for whom Pound wrote 'Psychology and Troubadours', an essay in which this complex of ideas is very important (1). In his Subtle Body (1919) Mead wrote:

> From one of the earliest tractates [in the Hermetic texts], 'The Sermon of Isis to Horus'..., we learn that spirit is, as it were, of the nature of a quintessence or unitary element over against the gross elements of the physical body.
>
> The "mixture" of the dense body "is a union and a blend of the four elements; and from this blend and union a certain 'vapour' rises, which is enveloped by the soul, but circulates within the body."
>
> It is the medium between the soul and the gross body, and so is said to partake of the nature of both. (2)

60. This medium has been known chiefly as the 'subtle body', and it is probably more than coincidence that Pound uses that term in a note in 'Psychology and Troubadours', when discussing whether Provence and Italy were capable of 'an "exteriorization of the sensibility," and interpretation of the cosmos by feeling' (1):

> Consider what poetry was to become, within less than a century, at the hands of "il nostro Guido" [Cavalcanti] in such a poem as the ballata ending:

"vedrai la sua virtù nel ciel salita," [2] ...

[2] In this ballata, Guido speaks of seeing issue from his lady's lips a subtle body, from that a subtler body, from that a star, from that a voice, proclaiming the ascent of the virtu. For effect upon the air, upon the soul, etc. the "lady" in Tuscan poetry has assumed all the properties of the Alchemist's stone. (2)

(It happens that Mead's Subtle Body is largely about the alchemists; and that Pound here means the kind of 'subtle body' that Mead meant is confirmed by Cavalcanti's lines:

I seem to see issue from her lips
a lady so beautiful that the mind
cannot comprehend her... (3))

61. Then, when Pound puts the question to which he has been leading, 'Did this "close ring," this aristocracy of emotion, evolve, out of its half memories of Hellenistic mysteries, a cult--a cult stricter, or more subtle, than that of the celibate ascetics, a cult for the purgation of the soul by a refinement of, and lordship over, the senses?' (1) -- he parallels the example from Cavalcanti by citing Arnaut's 'E quel remir contral lums de la lampa'. In it we are to 'Consider... whether a sheer love of beauty and a delight in the perception of it have not replaced all heavier emotion, whether or no the thing has not become a function of the intellect.' (2)

62. I would suggest therefore that metamorphosis may be, for

Pound, a kind of actualisation of the 'subtle body'. This seems confirmed by the glosses that he gives for 'e quel remir'. Pound's gloss is from Ovid:

> ...no man in Provençal has written as he writes in Doutz brais: 'E quel remir' and the rest of it, though Ovid, where he recounts Atalanta's flight from Hippomenes in the tenth book, had written:
>
> cum super atria velum
>
> Candida purpureum simulatas inficit umbras. (1)

The Ovid, as translated by Golding, is given by Pound in another essay:

> As when a scarlet curtains stroynd against a playstred wall
>
> Doth cast like shadows, making it seeme ruddye thorewith all. (2)

—though he wonders: 'Will [the Ovid] quite give us the 'scarlet curtain'...?' (3) Certainly Golding's translation appealed to him as much as the original Ovid, for in Canto VII we get:

> The scarlet curtain throws a less scarlet shadow;
>
> Lamplight at Duoville, e quel remir, ... (4)

63. The kind of scarlet light projected by the curtain onto the wall would be as the unreal after-image of a vision; and so would the 'glow' that remir seems to mean for Pound, who earlier compared it to a line from Juan de Mena, 'a line strangely different, yet oddly akin to this line of Daniel's. Mena, in enumerating the evil omens which attend the Count's embarkation, does not mention the appearance of the water, but suggests it in speaking of the sullen glow in the armor.' (1)

64. Metamorphosis, the actualization, or even just awareness, of 'subtle bodies' almost beyond perception, is the theme of a major Canto concerning Arnaut Daniel, and the 'o quel remir' is present again. The key to the Canto is in Arnaut's poem En vol vermeills, and Pound translated the relevant passage in 1920 as follows:

> Vermeil,....
> Close orchards,....
> And the bird-song....
> Bestir my heart to put my song in sheen
> T'equal that flower which hath such properties,
> It seeds in joy, bears love, and pain enclosen. (1)

If the language hides the meaning, Pound is trying to say that this flower's seed is joy, its fruit is love, and its scent is protection from pain. As he notes, 'The ... cryptic allusion is to the quasi-allegorical descriptions of the tree of love in some long poem like the Romaunt of the Rose.' (2) The Provençal, in Pound's text, goes as follows:

> ...Son met en cor qu'ieu colore non chan
> D'un' aital flor don lo friutz sia amors,
> E joia lo grans, e l'olors d'enoi gandres. (3)

The crux is in the last two words. The only satisfactory reading has been proposed by Emil Levy, whom Pound follows in the above translation (4); this interpretation does not lack its Eleusinian connotations for him, as we shall see in Canto XX.

> And I went to old Levy, and it was by then 6.30
> in the evening, and he trailed half way across Freiburg
> before dinner, to see the two strips of copy,
> Arnaut's, settant'uno R, superiore (Ambrosiana)

Not that I could sing him the music.

And he said: 'How is there anything I can tell you?'

And I said: 'I dunno, sir,' or

'Yes, Doctor, what do they mean by noigandron?'

And he said: 'Noigrandros! NOIgandros!

'You know for sixty years of my life

'Effery night when I go to bett, I say to myself

'Noigandros, oh, noigrandros,

'Now what the DEFFIL can that mean!'

Wind over the olive trees, ranunculas ordorod,

By the clear edge of the rocks

The water runs, and the wind scented with pine

And with hay-fields under sun-swath.

Agostino, Jacopo and Boccata.

You would be happy for the smell of that place

And never tired of being there, either alone

Or accompanied.

Sound: as of the nightingale too far off to be heard.

Sandro, and Boccata, and Jacopo Sellaio;

The ranunculas, and almond,

Boughs set in espalier,

Duccio, Agostino; e l'olore—

The smell of that place—d'enoi fanren.

Air moving under the boughs,

The cedars there in the sun,

Hay now out on hill slope,

And the water there in the cut

Between the two lower meadows; sound,

> The sound, as I have said, a nightingale
> Too far off to be heard.
> And the light falls, <u>runix</u>,
> from her breast to thighs. (5)

65. Pound goes to see Levy, the Provençal scholar who wrote the great <u>Supplement - Wörterbuch</u> (1), to show him a find from the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Levy behaves with great civility in greeting the stranger from afar, despite the late hour, and Pound is a deferent disciple. The whole passage, in which we see one of Pound's rare personal appearances, is reminiscent of Canto XIII, where Confucius and his disciples move in a similarly green and ordered world. Pound's position as disciple is in accord with the Analects, where Confucius snorts at the man who wants to be taught military strategy; he who knows should teach (2). When Pound asks the great man what <u>noigandreg</u> means, Levy again shows his Confucian wisdom by admitting defeat (3); Confucius said:

> 1. Even I reach back to a time when historians left blanks (for what they didn't know), and when a man would lend a horse for another to ride; a forgotten era, lost. (4)

66. But the continuation of Canto XX shows that Pound agrees with Levy's suggestion, whereby <u>e l'olors d'enoi grandren</u> would mean 'and the scent [of the flower is] protecting oneself from pain'. He describes a place of great natural beauty whose order is of a kind like that in the Tempio Malatestiano, which is present in the names of its artists:

Wind over the olive trees, ranunculas ordered, (...)

Agostino, Jacopo and Boccata.

The passage is full of the clear perception of the 'radiant world where one thought cuts through another with clear edge' (1) -

By the clear edge of the rocks

The water runs, (...)

Compare with this the wave in the stone (in my discussion above) and its connection with the diafan, which is also present here:

And the light falls, remix,

from her breast to thighs.

67. But light, though the major thing present in the 'Cavalcanti' passage about the 'radiant world', and the most important in the whole religious 'awareness', is not the only thing that is semi-divine in the Canto XX passage. Like the magnetisms 'that border the visible' in 'Cavalcanti', there is here the

Sound: as of the nightingale too far off to be heard.

This 'divine non-sense' echoes the *limir alode* at the beginning of the Canto, which is translated in LXXIV: 'the sharp song with sun under its radiance' (1), and the theme reaches right through to the late fragments where 'the light sings eternal' (2). Smell is present, and particularly connected with the Malatesta temple; and here the words from Daniel come in:

and the wind scented with pine

And with hay-fields under sun-swath.

Agostino, Jacopo and Boccata.

You would be happy for the smell of that place

And never tired of being there, either alone

Or accompanied. (...)

Duccio, Agostino; *e l'olorm*—

the smell of that place--<u>d'enoi ranros</u>

68. Thus the synthesis here follows Arnaut's words: a flower whose seed is joy ('You would be happy'); whose scent is protection from pain (the Tempio Malatestiano, supreme product of the 'factivo paideuma' (1)), and whose fruit is love:

And the light falls, <u>remir</u>,
from her breast to thighs

--('in coitu inluminatio' (2)) the love of Demeter. But then an echo of Montségur, a destroyed 'celestial city' like Troy, appears a few lines later, with the catastrophes of Niccolò d'Este and Roland:

<u>'E'l Marchese</u>
<u>Stava per divenir pazzo</u>
after it all.' And that was when Troy was down

(compare Canto XXIII:

And he went after it all to Mount Segur,
after the end of all things, (...)
And that was when Troy was down, all right (3)).

Yet Troy was rebuilt by Aeneas, and Atesto by Este, and the cyclo continues:

confusion
Basis of renewals (4)

The Canto then moves on to a consideration of Helen, the cause of it all (as Eleanor of Aquitaine, linked by Pound with Arnaut), and the

più di mille (...)
Che amor di nostra vita dipartille

--that Dante speaks of in the passage (5) from which Pound quotes.

So Arnaut and Levy, perceivers of the 'green world' (6), stand in an island of clarity, one of the few in the sea of chaos that history reverts to despite 'this persistent awareness' (7).

Rica conquesta (1)

69. In Canto XX Arnaut Daniel, the artist, is clearly in presence of metamorphosis, of the manifestation of the other worlds we have about us (2) that Pound asserts in the early draft Cantos. It is the argument of the essay 'Psychology and Troubadours' that the ability to perceive these things was conferred on the troubadours by memories of Hellenic mystery-cults (3). The perception is thought of in terms that G.R.S. Mead was using at this time; thus Pound says:

> We have about us the universe of fluid force, and below us the germinal universe of wood alive, of stone alive... As to [man's] consciousness, the consciousness of some seems to rest, or to have its centre more properly, in what the Greek psychologists called the phantastikon. Their minds are, that is, circumvolved about them like soap-bubbles reflecting sundry patches of the macrocosmos. And with certain others their consciousness is "germinal." Their thoughts are in them as the thought of the tree is in the seed, or in the grass, or the grain, or the blossom. And these minds are the more poetic, and they affect mind about them, and transmute it as the seed the earth. And this latter sort of mind is close on the vital universe...

It is an ancient hypothesis that the little cosmos "corresponds" to the Creator, that man has in him both "sun" and "moon."...

The problem, in so far as it concerns Provence, is simply this: Did this "chivalric love," this exotic, take on mediumistic proportion? Stimulated by the color or quality of emotion, did that "color" take on forms interpretive of the divine order? Did it lead to an "exteriorization of the sensibility," and interpretation of the cosmos by feeling? (4)

70. Seven years later, in 'The Subtle Body', Mead wrote:

> Thus in 'The Perfect Sermon,' vi.3 (ii.318), it is said that "spirit with which they [animal bodies] are all filled, being interblended with the rest [presumably the four elements], doth make them live."
>
> This is based on a general principle laid down in the same treatise, xvi.3 (ii.336),--namely, that all things in the cosmos are "made quick" by spirit, and that this unitary spirit, quintessence or 'one thing,' is as it were an 'engine' or'machine', i.e. an organon, subject to the will of God--and therefore in man, to man's will...
>
> If this spirit, in the case of man, "is led upwards by the understanding," then it discerns sensibles, --that is, apparently, what are called objective realities: "But if it is not, it only maketh pictures for itself,"--that is, is given over to phantasy or

imagination (<u>phantasia</u> or <u>to phantastikon</u>) (1).

Again,

> The astral or sidereal religion of antiquity revolved round the central notion of an intimate correspondence between man's psychical and sensible apparatus, or his inner embodiment, and the subtle nature of the universe. The relative positions of the celestial bodies in the aether at any moment were regarded by the most advanced thinkers solely as spheres, with appropriate fields of vital energy.
>
> The ground conviction of astral religion held that there was a subtle organon of great nature, an interior economy of the world-soul. Man's nature was so to say an excerpt from this greater nature; and it was conceived of as a germ or seed as it were of the universal tree of life. Man was the microcosm of the macrocosm. (2)

71. Pound's contention in the case of the troubadours, therefore, is not that their consciousness was "germinal", capable of "affecting mind about them", but only that they were capable of "reflecting sundry patches of the macrocosmos."

> In the Trecento the Tuscans are busy with their <u>phantastikon</u>. In Provence we may find preparation for this, or we may find faint <u>reliqua</u> of the other consciousness; though one misses the pantheon. Line after line of Arnaut will repeat from Sappho, but the whole seems curiously barren if we turn suddenly from the Greek to it. (1)

72. The explanation for this heightened perceptivity in the cult, that is, Elousis; but the cult causes or profits from a particular 'social' condition. I have elaborated on the nature of this condition, which may be summed up in these passages:

> ...there are at least two paths--I do not say that they lead to the same place--the one ascetic, the other for want of a better term "chivalric". In the first the monk or whoever he may be, develops, at infinite trouble and expense, the secondary pole within himself, produces his charged surface which registers the beauties, celestial or otherwise, by "contemplation." In the second, which I must say seems more in accord with "mens sana in corpore sano" the charged surface is produced between the predominant natural poles of two human mechanisms.
>
> Sex is, that is to say, of a double function and purpose, reproductive and educational; or, as we see in the realm of fluid force, one sort of vibration produces as different intensities, heat and light. (1)

—and, twenty-two years later, the specific condition:

> ...Propertius remains mostly inside the classic world and the classic aesthetic, plastic to coitus. Plastic plus immediate satisfaction.
>
> The whole break of Provence with this world, and indeed the central theme of the troubadours, is the dogma that there is some proportion between the fine thing held in the mind, and the inferior thing ready for immediate consumption. (2)

73. This seems to mean that the poet whose girl-friend plays hard-to-get will arrive at a sufficient frenzy of frustration to become a visionary. Even leaving aside the specific attitudes of the troubadours, we can see that that is not Pound's meaning. In for instance Rémy de Gourmont, whom Pound associated closely with the troubadour sensibility (1), woman if seen with the accuracy of a novelist is an eternal 'other', the effort of understanding and communicating with which is itself sufficient to produce a different order of intelligence in man. But we should follow Pound's example to discover the precise nature of sex in the troubadours, in his opinion.

74. Pound in the remarks above-quoted associated the remains of the Greek consciousness with the relationship between Arnaut and Sappho. In the New Age articles we get a four-way comparison based on this translation from Arnaut:

> It rests me to think of her, and I've both my eyes cankered when they're not looking at her; and think not that my heart turns from her, for neither prayers (orarr--I think perhaps here, "prayers," ecclesiastical) nor jesting nor viol-playing can get me from her a rood's breadth. "From her!" What have I said? God cover me, may I perish in the sea (for setting those words together)...
>
> This song invites comparison, in its subtle diagnosis, to Sappho's
>
> phainetai moi kenos isos theoisin,
>
> or to Catullus' version:

"Illo mi par esse deo videtur,"

and to Guido's lines nearr

"Gli occhi orbati fa vedere scorti." (1)

75. What these poems have in common is the stress on sight, and the idea that the beloved seems like a goddess (or god). In Arnaut's poem the lady can cure the sickness of his eyes, and also that of his mind's eye, merely by being the subject of his song (1); so in the line from Cavalcanti, 'She makes dimmed eyes see clearly.' Also in Arnaut's poem, to see her is more important than Church observances (2); and if we look at Guido's poem we shall find this there too:

To Guido Orlando

(He explains the miracles of the madonna of
Or San Michele, by telling whose image it is.)

My Lady's face it is they worship there.
At San Michele in Orto, Guido mine,
Near her fair semblance that is clear and holy
Sinners take refuge and get consolation.
Whose before her kneeleth reverently,
No longer wanteth but is comforted;
The sick are healed and devils driven forth,
And those with crooked eyes see straightway straight.
Great ills she cureth in an open place.
With reverence the folk all kneel unto her,
And two lances shed the glow about her form.
Her voice is borne out through far-lying ways
'Till brothers minor cry: "Idolatry,"
For envy of her precious neighbourhood. (3)

76. This sonnet is clearly blasphemous, and Guido Orlando took it so, reproaching him for it (1), and so is Arnaut's poem; in both, the lady is replacing the Church. In another poem of Arnaut's, the lady, Pound considers, replaces the Church's Lady (the Blessed Virgin), just as she does in Guido's sonnet. This is the point of Pound's concern with the 'ciil de Dona' passage which he translated thus:

> Averse
> He not, nor slake
> Desire, God draws not nigh
> To Dono,[1] with pleas
> Wherein's so little veering.
>
> [1]Our lady of Puy-de-Dome? No definite solution of the reference yet found. (2)

In other words, 'I love you more than God loves Our Lady of the Puy de Dome.' In some manner the lady has both superseded the Lady of the orthodox religion, and nonetheless taken over Her relationship with the worshipper (3). The idea seems a close parallel to Guido's, if we consider that the worshipper normally tries to love the Blessed Virgin in the same degree as does God, but that Arnaut implies that both he and God love his own lady more. Pound brings the three passages together:

> And if Arnaut is long before Cavalcanti,
> Pensar de lieis n'es repaus...
> [i.e. 'It rests me to think of her, and I've both my eyes cankered when they're not looking at her', as above]

leads toward E gli occhi orbati fa volere accorto,

though the music in Arnaut is not, in this place, quickly apprehended. And those who fear to take a bold line in their interpretation of Gli occhi di Donna, might do worse than re-read:

> Una figura de la donna mia
>
> [i.e. 'My Lady's face it is they worship there...' as above]
>
> and what follows it. (4)

77. The troubadour's lady is therefore a goddess; but this is not new, and had been said many times before Pound came along. But I do not think it had been said with the same precision and depth of meaning. Pound puts together two or three poems and means something specific by the juxtaposition, which it is up to us to discover. Just before the passage I have just quoted, he says this:

> Nor have any yet among students taken note enough of the terms, both of love terms, and of terms of the singing; though theology was precise in its terms, and we should see clearly enough in Dante's treatise when he uses such words as pena, hirsuta, lubrica, combed, and sharpy and oily to put his words into categories, that he is thinking exactly. Would the Age of Aquinas have been content with anything less? And so with the love terms, and so, as I have said in my Guido, with metaphors and the exposition of passion. Cossir, solatz, plazers, have in them the beginning of the Italian philosophic precisions, and _gioco gu'ins ol cor me plou_ is not a vague decoration. By the time

> of Petrarca the analysis had come to an end, only the vague decorations were left. (1)

78. It is therefore permitted to go looking for philosophic meanings. How Pound had made a clear distinction between the world of Provence, which had confined its intellectual labours to the manner of versification, and that of thirteenth-century Tuscany, whose

> bookworms suddenly find themselves in the groves of philosophy, God becomes interesting, and speculation, with open eyes and a rather didactic voice, is been companion to the bard. (1)

Nonetheless we have already seen him saying that Arnaut leads to Guido, and in the New Age he said that Dante recognised Arnaut as a forerunner and used him as 'a symbol of perceptive intelligence' (2); and in the essays on Arnaut and Cavalcanti he cross-refers to each of them as if they were equivalents (3).

79. In Guido's sonnet 'Una figura de la donna mia', his lady has replaced the Virgin Mary. It seems to me that she has done this in his other poetry. In this I follow the argument of Rémy de Gourmont's Dante, Béatrice et la Poésie Amoureuse (1). Gourmont sets himself the problem of Beatrice's real nature; he concludes that she was not an historical personage. Her setting argues against it:

> Je tiens la Vita Nuova pour un roman mystique aussi vague et aussi indéchiffrable que peut l'être un récit où aucun personnage n'a de nom, où le lieu des scènes n'est pas indiqué, où les dates ne sont que des chiffres cabalistiques. (2)

For the origins of Beatrice he suggests that we look to Dante's contemporaries and predecessors. Thus:

> La femme que chante ordinairement Lapo [Gianni] est une sorte de madone douée d'un pouvoir surnaturel. Celui qu'elle a salué d'un signe de tête est béni à jamais:
>
> <u>Beata l'alma che questa saluta.</u>
>
> Bienheureuse est l'âme qu'elle salue.
>
> Celle de Dino est toute pareille. Elle a toute vertu; elle détruit tout vice, et son salut aussi est chose d'importance.
>
> Que sont, au vrai, ces femmes?...
>
> C'est, comme le dit spirituellement M. Bartoli, la femme réduite à sa plus simple expression, qu'on n'ose désirer, à peine aimer, que l'on contemple dans une extase céleste. (3)

80. The ladies of these <u>Dolcento</u> poets have all god-like power over their suffering servants, whom they may cure with a glance, or kill also; of Gianni Alfani, Gourmont says:

> Ce salut [i.e. that of his lady] l'effraie, le fait changer de couleur. Il a tous les signes de la terreur amoureuse, caractéristique de l'école:
>
> La prima volta ched io la guardai,
> Volsemi gli occhi sui
> Sì pien d'amor, che mi presor nel cor
> L'anima abigottita sì che mai
> Non ragionò d'altrui,
> Come legger si può nel mio colore. (1)

81. Gourmont notes that these wondrous ladies have nothing in common with, for example, the woman that the maximus amator Cino da Pistoia was reproached by Dante for chasing (1); that we could not possibly distinguish from among Cavalcanti's Giovannas, Primaveras, Pastorellas and Pinellas the one that he chose to 'elevate to the rank of donna angelicata.' (2) The lady is therefore an idealised combination of all the ladies that the poet has known. As an ideal, she is endowed with all the perfections, like the madonna she closely resembles, and Cino da Pistoia's prayer to her, Gourmont notes, 'paraphrases the In Manus':

Nelle man vostre, dolce donna mia,
Raccomando lo spirito che muore...
Gentil madonna, mentre ho della vita,
Acciò ch'io mora consolato in pace,
Piacciavi agli occhi miei non esser cara.' (3)

82. For the troubadours and the Florentine poets to have assimilated their ladies, or their ideal Lady, to the Virgin Mary, is not so wonderful. But the role of Beatrice, as an example of such a Lady, is rather extraordinary. When Dante meets her in the Vita Nuova, she is already announced as beatitudo nostra, and yet it is for her beauty that he 'worships' her. (1) When she dies, Dante says 'Perhaps I ought now to speak somewhat of her departure from among us,' but 'it would not be suitable for me to speak on this subject, for the reason that if I began I would find myself obliged to praise myself, which is blameworthy in one who undertakes it...' Proceeding to the second part of the work, he announces

'Materia nuova e più nobile che la passata', 'a new subject and nobler than what has preceded.' Beatrice becomes entirely angel-like, and Dante has already referred to her as 'the glorious lady of my spirit' (2). Ultimately she welcomes the poet to Paradise, after Virgil, who was no more than her delegate, has guided him through Hell and Purgatory (3). Yet in the angelification of the later Vita Nuova, Gourmont says, Dante's praise of Beatrice is not beyond what Cino said in his 'Nelle man vostre'.

03. Why does Dante announce the 'nobler matter', and why would he have been praising himself had he spoken of Beatrice's death? Gourmont explains that as an ideal of beauty, in Dante's younger life, she fulfilled the function of the single visible manifestation of beauty that Plato says should be loved in one's youth (1). But whereas Plato then traced a progression in the objects of love, from this single manifestation of beauty to general beauty, then to beauty of soul, then to moral beauty and so on, until one only perceives the science of beauty; Dante's progression contained but one object of love, Beatrice, who would herself change:

> La beauté de Béatrice, seule, le conduira directement au but suprême, sans qu'il change de culte. C'est Béatrice elle-même qui se modifiera et qui, après l'avoir soutenu dans le droit chemin, par le charme de sa beauté terrestre, le soutiendra encore, quand elle aura quitté ce monde, par la beauté cachée de son âme, par cette seconde beauté qui n'est visible qu'aux yeux de l'esprit:
>
> Alcun tempo 'l sostenni col mio volto:

Mostrando gli occhi giovinotti a lui,
Meco 'l menava in dritta parte volto. (2)

84. Beatrice therefore becomes more than a fusion of all the pretty ladies in Florence. She is at one point identified with Love, who says, 'Chi volesse sottilmente considerare, quella Beatrice chiamerebbe Amore, per molta somiglianza che ha meco.' (1) But it is important to note that in the beginning she had most to do with earthly beauty; and that like the power of all the other poets' ladies, her power entered via the eyes. This theme is predominant throughout Guido Cavalcanti. This is clearly in conformity with the Platonic doctrine that the love of material beauty could be a path to higher loves. When Dante's Beatrice metamorphoses into a higher form of beauty than her earthly (though idealised) form, Dante sees reason to be modest about the change in himself which has made this possible; yet he looks forward to higher matter, while still recognising the great good that is in material beauty; which is perhaps what puts Cunizza in Paradise (2).

85. This, likewise, is the synthesis that Pound has made of woman and the divine. First of all, it is 'woman' and not just 'the particular woman that Pound or Dante or Arnaut is concerned with'. In the Confucius to Cummings anthology, Pound remarks:

> Boethius says that Philosophy appeared to him 'of stately face, with flaming eyes, of fresh colour, and insight above the common worth of men.' The figure was sometimes the size of a woman, 'sometimes towering into heaven.' Familiarity with this form of

perception would have saved barrels of speculation
re Dante's visions. (1)

Obviously, however, the Love/Philosophy/Woman figure or conceit would have no value for the poet if individual women on their own meant nothing to him. The way in which individual women merge for the poet into a religious force is shown perfectly in Pound's poem The Alchemist, of 1920:

Sail of Claustra, Aelis, Azalais,
As you move among the bright trees;
As your voices, under the larches of Paradise
Make a clear sound,
Sail of Claustra, Aelis, Azalais,
Raimona, Tibors, Berangère,
'Neath the dark gleam of the sky;
Under night, the peacock-throated,
Bring the saffron-coloured shell,
Bring the red gold of the maple,
Bring the light of the birch tree in autumn
Mirals, Comboling, Audiarda,
Remember this fire.
[...]
Midons, gift of the God, gift of the light, gift of
the amber of the sun,
Give light to the metal. (2)

Here, the names of women praised by Troubadours (and also, later in the poem, of women praised in other European poetry) are being used as talismans, as magic words to help in the conversion of the poet's base metal to gold. The word into which all these names combine is

the Provençal 'midons', the masculine 'my lord' by which troubadours addressed their lady (3). The literal significance of the poem is almost none; it is a piece of religious word-music, a chant or litany, and is also in fact 'almost a pastiche of Gourmont's "Litanies".' (4)

86. The basic perception is in Propertius' 'Ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit', which Pound uses as a motto for the troubadours repeatedly. He paraphrases it: 'My genius is no more than a girl' (1). He puts it in front of Arnaut's 'Sim fos Amors', part of which he translates:

> to think of my default
> And her great worth; yet thinking what I dare,
> More love myself, and know my heart and sense
> Shall lead me to high conquest [rica conquesta]
> unmolested. (2)

Here, and as we have seen in all that part of the troubadour aesthetic that Pound emphasises, it is the gap between man and lady that exalts. This is surely the crux of religion: otherness. Surely, all accounts of religious visions stress the transcendent apartness of that which was perceived. Therefore, at the moments in which man perceives this 'otherness' in the whole universe, the universe becomes divine; as it is for Pound:

> (1) The intimate essence of the universe is <u>not</u> of the same nature as our own consciousness.
>
> (2) Our own consciousness is incapable of having produced the universe.
>
> (3) God, therefore, exists. That is to say, there is no reason for not applying the term God, <u>Theos</u>, to the intimate essence. (3)

87. The male-female polarity is the concentration of this 'othernoss'because it is here that we experience it most. Pound wrote a 'Postscript' to his translation of Gourmont's Physique de l'Amour, starting from the suggestion that

> Il y aurait peut-etre une certaine correlation entre la copulation complete et profonde et le developpement cerebral. (1)

If Gourmont's idea has any validity, it is probably because it is in the moment of coition that one is most aware of 'othernoss'. At any rate, Pound concludes his discussion thus:

> Perhaps the clue is in Propertius after all:
>
> Ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit.
>
> There is the whole of the XIIth century [troubadour] love cult, and Dante's metaphysics a little to one side, and Gourmont's Latin Mystique... (2)

88. To go back, then, to the categories of C.H.S. Read: Arnaut Daniel, along with Cavalcanti and the other Tuscan poets, remains on the somewhat lower level, 'busy with their phantastikon' (1) as Pound puts it; while Dante is able to proceed from this level to a contemplation of 'La gloria di Colui che tutto muove' (2), because somehow he belongs to a greater spirituality, symbolised by his Beatrice who is 'desiata in l'alto cielo' (3), 'awaited in the heights of heaven'. Pound considers that Arnaut is speaking of this difference when Dante makes him say in Purgatory:

> I am Arnaut, who weep and go singing,
> For, though I see the past folly [passada folor],
> I see rejoicing the dawn that I hope for ahead. (4)

For Pound says:

> With such language /as is found in Gourmont's Latin Mystique/ in the cloisters, would it be surprising that the rebels from it, the clerks who did not take orders, should have transferred something of the manner, and something of the spirit, to the beauty of life as they found it, that souls who belonged, not in heaven but, by reason of their refinement, somewhat above the mortal turmoil, should have chosen some middle way, something short of grasping at the union with the absolute, nor yet that their cult should have been extra-martial?...one would be rash to affirm that the "passada folor" which he laments at almost the summit of the purifying hill, and just below the earthly paradise, was anything more than such deflection.
>
> (5)

89. To me, such a view of Arnaut is highly credible. We shall see in examining Pound's points of evidence that the 'cill de Dona' is quite a reasonable hypothesis; yet hardly enough to build a whole view of a troubadour's outlook. But it certainly does not belie the rest of Arnaut's work. He is extremely concerned both with the Virgin Mary and with his own lady's standing in comparison to Her. In the symbolising language of the period he writes:

> Since the dry rod /i.e. the Virgin/ flowered,
> or nephew and uncles descended from Adam,
> such a fine love as the one that is entering my heart
> I do not believe was ever in body, or even in soul... (1)

His is the best love since the Virgin's time; and it seems that

never, since St Paul wrote an Epistle

or anyone fasted through Lent,

even Jesus

has no more been able

to make such a one, for together

she has all the good characteristics that exalt

the One who is remembered as excellent [i.e. the Virgin]. (2)

90. One could paraphrase Pound's remark about Guido's sonnet and say: 'whoever be the heroine of Arnaut's 'Autet e bas...' its blasphemous intention is open to the simplest capacity.' (1) In a Mariolatrous age such as Arnaut's, one could even interpret it as blasphemy against Her when the poet has Love commanding: 'after God, honour and exalt her'—that is, 'your lady'. (2) And he attributes to his lady the specific role that the Virgin was given, for She was said to have been a 'new Eve' in that She demonstrated for the first time the virtue that is in womankind; but Arnaut says of his own lady:

I do not travel fields, valleys, plains or hills so much

as to find in one person as in her all the good

characteristics;

for in her God wished to select and establish them. (3)

91. This lady who has taken over the functions of the Church's Lady has the power of death over Arnaut (1), and the power to shorten the time of his languishing (2). He lives in her alone (3). No 'hermit or monk or religious' is as faithful to God as he is to her (4).

He 'hears and offers a thousand masses' that God should bring them together (5), and even that 'God, who absolved the sins committed by the blind Longinus' should wish 'that I and my lady should lie in the chamber...' (6) This latter wish may, as Gourmont suggests (7), be the point of difference between the troubadours and the Tuscans, who never spoke of such things with reference to their ideal lady; yet it in no way removes the religious aspect.

92. Arnaut, therefore, could very well have said as Dante says in the first vision of Beatrice: 'Ecce deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi', 'behold, a god stronger than me, who, approaching, will dominate me' (1). He spoke of the struggle to attain his lady as that which exalted him:

> Arnaut has waited and will wait a long time,
> for by waiting a noble man makes a great conquest
> [fine conquest] (2)

—which is in conformity with what Pound said about the 'fine thing held in the mind, and the inferior thing ready for instant consumption.' (3) And it is material beauty, the beauty of his lady coming to him through his eyes, that incites him to this:

> I thank God for it and my eyes,
> for through their knowing came to me
> joy... (4)

—which is the 'perception of beauty in those relationships and the conception of love, passion, emotion as an intellectual instigation' that Pound speaks of (5). Dante, by putting Arnaut in Purgatory, merely recognized that in his earthly life the troubadour never found his 'Beatrice' translated above material beauty.

Found as a translator of Daniel

93. Translation is a very complicated process, and there are many reasons why it can never succeed in conveying to its readers everything that the original conveyed to its readers. Everyone knows that if he crosses the Channel he enters a world in which nothing is quite the same: things, people, relationships, political atmospheres and so on, are all different. The English-French differences are among the least that can occur. If we try to imagine what a lion means to a Hausa tribesman and to a London bus-driver hearing about it in a poem, we may start to wonder how any communication is possible between different groups of humans. There is no single referent in a poem which does not alter according both to time and to place.

94. Further, in translating a poem even from a language whose forms and referents are the closest possible to the final tongue, it is impossible to retain all the features that contributed to the meaning of the original; usually either meaning or rhythm, for example, must go. Nabokov, a notable translator of Russian, claims that translations which attempt to be more than cribs are lies; while Pound, probably more conscious of the meaning-effect of rhythm, speaks of 'literal, and therefore mendacious' translations (1). 'Theoretically', in the sense of Berkeleyan 'theory' that tells us we cannot even 'know' of each others' existences, we should therefore abandon translation. On the other hand, experience reminds us that we 'feel' as if we understand Shakespeare, though his world is now infinitely distant; and in the same way that, perhaps by extension from the different states of being that we feel in ourselves, we seem to know something of what fifth-century Chinese felt like when we read translations of their poems by James Legge.

95. Bearing in mind however the very great obstacles, it seems best to discuss these translations both as original poems in their own right (wherein we are only discussing the translator's ability as a poet), and as attempts to convey to us something of what Arnaut's poems conveyed to their original readers and hearers. We shall thus allow for the poet's possible achievement in the one if he fails in the other, for he is unlikely to succeed in both.

96. But Pound was very ambitious with Arnaut's poems, and his aims encompassed both these categories. He wanted to present the same literal meaning, the same rhyme-schemes, the same verse-forms and the same rhythms; and naturally, since all these devices could not hope to reproduce the effect of Arnaut's poems unless they added up to poems 'in their own right', he hoped they would do that as well. He admitted the difficulties, but hoped they would have an effect only on the meaning as affected by style:

> ...in extenuation of the language of my verses, I would point out that the Provençals were not constrained by the modern literary sense. Their restraints were the tune and rhyme-scheme, they were not constrained by a need for certain qualities of writing, without which no modern poem is complete or satisfactory. They were not competing with De Maupassant's prose. Their triumph is, as I have said, in an art between literature and music; if I have succeeded in indicating some of the properties of the latter I have also let the former go by the board. It is quite possible that if the troubadours had been bothered about 'style', they would not have brought their blend of word and tune to so elaborate a completion. (1)

Taking into account Pound's aims, therefore, we must consider his results chiefly in relation to the original pieces by Arnaut.

97. I do not think he succeeded to any great extent; the translations as they appeared in Instigations (1920) (1) are not such as might have caused any of his talented contemporaries to see the stature of Arnaut, or to try to find out more for themselves. The reasons lie in the remarks above quoted, and were diagnosed by Pound in his 'Cavalcanti' essay, published fourteen years later (2). He says, for example, that the Provençals were not competing with Maupassant; but for us they are, just as they are competing with Dante and all the intervening writers; and it is just this lack of prose clarity that blocks the reading in such a strophe as this:

Aye, life's a high thing,
where joy's his maintenance,
Who cries 'tis wry thing
hath danced never my dance,
I can advance
no blame against fate's tithing
For lot and chance
have deemed the best thing my thing. (3)

The mind cannot get through to any sequence of thought or feeling because it is continually diverted by superfluous relations; that is, by those present in the metaphors that clog every line. The chief aim is to bring over the music; but the mind cannot get round the other obstacles fast enough to let the echoes and rhymes come in at their proper speed. One of these obstacles is archaism, and when this does not actually require glossing (as words like 'fordol', 'howis', 'wriblis' and 'howa' do at least for me (4), it brings in

extraneous atmospheres that the mind has to accomodate before it can proceed.

90. Pound at this time did not think the archaic atmospheres extraneous; though he would probably have admitted that the Browning-esque vocabulary was a suspiciously convenient way out of technical difficulties. He said of the 'Langue d'oc' poems (1919): 'The point of the archaic language in the Prov. trans. is that the Latin is really 'modern.' We are just getting back to a Roman state of civilization, or in reach of it; whereas the Provençal feeling is archaic, we are ages away from it. (Whether I have managed to convey this or not I can't say; but it is the reason for the archaic dialect.)' (1)

99. Pound, it seems to me, was probably right about the particular qualities our civilization now shares with the Roman Empire, mainly cosmopolitanism; but wrong about the nature of archaism. The only relevant variety of archaism is an excessive concern with the local and temporary; it is that which cuts off from us Sordello's 'Ensenhamen d'Onor' (1), and just as effectively the drawing-room comedies of Mr. Coward; while the lack of it causes several Elizabethan folk-songs, from a world now completely departed, to remain open to us. Now I have noted at least one feature which makes Arnaut archaic: his hyperboles, whose force derived entirely from their conforming to a modish rhetoric (2). Yet Pound's translations of him remain much more archaic than Arnaut's originals. It is possibly true, as Pound says, that the troubadour 'could shoval in words in any order he liked' (3), but the effect of this, as a feature of Provençal style, is not to date the poem, as such treatment does in English. In fact

Arnaut's word-order is remarkably like that of prose, if one takes into account certain inversions that are organic in the Romance languages ('Quan chai la fuolha', III.1, 'don seca.l vais', III.4) (4). But I think that Pound later decided that word-order has an effect on meaning in the Romance languages, just as it does in English though a lesser effect, for 'The concept of word order in uninflected or very little inflected language had not developed to anything like twentieth-century smoothness', but he still includes Dante's 'writing his lines hind side before, with the verbs stuck out of place on the tail syllable, and with multiple relative clauses' as a defect that his subject, Binyon, perhaps ought not to copy (5).

100. Arnaut's outlook, like that of all the greater troubadours, had a good deal of the 'local and temporary' in it; but the world that they created, though narrow, remains a permanent adjunct to the human spirit because it was based on certain genuine psychological insights. As far as Pound is concerned, I have shown that Arnaut is for him almost an extension of Cavalcanti, whose psychological 'hardness' he always stressed (1); and I think that if it had not been so, Pound would not have kept the sustained interest in Arnaut that he did.

101. I therefore think that 'archaism' was a temporary excuse for Pound, an attempt to explain to himself why his translations came out as they did. All this is made clear in the 'Cavalcanti' essay, where Pound speaks of the translations he was working on at the same time as the Arnauts:

> When I 'translated' Guido eighteen years ago I did <u>not</u> see Guido at all. I saw that Rossetti had made a remarkable translation of the <u>Vita Nuova</u>, in

some places improving (or at least enriching) the original; that he was indubitably the man 'sent', or 'chosen' for that particular job, and that there was something in Guido that escaped him or that was, at any rate, absent from his translations. A robustezza, a masculinity. I had a great enthusiasm (perfectly justified) but I did not clearly see exterior demarcations—Euclid inside his cube, with no premonition of Cartesian axes.

My perception was not obfuscated by Guido's Italian, difficult as it then was for me to read. I was obfuscated by the Victorian language.

...Neither can anyone learn English, one can only learn a series of Englishes. Rossetti made his own language. I hadn't in 1910 made a language, I don't mean a language to use, but even a language to think in. (1)

102. By 1920, when the final translations of Arnaut came out, Pound's mental apparatus was changing drastically, but the great and all-important change did not come until the revised versions of the early Cantos appeared (Canto IV in 1919, Canto VII in 1921, and so on). Possibly the new approach is as Zukovsky describes it for the Cantos:

...setting down one's extant world and other existing worlds, inter-related in a general scheme of people speaking in accord with the musical measure, or spoken about in song; people, of their own weight determining, or already determined. (1)

This great 'objectiveness', or lesser interference from the ego, requires a more accurate subjectivity: in order to present the object, person or situation with total precision, the poet must remove all obstacles to his own accurate perception of them. That perception will be of the clear, uninterfering kind expressed in a haiku rather than of the ideological kind expressed by Wordsworth. The result in the case of the Arnaut translations would have been an enormously greater effort to make the music of the words express the thing, as Arnaut does in:

Lanquan vei fueill'e flor e frug
parer dels albres el ramel
e aug lo chan que faun e·l brug
ramns el riu, el bosc auzol... (2)

—and as Pound does not in:

When I see leaf, and flower and fruit
Come forth upon light lynd and bough,
And hear the frogs in rillet bruit,
And birds quhitter in forest now,... (3)

By the time of the revised Cantos, Pound had made this god-like effort, and the result as far as Arnaut is concerned is chiefly in Canto XX, where, as we have seen, there is a fully-adequate poetic equivalent of Arnaut's world. (4)

103 But one very important point of Pound's remarks about his difficulties with the Victorian language is that language is to some extent an apparatus for thinking. The fact that Pound was hobbled in this way is therefore a reflection on the past history of the culture that produced that language, as much as on Pound. Pound diagnoses the current of this history in the 'Cavalcanti' essay.

Assuming that Keats is 'out of Elizabethans, Swinburne out of a larger set of Elizabethans and a mixed bag (Crookn, and no water), Rossetti out of Shoots, Kelly, and Co. plus early Italians (written and painted) ...' (1), and that it is the language of these Victorians which still forms the mental apparatus of the modern poet, Pound tries to say how it comes about that the Elizabethan language cannot reproduce the 'specific gravity' or density of even a mediocre Cavalcanti sonnet. He shows that the English translator automatically ignores particular precisions and seeks for a word-melody which is not a reinforcement of what the particular words have to say, but a movement independent of the meaning and which tends to smooth over nuances of meaning. To the Italian, the metaphysics mattered, but to the Elizabethan what mattered was the cantabile quality:

> And I think that if anyone now lay, or if we assume that they mostly then (in the expansive days) laid, aside care for specific statement of emotion, a dogmatic statement, made with the seriousness of someone to whom it mattered whether he had three souls, one in the head, one in the heart, one possibly in the abdomen, or lungs, or wherever Plato, or Galen, had located it; if the anima is still breath, if the stopped heart is a dead heart, and if it is all serious than it would have been to Herrick, the imaginary investigator will see more or less how the Elizabethan modes came into being. (2)

104. At least part of Pound's failure in the Arnaut translations came, however, from his passionate desire to show people the beautiful things he had found; to give them the music while removing from them

the excuse that the work was in a difficult foreign tongue. He said of the Cavalcanti attempts:

> I began by meaning merely to give prose translation so that the reader ignorant of Italian could see what the melodic original meant. It is, however, an illusion to suppose that more than one person in every 300,000 has the patience or the intelligence to read a foreign tongue for its sound, or even to read what are known to be the masterworks of foreign melody, in order to learn the qualities of that melody, or to see where one's own falls short. (1)

The melody was probably the important thing with Arnaut; and when Pound tried to bring that over, form and all, along with the literal meaning, he was attempting something that probably has never yet been brought off.

Pound's Competence in Provençal as seen in these translations

105. If we take a pessimistic view of the possibilities of human communication, we may put translation with the re-creating of the past in these remarks by Zukovsky:

> Try as a poet may for objectivity, for the past to relive itself, not for his living the historical data, he can do only one of two things: get up a neat brief catalog of antiquities (people become dates, epitaphs), or use this catalog and breathe upon it, so that it lives as his music. This latter action need not falsify the catalog. (1)

Zukovsky is right, but only in the sense that our translations (or

personae) have more to do with us than with the originals; our immediate aim, and standard of success, may well be to bring over the effect of the original. Pound would hardly have worried his head so much about Arnaut if he had regarded the translations as merely an expression of himself.

106. Zukovsky's remarks show that it is possible to be a great translator without understanding much of the original, but in that case we should call the activity less translation and more the writing of poetry; there are infinite gradations between the two. It frequently happens in translation that a poet seizes on an original and precisely because his linguistic understanding of it is somewhat vague, he is able to see in it a vision that will make him put all his abilities into translating it; if he had understood it better he might not have liked it. Again, the process is by that much less translation. Competence in the original tongue is therefore not an obstacle to producing a brilliant result, but is an sine qua non for re-creating in any degree the effect that the original work had. In my opinion this latter was an important aim of Pound's, since for him the activity of translating combined the essential activities of Odysseus, the hero of the Cantos, in meeting men of many nations and in visiting the kingdom of Dis to bring back the wisdom of the dead.

107. I shall therefore try to show how much Provençal Pound knew. It is my opinion that by 1920 he knew enough Provençal to understand as fully as anyone now can the total content of the poems. His early grammatical sloppiness (1) was by no means important enough to prevent the development of this vision, and he had the advantages over most readers of an almost 'absolute' sense of value in works of art, and of having only one purpose: to understand the author's intent,

ignoring the questions of syntax, morphology, phonology and so on, that perhaps consume ninety-five per cent of critics' time, time that should be spent in 'reading the poem'. But it is not very useful for me merely to cite my opinion in this manner, for it only contradicts the opinion of other critics. Thus Robert Graves, himself a renowned translator:

> ...Pound's bravado paid in the long run. He knew little Latin, yet he translated Propertius; and less Greek, but he translated Alcaeus; and little Anglo-Saxon, yet he translated <u>The Seafarer</u>. I once asked Arthur Waley how much Chinese Pound knew; Waley shook his head despondently. And I don't claim to be an authority on Provençal, but Majorcan, which my children talk most of the time, and which I understand, is closely related to it. When my thirteen-year-old boy was asked to compare a Provençal text with Pound's translation, he laughed and laughed and laughed. (2)

This is in fact the only opinion of Pound's Provençal competence that I have seen printed; though Stock has printed his opinion of Pound's knowledge of the troubadours, like Graves' I presume a second-hand opinion, since Stock shows himself thoroughly ignorant of the subject. (3)

100. First-hand observation for the reader who does not know Provençal is quite impossible, but it seems to me that it would help at least to bring the proofs out into the open. I have therefore examined closely a number of stanzas from Pound's Arnaut Daniel translations, not with the view of establishing his ability to <u>bring across</u> any one of the kinds of meaning in the original, but only to deduce, where possible, whether he <u>understood</u> the 'literal meaning'.

It may be argued that the translations of Arnaut are a poor sample, since in them Pound is tightly restricted by the forms he has chosen to reproduce. On the other hand they are pieces that he had worked at, on and off, for many years (1), and where his familiarity with Provençal should show to advantage; and there is perhaps more chance that the literal meaning should show through here than with pieces where, as in the 'Langue d'Oc' (2), he searched wider for something which might be a true equivalent of the total meaning.

109. There is another purpose in this examination, for, as we shall see (1), much of the evidence for Pound's view of the 'religious' background to the troubadours comes from specific loci in Arnaut's text. It is therefore important to establish whether the text will stand his interpretation. For this reason the choice of samples is not representative; and also for the reason that III.49ff., IV.17ff., IV.25ff were deliberately chosen as strophes where he appeared to have made a mistake. I have examined the whole of XII ('Doutz brais e critz'), which Pound considered to be Arnaut's best piece, in order to try and make the sample more even.

110. Pound clearly worked hard at these translations, and especially on those points which he used as evidence for his view of the troubadours, since he chooses in each case the text and interpretation that suits him, though for the most part following Canello. As one might expect, his copying or proof-reading of Provençal in the original essay is careless, contrasting strikingly with that of the Translations copyist, who followed Canello to the letter even where Pound had chosen Lavaud's reading. There is no evidence here that Pound used original MSS, which in Arnaut's case are anyway too

corrupt to be of help to the non-specialist; and Pound seems not to have been a competent palaeographer, to judge by comparisons with editors' readings (1).

111. I think that my examination shows, as I have suggested, an adequate knowledge of Provençal on Pound's part by 1920, when these translations were published. In the case of the pieces of evidence for troubadour 'religion', though we shall see that at one point he seemed to have an explicit method of choosing crucxs that could be guaranteed uncrackable by editors (1), in fact his readings are normally very reasonable; except in the cases of the 'dianoia' reading of 'enoi gandres' (XIII.7) and of the 'dogma' reading of 'dill do Dona' (IX.05), where he was clearly under the influence of the author he was discussing. There are by contrast, blatant errors in his earlier translation of Arnaut.

112. (a) I ignore variations in punctuation and spelling that result from different systems, such as the treatment of the 'forme appuyée' of pronouns (ge•n/ gue•n/ quen etc.).

(b) I note no variations in punctuation.

(c) By 'significant variants' I mean those that could explain Pound's interpretation of the text given by him.

(d) Where I call a reading a misprint, it is because neither the sense, or editors, nor ISS support it.

(e) Suggestions of what Pound might have thought are here neither intended as criticism or otherwise, but only as clues as to the nature of his understanding, or mis-understanding, of the text.

(f) My 'literal' translation, like all such translations, may be less accurate than a poetic translation in one way: that it can use more 'general' words than the poet, who has to choose the precise term that keeps the emotional tenour of what he is saying. Thus the poet or the native may 'know' that a particular word means 'nag', but the 'literal' translator can get away with the vaguer 'horse'. But one should not begin to compare a literal translation with a poetic version unless one understands that kind of thing.

(g) Trans. or Tr. stands for the text of Arnaut as it stands in Translations, 1954 and later; the text cited, where possible, is that of the 'Arnaut Daniel' essay as reprinted in the Essays of 1954. The numbering of Arnaut's songs is identical in Canello (1883), Lavaud (1910), Toja (1960) and Pound. For line-numbering, as throughout, I follow Toja, since though Pound's text is chiefly Canello's it is not consistently so, and since anyone who can get hold of the earlier editions can get hold of Toja, but not vice versa.

(h) C = Arnaut Opere ed. Canello.

(i) L = Arnaut Poesie ed. Lavaud.

(j) T = Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja.

(k) All references to these editors refer to their notes on the passage in question.

113.

III. Pound's text (Essays p.119): Misprints and significant variants:

Tan pareis conta
50 colla quen to joios
Las cansons trenta
vens de belas faisos;
Don es razos
doncas qué nos chans senta, non misprint for non;
55 Quar es tan pros Trans. has correct
e de ric preta manenta.

Editors' variants:

50 T: per co

55 L: tant es

Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:

She seems so sweet
the lady who keeps me happy
the thirty most pretty
she vanquishes as far as attractiveness is concerned;
it is certainly right
therefore that she should hear my songs,
because she is so excellent
and so rich with great esteem.

Pound's translation (Essays p.118):

She's so the rarest
who holdeth me thus gay,
The thirty fairest
can not contest her sway;
'Tis right, par fay,
thou know, O song that wearest
Such bright array,
whose quality thou sharest,

Comment

If the last three lines of Pound's translation result from a misreading of the text, I cannot understand what misreading it might be; unless it be that he read quar as 'why', perhaps: 'It is right that you should know, then, O song, why you are so excellent and rich with great worth' (i.e. because you share that quality with the lady you are addressed to). Whether or not this is the origin of Pound's lines, it seems clear that they agree with an idea that is present in the poem as a whole: that the great good fortune of Arnaut's love, and the excellence of his lady, transfer themselves to the song he is writing. In the first strophe the birds are silent, but Arnaut is loyal to love; in the third he congratulates himself on his love; in the fourth his lady has no equal; in the fifth his love has no equal; in the coda he would not be putting his mind (genius, ardour) into the song if the lady didn't exist. The transference is clear. Therefore, though in this strophe the lady should hear his song because she is so excellent (and therefore gracious, kind), Pound is within his rights in saying it is because the song shares her qualities of excellence. The theme ingenium (or, here, cantilenam) nobis ipsa puella fecit is for Pound a key to the troubadours; cf. for example Pavannes and Divagations p.214. It is therefore very difficult to say whether Pound understood the original Provençal in the strophe.

114.

IV. Pound's text (Essays p.121). Misprints and significant variants:

Tuich li plus savi en vant hiure
Sos miol e scs retomba,
Cui il gignosetz esclemba — il misprint for ill; Trans. has
La crin queil pend a la coma; — correct
E plus pros li brui de l'auzil

On plus gentot s'en desloigna;
Et fols cre miells d'una moigna
Car a simple cor e gentil.

Et misprint for El/E.l: Trang. has correct

Editors' variants:

17 L: Totz; savis; T: Totz lo plus soms en va hiure
19 L: Cui ill, gignos, on cel embla; T: gignos', en cel embla

Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:

All the wisest persons go around drunk from [Love]
without a goblet and without a flask,
to whom [Love], sly, nusses [i.e. whose long
the hair that hangs from his mane; hair Love entangles]
and he whispers in his ear closer
the more honestly [the poor fool] keeps his distance;
and the fool believes better than a nun
because he has a simple and a noble heart.

Pound's translation (Essays p.120):

The most wise runs drunkest lover,
Sans pint-pot or wine to swallow,
If a whim her locks unlinketh,
One stray hair his noose becometh.
When evasion's fairest shown,
Then the sly puss purrs most near ye.
Innocents at heart beware ye,
When she seems colder than a nun.

Comment

This strophe is awkward in sense and idea, and difficult in grammar; when Pound says (Essays p.120) it 'shows the simple and presumably early style of Arnaut', he refers to the verse-technique and not to these other matters. It is tempting to see in the second line a parallel to Chaucer's 'Withouten coppe drank he all his penaunce' (F.942), and indeed it is possible; but the more likely meaning is

'drunk without wine', so the second line is very weak. The next idea is that this sage has a fool's mane, that he probably can't see through, and that Love, like a clown, can pull at will because the 'sage' is too slow to do anything about it. Perhaps; though the word 'escolembar' is Canello's invention, existing nowhere else (cf. Toja's note), and the more probable reading means something like 'whose sole hair handing from his mane naughty [Love] secretly steals' (Toja). The second image figures Love as a persistent deceiver who somehow manages to keep whispering in the sage's ear even when the poor man is retreating.

I would suggest that Pound read it: 'For whom she, tricky wench [Love' is feminine in Provençal], cuts off (?) her hair so as to hang him by the head.' 'Coma' is indeed translated as 'head' by Levy SW I 291, though wrongly, as Toja notes. But with such a translation, whether the subject of 'pend' be 'Amor' or 'orin', it should be in the subjunctive. For the last two lines Pound need only have read 'And the fool believes that [his lady] is better than a nun, because he has a simple and noble heart' in order to reach, with the manipulation necessary for rhyme, his translation.

If I am right in these two conjectures, they show Pound not paying much attention to grammar; possibly trying too hard to save Arnaut's poem for him.

115.

IV. Pound's text (Essays p.121): Misprints and significant variants:

Son fals' Amor cuidiei viure,
Man ben vei o'um dat mi plomba — o'um misprint for o'un; Trans. has correct
Quand ieu miells vei qu'il m'o embla — Trans. has le misprint for li
Car tuich li logat de Roma
No con jes de non tant notil,
Que na devisa 'Nonsoigna',

Quo tant aoaument caloigna,
    Mens poira falsar un fil poira misprint for Poirin; Tr. correct

Elliott' variants:
30 L: Messoigna; C: Messoigna; T: mossoigna; L: n'a
32 L: Quo n'en posca falsar; T: id.

Line-by-Line literal translation of Pound's text:

I thought to live without false Love,
but I can see clearly that she [i.e. Love] is loading a die for me
when I can see most clearly that she is taking [the game] from me;
for all the legates of Rome
are never so clever in their brains;
milady Lie herself,
who disputes so smoothly
could less [easily] cheat one of a thread.

Pound's translation (Essays p.120-1):

See, I thought so highly of her!
Trusted, but the game is hollow,
Not one wan piece soundly clinketh,
All the cardinals that Rome hath,
    Yea, they were all put upon.
Her device is 'Slyly Wary'.
Cunning are the snares they carry,
    Yet while they watched they'd be undone.

Comment

The first five lines are correctly translated by Pound, who understood: 'I thought to live with true love alone, but I can see that my lady is loading my dice when I observe her winning the game; for all the legates in Rome are not clever enough to have beaten her..' The 'il' of the third line is taken to be the lady, instead of Love (feminine in Provençal); legitimately, I think.

The situation in the last three lines is almost too

confused to explain; each of the three editors has a different understanding of the text. My literal translation is forced on me by the text Pound followed. Pound's text is Canello's, who translates: '...and [Love] could take points from (? daro dei punti a) lady Lie herself, who can dispute so well.' Toja calls this translation 'strano'; I agree. Canello says: 'We take this devina as a participle of divino, in the sense of 'divided', and explain: 'Lady Lie herself, in person.' Thus it means literally: 'because lady Lie, who argues so smoothly, could less cheat one of a thread [than Love]'. Lavaud on the other hand offered n'a devina Mensoigna, 'milady has the device 'Lie''; which Pound clearly followed; but he didn't follow Lavaud in his variant reading of the last line, which would mean 'that thereby she is able to cheat me of a thread'. For the last two lines Pound seems to go back to the logates for his subject, ignoring the number of the verbs, and reading: 'so that as smoothly as they dispute, they could less [easily] cheat one of a thread [than milady]'.

Toja has perhaps sorted all this out by making devina a verb: 'For milady thinks up lies, for she disputes so smoothly that thereby she could cheat me of a thread'; though I would have thought that the singular mensoigna might make this awkward.

I think that Pound tried to give the stanza the unity it lacked by carrying through the idea of the logates; but in doing so he ignored the grammar, which rules that subject out.

116.

IV. Pound's text (Fenaya p.123) Misprints and significant variants:

Bertran, non cre de sai lo Nil
Mais tan de fin joi m'apoigna
Tro lai on lo soleils poigna,
Tro lai on lo soleills plovil.

Editors' variants:

51 L: Do sai; T: id.; C: ploigna; Tronn. follows Canello

Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:

Bertran, I do not believe that from this side of the Nile
such fine joy will ever approach me,
to where the sun hastens,
to where the sun rains.

Pound's translation (Essays p.122):

Coda

Six Bertran,[1] sure no pleasure's won
Like this freedom naught so merry
Twixt Nile 'n' where the suns miscarry
To where the rain falls from the sun.

[1] Presumably De Born.

Comment

Pound's first two lines seem to be full of padding, of a strange syntax, necessitated by shifting most of the meaning into the last two. It is possible that in Arnaut the last two lines are equally padded; but they are difficult to understand. Canello had proposed for the third line an obscure 'ploigna'; Pound drops this but keeps the double 'tro lai' of the last two lines. His lines should then mean 'I do not think I will ever got such fine joy, from the Nile (viz. the East) to where the sun hastens (downwards), to where the sun rains downwards'—that is, from the East to the West. The difficult thing is to discover whether his lines do mean this; 'miscarry' is obviously poetic for 'where Phoebus' cart tumbles into the sea'; but, if the last line repeats this idea, as it should, why does Pound not have 'Twixt Nile 'n' where the suns miscarry, / [Twixt Nile] And where the rain falls from the sun.'? Nonetheless,

I am fairly sure that this is what he means.

I think that he was right to reject the conjectural reading De lai in the penultimate line, which, Toja claims, removes the awkward repetition in the two last lines. It merely removes the repetition to the other geographical limit, i.e. to the East, by saying: 'I do not believe that I will ever have such fine joy from the Nile, from where the sun hastens (upwards), to where the sun rains (downwards)'. It seems clear to me that Arnaut's lines contain an unavoidable redundancy, wherever we choose to place it.

That the last line refers to the descent of the sun in the West, 'in a rain of light' as Toja puts it, seems certain from the parallels in Giraut Liedet ed. Kolsen, 19.52-3: De lai on s'abrivol Nils / Tro lai on sols es colcatz, 'From where the Nile hastens to where the sun sets', and Bertran (cf. 2.3.6) (almost the same). Also compare 'De part Nil entro c'a Sanchas', 'from beyond the Nile to Saintes [Charente-Maritime]', XVI.36. But these parallels give no clue to Arnaut's middle element. Pound got the number of suns wrong in the penultimate line, possibly for his rhyme; otherwise he understood the strophe.

117.

IX. Pound's text (Egoays pp.152-3) Misprints and significant variants:

Dousca car', a
Totz alpa volgutz,
Sofrir
M'or per vos mainz orgoills,
Car etz
Dccs
De totz mos fadencs,
Don ai mainz brutz — mainz misprint for mains
Fars
E cabars;
De vos nom tortz,

80 Mim fai partir
Avora,
'nan non mei
Ren tan ab meins d'ufaut,
Anz vos desir
85 Plus que Dieus cill de Doma.

M23: CIR: <u>dieus</u>; DRUUV: <u>deu</u>; a: <u>dio col</u> (T) AM2N: <u>dieu</u>; MUV: <u>dei</u>; a: <u>dio</u>; IKRC: <u>dieun</u> (C)

<u>Editors' variants:</u>

85 L: Dieu; T: id.

<u>Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:</u>

Beautiful face with
all desirable ways,
to endure [i.e. I will have
I will have, for you, many an affront, to endure for you...]
because you are
the goal
of all my follies,
for which [purpose] I have many low
companions,
and mocks;
takes me not away from you, [i.e. wealth takes me not away]
nor makes me leave,
wealth,
because I have never loved
anything so much with less vainglory,
but I desire you
more than God those of Rome.

<u>Pound's translation (Essays p.131):</u>

Ah, fair face, where
Each quality
But frees
One pride-shaft more, that cleaves
His mad fricks [should read: His: mad / fricks ?]
(O' they back) destroy.

And rockery
Baita
Mo, and rates.
    Yet I not shirk
    Thy vellcities,
Averno
Me not, nor slake
Desire, God draws not nigh
To Dome,[1] with pleas
Wherein's so little veering.

[1] Our Lady of Puy-de-Dôme? No definite solution of the reference yet found.

Comment

The last two lines are, as we have seen (par. 76 ff.), a basis of what Pound thought about the troubadours' religion. He proposed two successive interpretations: (1) that Arnaut says he loves his lady more than God loves Our Lady of the Puy de Dôme; (2) that Arnaut says he loves his lady more than God loves the lady (or Lady?) of the orthodox, Catholic, doctrine.

The first interpretation was suggested by Canello, who compared in his note this passage to VIII.39ff: 'for never, since St. Paul wrote an Epistle, or anyone fasted through Lent, no more could even Jesus make such creatures, because together she has all the good ways for which the Lady who is remembered as excell nt, is more exalted.' Canello said: 'There it was said that Arnaut's lady is the most beautiful there has been in the world since Mary; and here it seems to be said that Arnaut loves his lady more than God loves the Virgin Mary, "her of Dôme." We thought, in fact, that here there might be a reference to a sanctuary of the Virgin on the Puy de Dôme, or in some other place bearing the name of Dome, Provençal Doma; and that the troubadour might be etymologizing as it were on Dona, seeing in it a variation of donna [i.e. 'lady'].' Bearing in mind the frequent blasphemies of Arnaut, which we have discussed, it seems to me that Canello was right to bring those two passages together; though I can't see the point or, syntactically, the possibility of the etymologizing.

However, Canello put this suggestion to Chabaneau, who dismissed it in favour of his own: that 'cill de Doma' referred to monks at a monastery at 'Doma', so that, reversing the syntax, it would mean 'I desire you more than the monks of Doma desire God.' He pointed to a passage in Bertran de Born 'lo filhs' (the son); 'Et etz plus leials vas Joven / No son a Dieu cilh de Cadonh'. Cadouin was a famous abbey in Périgord. Chabaneau then suggested that Doma was the little village in Périgord (chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement of Sarlat, Levaud specified) where there might have existed in Arnaut's time a monastery, or only a hermitage. (For Chabaneau see Canello's note.) Toja points out that this interpretation 'finds partial confirmation also in the marginal note of H (fol.32): doma on us mons fort nuts on es solgren una maisons d'omes spirituals forts.' (Here I would remark how regrettable it is that editors only print those marginal glosses that support their arguments)—a very high mountain where there is only a house of ascetic (?) men of the spirit. The case might seem to be closed. But whether we read it as 'more than God loves her of Doma' or as 'more than those (monks) of Doma love God', Doma, if the marginal gloss of H has any authority, cannot be Domme (arr. de Sarlat (Dordogne)), because that village is at the bottom of a valley. Furthermore, there is no evidence that there ever was a religious house there; while we have at least the gloss of H to suggest that there was one on the Puy de Dôme. This is indeed quite likely, for the faithful have always liked to claim the tops of prominent peaks. On the Puy de Dome, there are in fact the ruins of a temple to Mercury; we shall see (3.3.102) in the case of the Pic St Barthélemy, how the associations of such a site might transfer themselves to Catholicism. There is then the possibility that Arnaut was

referring to Our Lady of the Puy de Dome, that is, the Virgin to whom the monastery on that site was dedicated. If we take XIV.25-7 as an exact parallel ('Non sai un tan ai'e Dieu from, / ermita ni monge ni clerc, / cum ieu sui e leis de cui can'— 'I do not know a man as faithful to God, / hermit or monk or religious, / as I towards her whom I sing'), the reading 'the monks of Dora love God' becomes more likely.

The manuscripts tend to favour Chanbaneau's grammar: according to Toja, AIJ²KNMNUV have dieu or deu (oblique case), while only CIR have dieus (subject-case). But it is only a question of an s, the graphy of a system of declension that only one of the scribes (the scribe of C, 'executed in the South-West of France' (Toja p.151)), understood as his native tongue—if indeed the case-system of Provençal still survived in the fourteenth century, when that MS was written. I would also mention that Schultz-Gora (Elementarbuch p.76) and Anglade (Grammaire p.241) say that gilh is only possible as masculine plural subject or feminine singular subject. But none of the critics appears to have referred to this, so that I assume Canello was correct in taking it as feminine singular object.

To sum up on Pound's first interpretation: we cannot fault his understanding of Provençal in it, since it was shared by Canello; and as a piece of evidence for Arnaut's attitude to religion it is, as I have argued, possible.

His second interpretation, that dona 'could be an equivalent to the Italian word donna, meaning dogma', is more doubtful; it can only be discussed, I think, on phonological grounds. Dona meaning 'dogma', or indeed anything other than 'domo', is unknown to Raynouard, Lexique , and Levy, SW. But the word existed in

church Latin; St Jerome used it (cf. Thouzellier Heresie p.1), and Isodorus glossed it correctly as cogn. Gr. dokein; both of these authors were important authorities for Arnaut's period. It is highly probable that Arnaut was learned in religious letters. If he used the word 'dogma', then, it would be a learned borrowing; as was for example the goma that rhymes with doma in the same poem (cf. Toja's note to IV.20). If he made such a borrowing he would either take it over straight, like goma, or he would make some attempt to assimilate it to Provençal forms. The former case is ruled out, since the form here, unanimously in the MSS, is doma; it is in any case a rhyme-word, so it must be correct. In the latter case there is, strictly speaking, no knowing what he might have done with the word; a learned borrowing by an individual is entirely at the mercy of his whims. Nonetheless I think it is the case that a scholar who borrows a word from a language that has lent many other words to his own, will, if he decides to assimilate it to his own language-forms, make quite a good imitation of the phonological processes that have governed similar words. He is led by the kind of instinctive multiple-analogizing that, for instance, tells an Englishman how to pronounce a word he has never seen before, even when he knows of no relevant rules. Latinizing notaries, for example, seem to have vied with each other in producing more 'accurate' Latin forms of place-names, etc. But if Arnaut had tried to do this with dogma he would have faced exactly the same difficulty that we now face in trying to predict what form the word would have taken if the Provençal language had taken it over and modified it. For dogma, being a Greek word, has a form unusual in Latin. There are Latin words which have the intervocalic group -gm-, but not one of them appears

in the grammars of Schultz-Gora or Anglade. There is, however, pigmentum giving pinon, which would appear to support Pound's case.

A borrowing from the Italian is ruled out, since the word donna/donna is not found before the sixteenth century (fourteenth century for its derivatives). Cf. Dizionario etimologico italiano, C. Battisti and G. Alessio, Firenze 1951, s.v.

It is impossible to say for certain whether Pound is right in his second interpretation.

118.

X. Pound's text: Misprints or significant variants:

None. Canello's text:

Tot jorn meillur et emori
Car la genser serv e coli
Dol mon, sous dic en apert.
Sieus sui dol po tro qu'en cira,
E si tot vantaill freid'aura
L'amors qu'inz el cor mi plou
Mi ten chaut on plus iverna.

Editors' variants:

10 T: el mon

Line-by-line literal translation of Canello's text:

Every day I grow better and perfect myself
because I serve and honour the noblest woman
in the world, I tell you this openly.
I am born from foot to top,
and even if the cold breeze blows,
the love that rains in my heart
keeps me warm when it is most winter-like.

Pound's translation (Translations p.422):

Each day finer I refine me
And my cult and service strain them
Toward the world's best, as ye hear,
"Here" my root and tip have styled them.
And though bitter winds come blowing,
The love that rains down in my heart
Warmeth me when frost's abhorrent.

Comment

Pound understood this strophe perfectly. His 'cult' is probably more accurate than my translation, for 'colre' clearly has to do with religion, just as the modern French 'culte', with which it is cognate, is used for the ordinary religious services.

119.

XI. Pound's text: Misprints and significant variants:

None. Canello's text:

Pensar de lieis m'es repaus,
E tragan ans los huoills cranos
s'a lieis vezer nols estuich;
El cor non crezats qu'en tuoilla,
Car orars ni jocs ni viula
Nom pot de lieis un travers jonc
Partir.. C'ai dig? Dieus, tum somorts
Ou peris el poleyres!

Editors' variants:

Line-by-line translation of Canello's text:

To think about her is rest to me,
and may a canker remove both my eyes
if I don't keep them for looking at her;
and don't imagine I will take my heart away from her,
because neither praying nor playing nor the viol
can me from her the thickness of a rush [i.e. can part me from
part; what have I said? God, submerge me her the thickness..]
or make me die in brawling!

Pound's translation (Essays p.135):

To think of her is my rest
And both of my eyes are strained wry
When she stands not in their sight,
Believe not the heart turns from her,
For nor prayers nor gains nor wiling
Can move me from her a rood's-breadth.

Comment

Pound appears to have taken the 'traga', 'may it remove', of the second line, as indicative: 'a canker tears out both my eyes.' Otherwise his translation is quite correct. By missing out the last two lines he avoids a crux, none of whose solutions so far proposed seems to me to give a strong sense; cf. Toja's note.

120.

XII. Pound's text (Essays p.136) Misprints and significant variants:

Doutz brais e critz,
Lais o cantars e voutas
Aug dels auzels qu'en lor latins fant — lor as IK (Paris Bibl. Nat.); edd. lur; Trans. id.
Qiecs ab so par, atressi cum nos fan — so misprint for en; Trans. has correct
A las amigas en cui entendem;
E doncas lou qu'en la gensser entendi
Doi far chanson nobre totz de bell' obra
Que noi aia mot fals ni rima estrampa. — Trans. follows Canello's misprint

Editors' variants:

3 L: latin; T: id.
8 C: ni misprint for ni

Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text

The sweet warblings and cries,

the lays and the singings and the trills
of the birds I hear, who in their languages make pleas
each with his mate, just as we do
to the lady-friends on whom our hearts are set;
and therefore I, whose heart is set on the noblest lady,
must make a song that is superlatively of fine workmanship,
so that there be in it no false word or isolated rhyme.

Pound's translation (Essays p.135):

Sweet cries and cracks
and lays and chants inflected
By auzels who, in their Latin bellikes,
Chirm each to each, even as you and I
Pipe toward those girls on whom our thoughts attract;
Are but more cause that I, whose overweening
Search in toward the Noblest, set in cluster
Lines where no word pulls awry, no rhyme breaks gauges.

Comment

I can detect no evidence here that Pound misunderstood the text. Some scholars might object to his 'in their Latin' for 'en lor latins', since 'latin' seems to have the meaning 'language'; but since this sense is only used (with the exception of Guilhem IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. XI Pos de chantar ?) with bird-song, it is probably still a metaphor. Cf. Guilhem IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no X Ab lo colchor, Corcamon Poesies ed. Jeanroy no. I Quant l'aura doussa; also in Cavalcanti and Poliziano, cf. Toja's note. But Chaytor Script p.28 says latin 'was used to denote any kind of language, even the twittering of birds; Latin was known as grammaire'— no dates given.

121.

XII. Pound's text (Essays p.136): Misprints and significant variants:

Non fui marrits

10 Mi non presi deotoutas
Al prim qu'intrioi ol chastol dinz lo decs, lo misp. for lon; Tr. correct
Lai on ostai midonz, don ai gran fam
C'anc non l'ac tal lo nobotz Sain Guillem;
Mil vetz lo jorn on badaill ca n'entendi
Per la bella que totas autras sobra Trann. has misprint nuntrna
Tant cant val mais fis gaugz qu'ira ni rampa.

Editors' variants:

Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:

I was not lost
nor did I take side-tracks
when I first entered the castle, within the outer walls,
where my lady is, for whom I have a great hunger
such that the nephew of St William never had such a one;
a thousand times a day I yawn and stretch
for the beautiful woman who is above all the others
as much as fine joy is worth more than sadness or cramp.

Pound's translations (Essays p.135):

No cul de sacs
nor false ways ne deflected
When I first pierced her fort within its dykes,
Here, for whom my hungry insistency
Passes the gnaw whereby was Vivien wracked;[1]
Day-long I stretch, all times, like a bird prooning,
And yawn for her, who hath o'er others thrust her
As high as true joy is o'er ire and rages.

[1] Vivien, strophe 2, nebotz Sain Guillem, an allusion to the romance Enfances Vivien.

Comment

There is no evidence here that Pound did not understand the text. His note on the allusion to Vivien was correct according to the authorities then available, Gaston Paris and Canello, though if

Pound had known the' Chanson de Guillaume, published for the first time in 1903, he might conceivably have realised that this was the more probable source (cf. Toja's note). The 'bird preening' is of course Pound's insertion, probably an attempt to make more palatable the idea of 'yawning and stretching' for one's beloved. In the Spirit of Romance he had taken a different attitude: 'I give the most vigorous and perhaps brutal, though exact equivalent of two words which the euphuist would render "languish" and "yearn."' (p.33n.) With 'rages' for rampa he perhaps also takes a soft way out, contrary to his feelings in the Confucius/Analects translation (XVII.IX.5); in this he is supported by Toja, (tristezza), Lavaud (malaise) and Canello (corruccio), but not by Levy (Petit Dictionnaire s.v.). As I have remarked, Pound is constrained even more by rhyme and metre than Arnaut, since he cannot choose his sense.

122.

XII, Pound's text (Essays p.136) Misprints and significant variants:

Bon fui grazitz
E mas paraulas coutas,
Per so que jos al chausir no fui pocs,
Anz volgui mais prendre fin aur que ram,
Lo jorn quez ieu e midons nos baizem
Un fetz escut de son bel mantel endi
Que lauzengier fals, longa de colobra,
Non o vissson, don tan mals motz escampa.

Editors' variants:

Line-by-Line literal translation of Pound's text:

I was well approved-of
and my words accepted,

because in the choice [of her] I was not at all stupid,
but preferred to take fine gold rather than copper,
the day that I and my lady kissed each other
and she made me a shield of her beautiful indigo cloak
so that false flatterers, snake-tongues,
should not see it, for whom such evil talk escapes.

Pound's translation (Essays pp.135-6):

Welcome not lax,
and my words were protected
Not blabbed to other, when I set my likes
On her. Not brass but gold was 'neath the die.
That day we kissed, and after it she flacked
O'er me her cloak of indigo, for screening
Me from all culverts' eyes, whose blathered blunter
Can not such spites abroad; vin jibes for wages.

Comment

It seems fairly clear that Pound understood the text, and made his variations, for the sake of rhyme and metre, by expanding Arnaut's ideas. By 'my words were accepted' he understands not just 'received with approval' or in older English 'deigned', but 'received into the protection of her discretion'; hence 'Not blabbed to other'. The ''neath the die' is Pound's idea; it goes oddly with his view of the troubadour's lady as the fashioner of his soul. His breakup of the stanza is inconsistent with the e, 'and', that begins the sixth line; but Arnaut's grammar tends to the asyndetic, and so Pound may legitimately help it along that path. Indigo has remained the same substance at least since Pliny, so Pound's 'indigo' seems preferable to Levy's 'violet' (Petit Dictionnaire), and much better than Toja's 'azzurro'. His 'culverts' is an interesting re-derivation from L. colubra, cogn. with Arnaut's colobra, and also with Mdn.E. culverin, a gun-like

snake, but not Mdn.E. <u>culvert</u>, a drain. Pound's last four words are his own; the jibes are obviously won by the 'culverts' for the unfortunate lovers. The whole stanza tries to get the jagged sound of Arnaut's words, and the last two lines try for the hissing of the snake-tongues. The only idea that goes beyond the bounds of what Arnaut gave is probably the 'die'; but there is nothing to suggest that Pound misread the text.

123.

<u>XII. Pound's text (Essays p.137)</u>: <u>Misprints and significant variants</u>:

Dieus lo chauzits
Per cui foron assoutas
Las faillidas que fetz Longis lo cecs,
Voilla, sil platz, qu'ieu o midons jassam
En la chambra on emdui nos mandem
Uns xics convens don tan gran joi atendi,
Quel sers bel cors baisan rizen descobra
E quel remir contral lum de la lampa.

<u>Editors' variants</u>:

<u>Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text</u>:

God the indulgent,
by whom were absolved
the sins that the blind Longinus committed,
may He be willing, if it pleases Him, that I and my lady should lie
in the room where we may both entrust to each other
a great promise from which I expect such a great joy,
that kissing and laughing I should uncover her pretty body
and that I should gaze at it against the light of the lamp.

<u>Pound's translation (Essays pp.136-7)</u>:

God, who did tax
not Longus' sin,[1] respected
That blind centurion beneath the spikes
And him forgave, grant that we two shall lie

Within one room, and seal therein our knot,
Yea, that she kiss me in the half-light, leaning
To me, and laugh and strip and stand forth in the lustre
Where lamp-light with light limb but half engages.

[1] Longus, centurion in the crucifixion legend.

Comment

Pound has altered the name of the centurion from Longinus. His name was formed by legend on the Greek word for a lance, for he was the one who pierced Jesus' side, and the tenth-century Gospel of Nicodemus said that his blindness was cured by the blood therefrom (cf. Toja's note). 'Beneath the spikes' is Pound's amplification, presumably referring to the nails. He improves the stanza by cutting out some of the protocol that was involved for a troubadour if he dared to suggest that he might lie with his lady; where Arnaut has (1) that God may grant (2) that we may lie (3) where we may seal a promise (4) from which I expect the joy (5) of undressing her, Pound removes stage (4) with its suggestion of unlimited delays. I have translated 'that... I should uncover her pretty body', but Pound is equally right with 'that she... strip', according to the grammar. His last line gives some idea of what he saw in this 'vision' that was so important to him, cf. par. 55, 66 ff. The penultimate line is difficult to handle, for as he says elsewhere, sex and humour do not mix (Letters to Iris Barry 17 Apr 1916); his attempt here is unsuccessful, reminding one of some hearty youth-hostelling female about to be companionable.

Pound clearly understood this stanza perfectly; if, that is, he did not make a mistake which I am inclined to suspect from the manner of his translating. In the Spirit (p.34) Pound compares

the last line with a passage from Juan de Mena, who 'in enumerating the evil omens which attend the Count's embarkation, does not mention the appearance of the water, but suggests it ins speaking of the sullen glow in the armor.' In 'Arnaut Daniel' (Essays p.111) he makes a comparison, which is very important for him (cf. par. 61 ff), between Arnaut's "'E quel remir' and the rest of it" and a piece from Ovid, translated elsewhere (by Golding, cf. Essays p.237):

'As when a scarlet curtaine streynd against a playstred wall /
Doth cast like shadowe, making it seeme ruddye therewith all.'

Pound is clearly interested in 'projections', or shadows, of persons, that give a heightened sense of reality. Now Arnaut's lines as I have translated them do not fit very well into this category, for Arnaut gazes directly (or wishes to) at the lady's body; and the bit that Pound quotes ('e quel remir', 'and th t I should gaze at her', Canto VII p.30, Essays p.111) fits even less. On the other hand, if we re-translate 'e quel remir' as if it were Italian or a hypothetical Common Romanic, 'that, laughing and kissing, she should uncover her pretty body, and that glow against the light of the lamp', it seems to fit in better with the way Pound puts it: 'she shall disclose to me her fair body, with the glamor of the lamplight about it. [E quel remir contral luns de la lampa.]' (sic)—Spirit p.34:

The scarlet curtain throws a less scarlet shadow;

Lamplight at Diovilla, e quel remir,

And all that day

Nicea moved before me ...

—Canto VII p.30; 'that she... laugh and strip and stand forth in the lustre / where lamp-light with light limb but half engages.'—

Essays p.137, see above; 'and the light falls, <u>remix</u>, / from her breast to thighs.'—Canto XX p.94.

This however is only a hypothesis; there is nothing in Pound's translations that will confirm or refute for certain. The mistake, if there, would be similar to many others mentioned at 2.6.36; 2.7.11, 1.1.12, and 2.5.7.

124.

<u>XII. Pound's text (Essays pp.137-8) Misprints and significant variants:</u>

Ges rama floritz
De florotas envoutas
Cui fan tremblar auzelhon ab lurs becs
Non es plus fresca, per qu'ieu no volh Roam
Aver ses lieis ni tot Jherusalem;
Poro totz fis mas juntas a lim rendi,
Qu'en lioi amar, agr' ondral reis de Dobra
O colh cui es l'Estel e Luna-pampa.

<u>Editors' variants:</u>

36 L: no volh ...am
37 L: ni tot.....

<u>Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:</u>

Certainly a branch in flower
with flowerets in their buds
that the little birds make tremble with their beaks
is not fresher, for which reason I don't want Rouen [i.e. to have Rouen]
to have, without her, nor all Jerusalem;
but altogether loyal, with my hands clasped, I deliver myself up to her,
because the King of Dover would be honoured to love her,
or he who has Estella and Pamplona.

<u>Pound's translation (Essays p.137):</u>

The flowers wax
with buds but half perfooted;

Tremble on twig that shakes where the bird strikes—
But not more fresh than she! No empery,
Though Rome and Palestine were one compact,
Would lure me from her; and with hands convening
I give me to her. But if kings could muster
In homage similar, you'd count them scores.

Comment

Arnaut's hyperboles refer to Rouen, Jerusalem, the King of Dover and the King of Estella and Pamplona. The first two are probably an East-West pair, like the 'from the Nile to Saintes [Charente Maritime]' of XVI.36. The King of Dover is Henry II Plantagenet, for he died in 1189, but this song must have been written before 1187, for it refers to a 'King who holds Tyre and Jerusalem' in the next stanza (cf. Toja's note); after Saladin had defeated Guy de Lusignan in that year, there was no such king until 1229. The man who held Estella and Pamplona was the King of Navarre.

These hyperboles are, as I have remarked (par. 44), an archaic feature of the troubadours' poetic apparatus; they now seem dated and mediaeval, probably because the wildness of the hyperbole is in no visible proportion to the poet's love. They are a device as obviously as Rigaut de Barbézieux' animal-comparisons are a device. Pound treats them with the carelessness they deserve. It is possible that he thought Roam, which Lavaud found a suspect reading and which Canello took to mean 'Roaya' (= Aleppo), could genuinely mean Rome; it is more likely that he wanted to put some consistency into the comparisons, by linking them both to the Church.

Pound understood the stanza throughout, adding only subsidiary ideas to fit the rhyme and form.

125.

XII. Pound's text (Essays p.138) Misprints and significant variants:

Bocca, quo dits?
Su'on crei quom auran toutas — su'on misprint for Qu'on; Tr. correct
Tals promessas don l'emperire greca
En for' onrats ol senhor de Roam
Ol reis que ten Sur e Jherusalem;
Donca ben sui fols que queir tan quom ropondi
Ni eu d'Amor non ai poder quem cobrn,
Ni savais en nuls om quo joi acampa. — Trans. follows Canello's misprint savais misprint for savin; Tr. corr. quo misprint for qui; Tr. correct.

Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:

Mouth, what are you saying?
for I think you will have taken away from me
promises such that the Greek Emperor
would be honoured by them, or the lord of Rouan,
or the King who possesses Tyre and Jerusalem;
so that I am very foolish to ask for so much that I repent it,
nor do I have any power to protect myself from Love,
nor is any man wise who puts joy to flight.

Pound's translation (Essays p.137):

Mouth, now what knacks!
What folly hath infected
Thee? Gifts, that th'Emperor of the Salonikes
Or Lord of Rome were greatly honoured by,
Or Syria's lord, thou dost from me distract;
O fool I am! to hope for intervening
From Love that shields not love! Yea, it were juster
To call him mad, who 'gainst his joy engages.

Comment

Pound here takes Roam to be Rome, as in the preceding strophe; but there can be no doubt that it is Rouen, as in Bertran

Liedor ed. Appel no. 26. With the other names Pound adopts a device common to the troubadours, a sort of synecdoche, like Arnaut's 'the King of Dover' for Henry of England in the previous stanza. Bertran de Born, for instance, uses it almost as much as straightforward naming. Though it is possible that particular cases hold particular allusions (like the pun on 'somolodor' in Bertran's 'senhor de Mollerna', Liedor ed. Appel no. 24), more usually the purpose seems to have been to stuff a vacant line with an empty hyperbole that contained a convenient rhyme; Pound pokes fun at this trick when he translates Arnaut's Pontremble (III.38) as 'Pontrangle' (Essays p.118), as meaningless (perhaps) as the original (cf. Toja's note).

Though he gives Canello's text for the penultimate line, it is clear that Pound took Lavaud's reading, which I would translate: 'For Love is certainly unable to protect me'. It looks as though he read the last three lines as 'Then I am really stupid to ask [for Love's protection] so much that I regret it, for Love certainly has no power to protect me'. Though editors have taken the 'queir' to mean 'ask [for favours from my beloved]', Pound's reading is syntactically possible. Pound's last line agrees with Canello's understanding of 'acampar', 'to combat'; but as Lavaud points out, no other example of this meaning is known.

Pound's other variations all appear to stem from the needs of versification, and not from misreading of the text.

126.

XII. Pound's text (Essays p.130) Misprints and significant variants:

Los doschauzits
Ab las lonzas esmoutas

Non dubt'ieu jon, sil seignor dels Galecs dubt'ieu misprint for dupt'ieu
An fag faillir, perqu'en droitz s'o blasman,
Que non paron pros romieu, no sabem,
Raimon lo filh al conte, et aprendi
Que grou faral rois Ferrans de pretz cobra
Si mantonen nol solv e nol escampa

En l'agra vist, mas entei per tal obra,
C'al coronar fui del bon rei d'estampa.

(Non sobrecors, si tot grans sens lo sobra,
Tenga que ten, si non gairo nois ampa.)

Editors' variants:

49 C: deschausitz; T: id.

52 L: si·l; T: id.

59-60 L, T omit these lines; MS R: Nos sobrecorn si tot gran sens lo sobra / tenga que ten, si bon gayre noy nampa.

Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:

The vulgar
with whetted tongues
I don't fear at all, [even] if the lord of the Galicians
they have caused to sin, wherefore it is right if we censure this,
because he took [prisoner] his relative who was a pilgrim, we know this,
Raimon the Count's son, and I hear
that King Ferdinand will not easily recover esteem
if he does not immediately deliver and release him.

I would have seen him, but I stayed for this purpose:
I was at the crowning of the good King of Etampes.

Pound's translation (Essays pp. 137-8):

Political Postscript

The slimy jacks
with addern' tongues bisected,
I fear no whit, nor have; and if these tykes
have led Galicia's king to villainy—[1]
His cousin in pilgrimage hath he attacked—

We know—Raimon the Count's son[1]—my meaning
Stands without screen. The royal filibuster
Redeems not honour till he unbar the cages.

Coda

I should have seen it, but I was on such affair.
Seeing the true king crown'd here in Estampa.[2]

[1] King of the Galicians, Ferdinand II, King of Galicia, 1157-88, son of Berengere, sister of Raimon Berenger IV ('quattro figlie ebbe', etc.) of Aragon, Count of Barcelona.

[1] His second son, Lieutenant of Provence, 1168.

[2] King crowned at Etampes, Philippe Auguste, crowned May 29, 1180, at age of sixteen. This poem might date Arnaut's birth as early as 1150.

Comment

Pound probably took Arnaut's 'filed tongues' to be an echo of the 'snake-tongues' of the third strophe. The 'my meaning / Stands without screen', unless it is merely padding, seems a little difficult to trace; but Pound seems to have divided up the stanza differently from the editors, something in this manner: 'The low, with their sharpened tongues, I fear not at all. If they have made the lord of the Galicians sin...! (So it's right we should blame him!)—For he took his relative prisoner, on a pilgrimage—we know this—Raimon, the Count's son. Learn this from me, that King Ferdinand will not get his honour back unless he releases him now.' (I have assumed that Pound took Lavaud's reading, as he did in the previous strophe, for 'that we should blame him'.) If that is how Pound read it, then the 'my meaning / Stands without screen' is traceable either to some misreading of perqu'om dreitz ni·l blasmam, for example 'wherefore we are blaming him openly', or to the ot aprendi, perhaps read as 'hear this!'

But the only thing we can be sure of is that Pound took the phrasing of the sentence rather strangely, shifting the main verb to which most of the clauses are attached from 'I do not fear' to his second main clause, 'my meaning / Stands without screen'. Unfortunately I do not think that the 'If you...!' type of threat is known in Provençal verse; but Pound's construction could be seen as closing with the last sentence: 'If these people have made him sin, he won't get his honour back until he releases the prisoner.'

Taking into account the asyndeton frequent in Arnaut's verse, it seems to me probable that Pound understood at least one possible meaning of this strophe.

A 'filibuster' is 'One who engages in unauthorized and irregular war against foreign states' (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary). It is not necessary to explain here the immensely complicated history behind the strife in which the houses of Barcelona/Aragon and Catalonia were involved; see Toja's note. Pound's details, given in his note, are all correct, except that his cross-reference to Paradiso VI.133 mixes up Raimon-Berenger IV of Barcelona and I of Provence (1131-1162) with his grandson Raimon-Berenger IV of Provence. Dante refers to the latter ('he had four daughters, and each a queen'); cf. Divina Commedia ed. Scartazzini for the details.

127.

XIII, Pound's text (Essays p.139) Misprints and significant variants:

Fr vei vermolls, verts, blaus, blancs, gruocs

Vergiers, plans, plais, tertres o vaus;

El votz del auzels sona e tint del misprint for dels

ab douts acort naitin e tart.
Son mot en cor qu'ien coloro mon chan — qu'ien misprint for qu'ieu
D'un'aital flor don lo friutz sia amors, — friutz misprint for fruitz
E joia lo grans, e l'olors d'enoi gandres.

Pillorm' variants:

7 C: de noigandres

Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:

Now I see scarlet, green, blue, white and yellow
the orchards, plains, hedges, hillocks and dales,
and the song of the birds sounds and resounds
with sweet harmony in the morning and late.
This puts it into my heart to colour my song
with a flower, such that its fruit be love,
its seed joy, and its scant protection from distress.

Pound's translation (Essays p.139):

Vermeil, green, blue, poirs, white, cobalt,
Close orchards, bewis, holts, hows, vales,
And the bird-song that whirls and turns
Morning and late with sweet accord,
Pestir my heart to put my song in sheen
T'equal that flower which hath such properties,
It seeds in joy, bears love, and pain amoines.

Current

'Poirs' is Pound's insertion, being the Chaucerian 'perse'.

'Hewis' I can't trace, but have the impression that in Middle English it meant 'hedge'. A 'how' in Middle English was a hillock. 'Amoine' I imagine is connected with modern French 'amoindrir', to lessen; or possibly Old French 'amoisier', to pacify. Pound's translation of the text he gives is entirely accurate. His text is that of Lavaud, who used Levy's solution of the formidable problem that the last line seemed to present: the IEB gave ten different readings

for the last two words, and none of them made sense. According to this solution 'gandros' would be a double form of 'gandirs', that is, the infinitive 'gandir' with the reflexive pronoun on the end. The solution seems entirely satisfactory.

We shall see that Pound's other suggestion is 'Does the illegible "di noigandres" boggle a Greek "ennoia" or "dianoia"?' (Essays p.180) (Cf. 3.1.19 ff). We shall also see that I have traced the term 'dianoia', in what seems to be a relevant context, to Scotus Erigena. It is impossible to imagine under what circumstances Arnaut could have come across the Erigena passage (Cf. 3.2.19), unless it were studied by a persistent cult such as Pound suggests; so that one can adduce no arguments for or against. Certainly something as incomprehensible would explain the confusion of the copyists.

128.

<u>XVI. Pound's text (Essays p.144): Misprints and significant variants:</u>

E tu, coartz, non t'afranchas
Per respeich c'anar not vuoilla;
Soc, s'il te fuig nit fai ganda,
Que greu er c'om noi apoigna
Qui s'afortis de preiar e no cola,
Qu'ieu pannora part la palutz de Lerma
Com peregrins o lai per on cor Ebros.

<u>Pound' variants:</u>

27 L: qu'en; T: id., las palutz d'Userna

28 T: Con p., lai on cor en ios Ebros

Line-by-line literal translation of Pound's text:

And you, coward, don't consider yourself free
because she is unwilling to love you;
follow, if she flees or chicanes,
because it would be unlikely that a man should not get there
who persisted in pleading, and who doesn't leave.
For I would travel beyond the marsh of Lerna
as a pilgrim, or to the place through which the Ebro flows.

Pound's translation (Essays p.143):

Coward, shall I trust not defences!
Faint ere the suit be tested?
Follow! till she extend her
Favour. Keep on, try conclusion
For if I get in this naught but disgraces,
Then must I pilgrimage past Ebro's flowing
And seek for luck amid the Laernian mazes.

Comment

I do not understand where Pound found his first line. Arnaut's verb *afrancarm*, to set oneself free, refers I think to the process whereby a man might become freed from the land and the lord to which and to whom he was tied. It is possible that Pound thought it meant some thing like 'do you feel unsafe just because she doesn't love you?' The rest of the stanza is too wide an approximation to tell whether it all originated in Arnaut's lines; I think probably it did.

Pound placed considerable stress on Canello's reading 'palutz de Lerna', 'the Lernaean marsh', which he followed here; he used it to support Arnaut's classical learning (Essays pp.107, 142). The reading is contested by Toja, who points out that 15 of the 17 MSS have 'paluts d'Userna', which would be the marshes that then existed around 'Uxerna', the Latin (? *romano*) name for Beaucaire.

Toja calls the two MSS which have 'Lerma' the less important ones.

However, in the same note Toja takes a reading (pannorm for the other MSS' pannaral) which is unsupported by any other MS, and which is not even a way out of a difficult problem, from one of these lesser MSS; such is the inconsistency of editors towards their own manuscript classifications. Further, it is so uncommon for troubadours to use Latin names like 'Ugormum' that I cannot think of another example, except as proposed by an editor as a desperate solution. Beaucaire, by contrast, is common (Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Bernart de Ventadorn). Again, as an example of Arnaut's hyperbole Beaucaire would be very feeble, for wherever he were, except in the North, he could not be far from that town (near Nîmes); and if he were in the North, he would hardly proceed to the Ebro (in Spain) via Beaucaire. (I should note here that whereas Canello proposed 'beyond the marsh of Lerma or where the Ebro flows', Toja suggests 'beyond the marshes of Beaucaire, where the Ebro flows'. Either as East-West extremes, or with one as the route to the other, the Ebro and Beaucaire are an unconvincing pair.)

It is far more normal for Arnaut to name places at the real extremes (then known) of East and West. Thus 'De part Nil entro o'a Sanchas', 'From beyond the Nile to Saintes' in the same poem; 'from the Nile to where the sun sets', cf. above, par.116. If at the end of the poem he cites two places which are obviously in the same country, it is because there he is not saying 'I would go as far as X or Y', but 'I would not want X or Y without you'; the nature of the hyperbole is different.

Finally, there is the argument of the lectio difficilior, mentioned by Pound (Essays p.109); a copyist would be unlikely to

concoct such a word as 'lorna' out of his imagination.

There is, it seems to me, much more 'point' in Canello's reading than in that of Toja, for just as it was far more impressive to compare oneself with Meleager than with some local lover (cf. XI.32), so there would be much more punch in a distance-hyperbole that referred to the wonderful, magical (and also, here, classical) East, than in one that simply said 'past our local swamps'. On all those grounds, I think that Pound's piece of evidence for classical learning is reasonably sound.

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER SIX: SORDELLO

Sordello's poetry in Pound

1. The history of Pound's interest in Sordello can be summed up quite briefly. There is the interest in his age and personality seen at second hand through Browning's Sordello; this was strong throughout the early years, and only expired with the failure of this model in the early draft Cantos (1). The interest in Sordello's poetry itself was almost non-existent in the early years; Pound clearly was not attracted to the smooth style, so easily mistaken for emptiness, especially since in those years he tended to see the fight for quality in the arts as a struggle between the noble-and-difficult and the easy-and-slick (2).

2. Since the essay 'Provença' in The Spirit of Romance is partly modelled on Dante's De Vulgari Eloquentia, we may take it for instance that the mention there of Sordello simply follows Dante's mention. It is in the first part of the book, where few troubadours are referred to, and Pound had forgotten it by 1930 when he wrote the Guide to Kulchur (1). At any rate Pound's mention shows little sympathy for the subject:

> Sordello's right to this lonely and high station above the "valley of the kings" [i.e. in Purgatorio VI.50ff] has at times been questioned; but the following sirvente justifies at least the adjective "disdegnosa."
>
> How would I mourn for Sir Blancatz... (2)

And similarly, in writing the essay 'Troubadours—their Sorts and

Conditions', he made no remark at all about Sordello's poetry, simply translating the vida which explains the Cunizza story (3).

3. But it seems that Pound came back to studying the troubadours in the thirties, after long neglect, and the situation had changed; in 1937 he wrote:

> With Sordello the fusion of word, sound, movement is so simple one only understands his superiority to other troubadours after having studied Provençal and half-forgotten it, and come back to twenty years later. (1)

His opinion of Dante not having declined in the least, Pound went back to him once more as his 'Baedeker in Provence' (2), and his confidence was renewed:

> Whether or no the next student of troubadours will understand their tone of voice more quickly than I have, there is chance that young perception will follow one of two roads, either it will seize first what is easiest, or it will take the tip from the De Vulgari Eloquio or the Commedia and look harder at what Dante indicates. (3)

And the result of this re-examination was an appreciation of Sordello:

> Only after long domesticity with music did I, at any rate, see why Dante has mentioned Sordello, or has even done so in De Eloquio?
>
> Above other troubadours, as I feel it now, Sordello's hand (or word) "deceives the eye" honestly. The complete fluidity, the ease that comes only with mastery in strophes so simple in meaning that they leave nothing for the translator. (4)

4. There seems in fact to be a corresponding de-rating of Arnaut Daniel. One might consider that for the average reader of poetry Arnaut himself would be an acquired taste, certainly not immediately attractive. Yet in the Kulchur passage I have been citing, Pound speaks of Arnaut's 'merits that can be argued; that can be picked out, demonstrated, explained even to people who will never, or will not in thirty years, have direct perception of quality', and then says that he only reached Cordello's secret 'after long domesticity with music' (1); so that Arnaut seems by implication to be a cruder taste. Pound says this clearly in a footnote to later editions of The Spirit of Romance, referring to his praise of Arnaut:

> A more mature judgment, or greater familiarity with Provençal idiom might lead one to prefer the limpid simplicity of some of Cordello's verses. (2)

5. That is the history of Pound's appreciation of Cordello. Other asides written in the thirties merely repeat the point about 'Cordello's mastery' (1):

> What is to be said for the quality of Ventadour in the best moments, or of Cordello, where there is nothing but the perfection of the movement,...? (2)

But one should not be misled by the apparent slightness of these remarks. We have seen how critics have underrated Dante's remarks on the troubadours; it seems that they must have criticisms spelt out in words of one syllable, then reiterated in different words, before they can take it seriously; but I do not think that poets as they reach their maturity have the patience for such publicity campaigns, being too much occupied with their own work; and having

reached by long struggle the understanding that they have of poetry, they feel entitled to assume some willingness for hard work on the part of the reader. That is the import of Pound's words: 'young perception will take one of two roads, either it will seize first what is easiest, or it will take the tip from the De Vulgari Eloquio or the Commedia and look harder at what Dante indicates.' (3)

6. Pound in earlier years had left no stone unturned in the effort to make himself an all-round poet, master of every poetic technique that had ever been used; but after the major effort towards phanopoeia (image-poetry) of the Cathay period, and the attempt to conquer Eliot's craft of logopoeia (word-association-poetry) in Hugh Selwyn Mauberley, he was probably once more concentrating on the art of music in poetry by the thirties (1). This was the period of his association with Bunting and Zukovsky, in whose poetics melopoeia (music-poetry) dominates. Pound was therefore probably more open to the subtleties of Cordello's word-music than at earlier times. To try to explain the excellences of this art is quite beyond the scope of t is thesis; but perhaps the fundamental point is that for Pound and his fellow-Objectivists of the thirties, there is an 'absolute rhythm' (2), that is, for each shade of human emotion there is a rhythm that expresses it exactly. From then on, just as in Pound's theory of the 'great bass' the underlying (or 'bass') rhythm may automatically dictate the rest of the music (3), so in this poetics the interplay of later rhythms may be governed by musical laws following from, for instance, the rhythm laid down in the first line. These rhythms may be quantitative according to a classical metric, or qualitative (4), but since it is the cadence,

the exact sequence of beats and phrasing, that is interpretative of the human emotion, in each case the 'intrinsic' weight and, therefore, speed of the words is more important than the imposed metric.

7. Zukovsky has perhaps best expressed the exact function of music in poetry:

> ...poets measure by means of words, whose effect as offshoot of nature may (or should) be that their strength of suggestion can never be accounted for completely.
>
> Still, the standard in a cadence or in the movement of a line of verse is always a quality in proportion to the poet's susceptibilities as found in his words... When poetry is defined as indirect or 'desirably' incapable of definition, symbols standing for sound, and words which are the semblances of the things, events or susceptibilities of science are conceived as echoes occurring out of nowhere. The choice for science and poetry when symbols or words stop measuring is to stop speaking. (1)

8. Like Yeats, as Pound complained of him, I do not 'know a fugue from a frog' (1), and so must avoid further speculation on this subject. It may however be worthwhile to offer a few remarks on the thought of Cordello's poetry. If they have any effect, these remarks will deter readers from attempting Cordello; yet they will not deter those who really wish to learn the art of poetry, for we have the

word of two great poets that it was because he was tantus eloquentia vir that he non solum in poetando, sed quorodoquinque loquendo patrium vulgare decorit. (2)

9. The first impression that Gordello's poetry gives is one of blandness; not only in sound but also in thought, for there is no idea, even no phrase, that the reader of Provençal poetry has not seen in earlier troubadours. The mixture of course is Gordello's; but that doesn't prevent the feeling of déjà vu. To document this would be the work of a separate thesis; yet one can point to Stronski's work on the parallels to Folquet de Marseille, who has a lot in common with Gordello (1); and in the case of Gordello's sirventes, De Lollis has amply demonstrated their unoriginality (2). Gordello openly puts himself in the school of trobar leu, the easy style:

I like to make, with easy words,
a pleasing song and one with a light melody,
because the finest lady one can choose,
to whom I hand myself over and surrender and give myself,
doesn't like, and is not pleased by, master-class poetry;
and because it doesn't please her, from now on I'll make
my singing
easy to sing and agreeable to listen to,
clear to understand and delicate, whoever has the
delicacy to pick it out. (3)

10. The eyes in Gordello have clearly begun to assume the great and quasi-philosophical importance that they have in Dante's immediate predecessors, from whom the next strophes might easily have been taken:

She knew how to lift my heart from me sweetly,
the first time I saw her face,
With the one soft loving look
that her thieving eyes hurled me.

With that look on that same day entered
Love through my eyes to my heart in such a way
that it took my heart and set it to her command,
so that it is with her, wherever I go or stay.

Ah, how sweetly she had the art to look at me,
if the look was not a liar,
--from the eyes that she knows how to direct sweetly
each time exactly where it suits her;

but to judge from her words it seems that matters change;
still I'll believe the look; because one often speaks
forcing the heart, but no power have
the eyes to look sweetly, if the heart doesn't send
them. (1)

11. Whether we call such conceits 'philosophical' or not is of some importance; for, according to Pound, the progression from Provence to Italy is chiefly the entry of philosophy into poetry (1). The eye-conceits are not unknown to earlier Provençal poetry, and in the two strophes of Sordello the expression is as precise as in these lines from Jacopo di Cavalcante:

Pegli occhi miei una donna od amore
Passer correndo e giunser nella mente... (2)

('Via my eyes a lady and Love
I'assed, running, and reached my mind...')

12. It is probable, however, that the philosophy behind these conceits, though contemporary with Cordello (c. 1200-c.1269) (cf. Albertus Magnus, c. 1193-1280, Robert Grossetesto, c. 1175-1253) and of course present in Christian thought from much earlier (1), is not the foundation of his poetry as it is that of Cavalcanti. The sound of the verse is probably the surest guide here, and it has that smoothness and emphasis on unbroken line of melody that Pound has accurately described in the Elizabethan songbooks, a quality incompatible with hard thought. We might make a comparison with Rochester: Donne had sometimes presented philosophical concepts with precision, as in 'The Extasie', but by the time of Rochester the smoothness of the melodic line is more important than the thought:

When wearied with a world of Woe
To thy safe Bosom I retire,
Where Love, and Peace, and Truth does flow,
May I contented there expire.

Lest once more wand'ring from that Heav'n,
I fall on some base heart unblest;
Faithless to thee, False, unforgiv'n,
And lose my Everlasting rest. (2)

13. Yet Pound has said that the terms so frequently used by Cordello,

Cossir, solatz, plazers, have in them the beginning of the Italian philosophic precisions (1)

—and this with reference precisely to the complex of Platonic thought about the eyes, and its expression in Arnaut Daniel and Cavalcanti. I do not think this should be taken as implying too much; Pound says 'beginning.' I have found in attempting to translate troubadours like Sordello that it is the words like 'cossir', 'solatz' and 'plazers' that are most difficult; and not so much because there is no English word that covers their particular ranges, as because I am unable to perceive just what they mean. (It is often possible with foreign words to feel one knows what they mean, even without being able to find an English equivalent that would fit the context.) Particularly obstinate in this respect I find the Provençal pretz and valor, 'price/esteem' and 'value/worth'; I am unable to establish whether they stand for value 'in the eye of the beholder' or as intrinsic, which is a crucial point. The poetry of Sordello, as we have seen in that of Ventadorn, has a surface-structure of rigorous logic, a logic of course that is applied to what is in large extent a fantasy-situation. It seems to me that the rigour of this logic is a symptom of the fact that some troubadours feel their poetry to be slightly 'hysterical', that is, beyond the emotional facts; and the logic can only hold together because at certain key points of contact with emotional reality it is made infinitely flexible by words like 'valor' and 'pretz', which are so vague as to have almost no meaning. At any rate, in my reading of Provençal poetry I have never been able to imagine quite what the poets had in their heads when they wrote as does Sordello here:

> And because I love what is uniquely estimable
>
> (de bon pretz),
>
> I prefer to love her uselessly

rather than another who might deign to take me to her;
but I don't serve her unrewarded,
because a real lover never serves unrewarded
when he serves with his heart in honoured and valued
(prezan) place:
wherefore the honour is a reward to me for the fact
that I don't seek the overplus, though I'd certainly
accept it. (2)

14. As with Bernart de Ventadorn, the particularly vague words are most used where the troubadour is concerned to argue the 'morality' of courtly love; 'I love you, and you have valor, so that it is unthinkable that you should refuse me, because a lady who has valor never refuses a knight who has valor, even though my only valor is this, that I have set my sights on a lady of such great prota as yourself'; or, in the Cordello poem I have been quoting above:

Let pity help me with you, sweet enemy,
don't kill me, if I love you without trickery... (1)

This I think is what Pound meant by the 'Gothic' manner of expression that the troubadours had (2); as we have seen, particularly with Ventadorn, it comes out much more in matter concerning the supposed immediate love-situation than in describing the troubadour's perception of nature or his own feelings. There is, for example, the question of sex, which in an oblique manner is the source of psychological energy for the whole literature. In the strophe quoted above, Cordello admits that he is interested:

wherefore the honour is a reward to me for the fact
that I don't seek the overplus, though I'd certainly
accept it. (3)

15. Elsewhere he circuitously debars himself from the lady's chamber, thus imposing on her such a restricted range of action that it begins to seem that the troubadour has more freedom than she:

And if love makes me want anything
you should not do,
for pity's sake I wish to ask you
that you should nowise do it;
for I prefer to live in torments
than that your price (pretz) should be worth less,
lady, because of anything you might do for me;
because I have enough from you, whom I desire,
if only you sincerely permit me
to love and serve you. (1)

According to the 'rights' that Ventadorn and Cordello insist on, the lady must accept the lover; yet Cordello says that for her honour's sake she must not sleep with him; she begins to look like a cardboard image before which the poet gyrates. In another poem Cordello says the same thing, and then specifies the narrow limits within which the lady is asked to react:

For pity's sake I beg you, beautiful love,
that with some crumb
of the joy of love you succour me soon,
if it can be done without harm to your honour... (2)

And indeed Cordello seems to have chastity close to his heart, being the author of an 'Ensenhamens d'Onor' which is celebrated as the precursor of Dante's supposed love of the same virtue (3). The rigidity of his pose can be seen from this partimen with Guilhem Montanhagol, where he is unable even to speak the same language:

"Milord Sir Gordello, I have
instructions from the great and kind Count
of Provence [Raimon-Berenger IV], who has valued
esteem (pretz valen),
that I should ask you whether it would please you
more...
that your lady should know
your heart...
or that you should know hers,
[and] whether she loves you or you are being fooled.
Choose in your own way,
because I know which you would take
if no-one were to reprove you for it."

"Montanhagol, it would please me
a hundred times more
that she for whom I die living
should know well...
my heart, that she holds in torment,
than that I should know hers;
because if the truth should show to her
how I am tormented for her,
she would take pity on it,
or all her heart would be
hard as stone, cold as ice..."

"Gordello, it is truly much better
that you should know the heart and the feelings
of her whom you love truly
--whether she loves you or is fooling you;
because often under a fine appearance

great falsity hides,
and, if you find yourself being fooled,
you will seem too mad
if afterwards you love unloved..."

"Montanhagol, I don't take it
as any trickery from her
whom I love and serve loyally,
even if it pleases her to kill me..." (4)

16. They are the adepts of two different faiths, and can never possibly understand each other; Montanhagol of all that mediaeval literature that depicted woman like Shakespeare's Cressida, all 'full of turpitude' (1), and Sordello of the religion of courtly love, for which woman was the basis of everything; as well presume to bargain with God as with her. Sordello's outlook is obviously the narrower for having no point of contact with the other; he is no Chaucer, to take them both in. Yet the other half of Pound's criticism remains true:

> I cannot repeat too often that there was a profound psychological knowledge in mediaeval Provence, however Gothic its expression; that men, concentrated on certain validities, attaining an exact and diversified terminology, have there displayed considerable penetration... (2)

For clearly the part of Chaucer that is in 'The Book of the Duchess' and 'Troilus and Criseyde' could not have existed without the troubadours.

17. To return, then, to Pound's claim for the troubadour terminology as precursor of the 'Italian philosophic precisions': as first delineators of the basic situation that the Italian poets used, the troubadours naturally evolved a terminology that is often reflected in the words of those later poets. Equally clearly, it has not the depth of philosophical antecedence that can be seen in analyses of, for example, Cavalcanti's work (1). I further doubt that a term like pretz has any great solidity and consistency even within a single troubadour's corpus. The obvious conclusion is that these terms are indeed a 'beginning'; the troubadours have perceived the emotional truths that the Dicentisti are later to elaborate into a philosophy, and that is all.

18. It is an important conclusion of Canto VI, and one I think resulting from my study of it over the last six chapters, that the troubadour culture began with Guilhem IX of Aquitaine and was still potent among the stilnovisti of thirteenth-century Italy. Sordello, if we take him as an exemplar, is obviously a key to this argument: he was from Italy, so far as we know of Italian mother-tongue, and he wrote in Provençal. His lady Cunizza was still very much alive in the youth and in the house of Guido Cavalcanti, to whom the greatest of these stil novo poets looked as their leader. Pound speaks of a progression in the art, or in its basic outlook, from Provence to Italy, but that implies a use of what preceded; and when he says that

> The De Vulgari Eloquio is still the best guide to the troubadours, not that Dante was writing Essays in Appreciation. His Paideuma was strictly factive. He had needed the knowledge for himself and not down a memo. (1)

—he clearly argues that Dante used the troubadours, that they were an important part of his education.

19. Such a view is not universal. Naturally most scholars would not be inclined to regard Cunizza as an agent of cultural transmission; the evidence is too slight; but even the use of her as an example, even the idea that Dante owed an important part of his own culture to the troubadours, is fundamentally at variance with some points of view. This may be apparent directly or indirectly. Jeanroy says that Dante's knowledge of the troubadours was 'superficielle et purement livresque' (1); he emphasises that the stil-novisti were the successors, not of the Italian troubadours and of the Provençal troubadours in Italy, but of the so-called 'Sicilian school' (2), and thus inherited from Provence at second hand. Emivette doubts whether Dante even knew that Sordello wrote in Provençal (3). Perhaps even more damaging to Pound's view, indirectly, would be the assumptions from which other critics begin. Santangelo, as we shall see (4), bases a whole book on the assumption that every last scrap of information that Dante possessed concerning the troubadours came from one written source; in other words, that knowledge of Provence was entirely lost to contemporary Italy, except in so far as it circulated in a couple of dozen manuscripts genealogically related to the ones we now possess. I shall discuss such assumptions later on.

Sordello's life and its use in Pound

20. Sordello brings us back within the immediate scope of Canto VI, the last part of which touches all the themes connected

with him that are picked up in the later Cantos. In the cultural stream that Canto VI is largely about, Sordello concludes the part that took place in Provence proper, and, with the help of his sometime lady Cunizza, plays a large part in ensuring its continuity into the Italy of Dante.

21. Pound, as he had in Canto II with his

Hang it all, Robert Browning,

there can be but the one 'Sordello'.

But Sordello, and my Sordello?

Lo Sordels si fo di Mantovana. (1)

—slightly rewrites the two versions of Sordello's Provençal vida in Canto VI, saying simply 'And Sordello was from Mantuan country':

E lo Sordels si fo di Mantovana, ... (2)

He then follows with a highly-compressed translation of a version of this vida. Much of the wording is as it was in Pound's 1913 translation for the 'Troubadours—their Sorts and Conditions' essay, and I give that translation here, with the lines from Canto VI in square brackets:

> Dante and Browning have created so much interest in Sordello that it may not be amiss to give the brief account of him as it stands in a manuscript in the Ambrosian library at Milan. 'Lo Sordels si fo di Mantovana. Sordello was of Mantuan territory of Sirier (this would hardly seem to be Goito), son of a poor cavalier who had name Sier Escort [Son of a poor knight, Sier Escort,] (Browning's El Corto), and he delighted himself in chançons [And he delighted

himself in chançons!7, to learn and to make them. And he mingled with the good men of the court /'And mixed with the men of the court!7. And he learned all that he could and he made coblas and sirventes. And he came thence to the court of the Count of St Bonifaci /'And went to the court of Richard Saint Boniface!7, and the Count honoured him much. And he fell in love with the wife of the Count, in the form of pleasure (a forma di solatz) /'And was there taken with love for his wife / Cunizza, da Romano,!7, and she with him. (The Palma of Browning's poem and the Cunizza of Dante's.) And it befell that the Count stood ill with her brothers. And thus he estranged himself from her and from Sier Scaillme and Sier Albrics. Thus her brothers caused her to be stolen from the Count by Sier Gordello and the latter came to stop with them. And he (Sordello) stayed a long time with them in great happiness, and then he went into Procnsa where he received great honours from all the good men and from the Count and from the Countess who gave him a good castle and a wife of gentle birth.' (Browning with perfect right alters this ending to suit his own purpose.) (3)

22. The <u>vida</u>, and Pound's translation of it, give a clear enough idea of the story. The other version puts Sordello's birth a little higher:

> Sordello was from Mantuan country, from a castle called Got /i.e. Goito7, a noble châtelain... (1)

—while Sordello's colleagues, on the other hand, tried to attack his pretensions:

> Sordello, whom men take for a fox, was never
> a knight, by my faith (this was told me on the sly
> by Joanot d'Albuason—if it's true, let him watch
> out)... (2)

His career was followed by an unusual amount of publicity, which came from his fellow-troubadours, said by Aimeric de Peguilhan to be infesting the courts of Northern Italy at this time (in the early thirteenth century) to an intolerable point (3); this publicity interested itself at first in Sordello as a gambler. Peguilhan himself, while seeming to excuse Sordello from his general attacks on young jongleurs and their gambling, says more damaging things about his finances:

> I don't say this against Sir Sordello,
> he's not like that,
> he doesn't try it on
> with knights who know more than him,
> but when there's no-one to lend him the money
> he can't do his five, two-sixes, three. (4)

(Whatever the meaning of the last line it is certainly about gambling, like the manuscript illustration that Pound mentions in 'Troubadours—their Sorts and Conditions': 'Guillems the skinny was a joglar of Vanes, and the capital letter shows him throwing 3, 5 and 4, on a red dice board.' (5))

23. Certainly it seems that Sordello's career was inauspiciously begun, and that he had to compete with the crowds of young jongleurs

for the favours of the great; otherwise one cannot imagine why he would have to descend to arguments like this:

"Tell me if it's true what they claim,
Gordello, that you take what belongs to others as a gift."
"Joanet, I do not refuse the joy that love
brings me from other men's women."
"Gordello, poverty brings you,
they say, into the profession of jongleur."
"Joanet, I am not the jongleur of anyone
except to say well of my beloved."

"Since you are not a jongleur, how is it you took,
Gordello, cloth from the Marquis last year?"
"Joanet, I only took it from him
to improve a jongleur's wardrobe."... (1)

No man thinks to improve his reputation by such an exchange; it is clearly a sign of the company that Gordello was forced to keep that he should bother to reply to these charges that he was a jongleur. These attacks are in fact the strongest proof that the act of creating a song was held in great esteem: the chief difference between a jongleur and a troubadour was that the former could only perform other men's compositions. The association of birth with being a troubadour arose because a knight would, hopefully, be in a position only to perform when he wanted to; thus never to be obliged to perform another man's songs; and the progression from the state of jongleur to that of troubadour would come on that great day when the jongleur's performance was so acclaimed that he felt emboldened to sing a song of his own.

24. In view of the attacks on Sordello's birth, we can assume that he made this step by sheer talent, and the graces mentioned in the longer vidas:

> ...and he was a handsome man as to his person, and was a good singer and a good composer of songs, and a great lover... (1)

--so reminiscent of those that promoted Bernart de Ventadorn:

> But whoever's son he was, God gave him a fine and handsome person, and a noble heart, the original source of nobility; and he was clever and skilled enough to compose good words and delightful tunes. (2)

From here on, the vidas continue the novelette of Sordello's life just as one would expect them to: he falls in love with his patron's wife, on the model of the Ventadorn story that found paraphrases with so much flavour:

> ...makes songs to the Countess; makes one or two songs too many to the Countess; with the sequel of a Countess under lock and key, and one more troubadour wandering from court to court, and ending his days at the monastery of Dalon. (3)

The difference here is that the troubadour takes the lady with him. The vidas say that Cunizza was the sister of Ezzelino and Alberico da Romano, who became inimical to the lady's husband and therefore caused Sordello to carry her off, and bring her back to the family hearth. And the further difference is that this appears to be historically correct; which perhaps ought to cast a new light on the Ventadorn vida, so scornfully handled by recent historians. (4)

25. The chief personalities in this story, the brothers

Da Romano and Rizzardo di San Bonifacio, are well documented. Rizzardo was on good terms with Azzo VII d'Este (1), who, it has been shown, is the Marquis from whom Sordello is accused of having accepted clothing in the tenson or argument I have quoted (2). It is thus fairly natural that Sordello should have gone from the Este court to that of the San Bonifacio in Verona. At the beginning of the year 1222 the Da Romano and the San Bonifacio had concluded a peace in their lengthy and bitter struggle, and as a sign of trust had married Cunizza da Romano to Rizzardo di San Bonifacio, and Zilia di San Bonifacio to Ezzelino III da Romano. (3) Cunizza is the lady to whom a love-judgment is referred in one of Sordello's songs, a partimen with Guilhem de la Tor (4). The two houses were back at war by 1226 (5), and the contemporary scandal-mongers, the troubadours, were soon spreading the news that Sordello had carried off Cunizza, as we shall see. The chronicler Rolandino is thus correct in most particulars (6):

> [Ezzelino II] in the sixth place begot [after Ezzelino III and Alberico da Romano] the lady Cunizza, the order of whose life was thus. At first she was given as wife to Count Rizzardo di San Bonifacio; but in a while, on the orders of Ezzelino her father, Sordello, a man from his family, took the lady away from her husband secretly, and with her, while she was staying at the court of her father, it was said that Sordello lay. And when Sordello had been driven out by Ezzelino, a certain knight, Bonio of Treviso by name, loved the lady, and took her away from her father's court secretly, and she, excessively in love with him, went round very many parts of the

world with him, having much pleasure and spending a great deal. At last they both returned to Alberico da Romano, the brother of the lady, who ruled and reigned in Treviso, against the will of Ezzolino her brother, as it was said and became apparent; and there this Bonius stayed with the said lady Cunizza, though the wife of Bonius was still living and staying in Treviso. Bonius was finally killed by the sword on a certain Sunday, when Ezzelino apparently wanted to snatch the city of Treviso from the rule of his brother. When, after all this, this lady Cunizza had fallen as far as to her brother Ezzelino, he married her to Sir Aimeric, or Rainier, of Braganza, a nobleman. But afterwards, when war broke out in the Marca [Trevigiana], Ezzelino had his kinsman killed with certain noblemen of Braganza and elsewhere in the Marca. Yet again Cunizza, after the death of her brother Ezzolino, got married, in Verona. (7)

26. If all this epic is true, we may certainly believe Jacopo della Lana, an early commentator of Dante, who said that

> It is to be known that the said lady Cunizza is said to have been in love at all times of her life, and her love was of such generosity that she would have held it great ill-breeding to think of denying it to anyone who asked courteously. (1)

Certainly we may believe the part that relates to the abduction of Cunizza by Sordello, for Rolandino agrees with the two vidas and

and with what we know of contemporary history, as also with the remarks of other troubadours; Reforzat, for instance:

> They think Gordello a loyal knight
> because loyally he dishonoured the lady
> whom he made to flee from her place by night
> so that she had to come and stay with us [that is, in Provence]. (2)

To a troubadour who wants to defend Cunizza's behaviour, Uc de Saint-Circ replies:

> ...of the lady Cunizza I know
> she made such a triple throw last year
> as lost her eternal life. (3)

Terna means 'three throws' in dice, and here has been suggested to mean the three sins of leaving her husband's house, loving Gordello and running away with Bonio (4). Perhaps it also alludes to Gordello's gambling, for Aimeric de Peguilhan used the same word in the poem we have seen. (5)

27. The pair seem indeed to have had a gay time. The longer vida relates the later adventures of Gordello, whom it calls 'very treacherous and false towards ladies and towards the barons with whom he stayed', in this manner, which is not in conflict with the very little we know of the persons involved:

> And soon after he went to Cenedes, to a castle of the house of Strasso, Sir Henry and Sir William and Sir Valpertin, who were very friendly with him; and married one of their sisters in secret, called Otta; and then went off to Treviso. And when the lord of

Stranno knew of it, he wanted to do him harm, and the friends of the Court of San Bonifacio likewise; so that Sordello stayed armed in the house of Sir Ezzelino; and when he went about, he rode on good horses with a great company of knights. And for fear of those who wanted to do him harm he went off to Provence, and stayed with the Count of Provence. And he loved a noble and beautiful lady of Provence; and he called her in the songs he wrote for her "Sweet enemy"; and for this lady he made many good songs. (1)

Whatever may be the case in the Stranno affair, Sordello's flight to Provence and westwards is attested by these lines from his frequent critic Peire Bremon Ricas Novas:

But now I see that it has gone to Sordello's head
with his <u>sirventes</u> of which he's made so many—
And since he's so brave, God grant he never get me,
because he has been so bold that he's not staying with the
Lombards [i.e. around Mantua],
and he knows all the barons from Treviso to Gap,
and then he knows too much of, and about, the Spaniards. (2)

28. This probably describes Sordello's progress quite accurately, as it would that of any journeying troubadour: the trail from court to court, never receiving quite enough munificence to avoid having to try his luck at every castle on the road. But his luck with women seems not to have failed him, to judge by this song by Uc de Saint-Circ. It is addressed to 'Ma Vida', 'My Life', who cannot be other than Sordello, and in the original has a delightful tripping rhythm:

I want to make a little dance
playing, laughing,
of 'Ma Vida', whom God keep
his noble wit,
with which I shall brighten up
his grieving heart.

With sweet song
and dancing
let him go pleasing himself,
trafficking,
tricking too,
and seducing all the dames.

His good wisdom makes him change
lodging often,
because now he's come here to stay
and now he's off
to find another dame to trick
and one that's rich.
With sweet song, etc.

Mantua and Verona,
I've lost him,
Treviso and Cenedes
you have too,
and if Vicenza loses him
where'll we go?
With sweet song, etc.

To Auvergne and to Forez
and to Vélay,
where they don't know who he is
or care for him;
then we're off to Viennois
to Annonay.
With sweet song, etc. (1)

29. The tone of this period in the lives of Cordello and Cunizza (whose Bonio, it seems, was himself three times married) is best summed up by a sirventes of Joanet d'Albusson, paraphrased by Boni, in which

> this troubadour says ironically to Cordello that his lady is imitating him, since, while he conquers Provence, England, France, Lunel, Limousin, Auvergne and Viennois, and Burgundy and Spain and the other countries... she has gone off to conquer the Empire of Manuel, Hungary and great Cumania, and has taken Russia without opposition... so that... they will end up taking the lot, the one underneath and the other on top. (1)

30. From here it seems a long way to the Cunizza who shines in Dante's Paradise 'because the light of this star (Venus) overcame me' (1); to the 'charm and imperial bearing' of the Cunizza 'white-haired in the house of the Cavalcanti' that Pound speaks of (2); to the Cordello outside Pound's Hell, 'looking on it in his shield', with Dante, Peire Cardenal and William Blake (3); and to the soul in Purgatory

that standing

alone in solitude looks towards us..."

...O Lombard soul,

how you stood proud and disdainful,

and honest and slow in the movement of the eyes!

The soul said nothing to us,

but let us go on, alone and gazing

in the manner of a lion in repose. (4)

The dignity of these lines is such that Pound takes one of them (E nel muover degli occhi onesta e tarda, 'and honest and slow in the movement of the eyes'), in Canto VII and elsewhere, for a description of Henry James (5). Similarly, the Cunizza in Dante's Paradise jars the sensibilities not at all. The discrepancy between these manifestations and the debauches of the two souls on earth has worried many critics.

31. As will be apparent from my later arguments, I do not think that Dante could have been totally misinformed about their characters, as he might well have been with earlier troubadours. For Cunizza, the explanation of her place in Paradiso is at least partly philosophical, and I shall treat of that later, though I think that she would not have been chosen for the post had she not exhibited certain traits of character that Pound has pointed out. Sordello on the other hand is not in Dante's Purgatory, and outside Pound's Hell, for that order of reason, but because of a nobility of character and a function in society that he either did or did not possess. It seems to me that while we cannot give a detailed description of those things in Sordello's life, we can point to events

in his later life which show what he was, as Pound would put it, a 'serious character'. (1)

32. Sordello, to judge from his poetry, was a man of talent, and the Provençal and North Italian society of the period seems to have been capable of making use of talent. Pound in 1910 described the world of Provençal verse as 'a democratic aristocracy, which swept into itself, or drew about it, every man with a wit or a voice.' (1) The limitless variation of troubadours' social origins seems to justify this description. Perhaps the shorter vida tells us Sordello's way to advancement: 'And he liked to learn and make songs, and he associated with the good men at court, and learned everything he could ...' (2) It is perhaps worth mentioning at this point that Pound probably took this to have been Sordello's way up, for he himself valued highly the conversation of intelligent men (3); and this vida is the one that he translated for his essay and abstracted from for Canto VI:

And mixed with the men of the court

It is sound Confucian doctrine that one should mix with one's equals (4), and Pound may be alluding to this in these lines from Canto LXXXIX, where he refers to the Uberto degli Uberti whom he suggests to be a throwback from Cunizza's stock:

Firm taste for good company
evinced by both Benton and Mr Van Buren,
and men even in our time (survivals)
as Donvillo and degli Uberti (5)

33. Such conjectures are all that we have to go on

Cordello's development. From Provence he soon went to Spain, as we can tell from an unflattering remark by Peire Bremon Ricas Novas:

> I want to ask Cordello (because he says he's my friend),
> if Sir Barral fails me or I get on the wrong side of him,
> to tell me where I will be all right, for he knows
> all the places;
> but let him not send me to the man who was his enemy
> and wouldn't give him the mule, which made him so angry;
> he begged it very nicely, but exhortations were no use,
> but with the other gifts he was a rich man when he
> came back from Spain,
> and in Poitou he learned how Sir Savaric could give.(1)

Such remarks show that Cordello had not yet shaken off his bad reputation; likewise when Raforzat says that he

> went to the Saint [James of Compostella?], and the
> Saint was frightened,
> because he didn't come in a more seemly manner. (2)

Yet the Portuguese troubadour Joan Soarez Coelho makes an indirect compliment to Cordello's poetic reputation at this time; he asks Picandon to explain why, when Cordello said he was so good, Picandon turns out to be so useless. (3)

34. Cordello was evidently with Savaric de Mauleon, King John of England's Seneschal of Aquitaine, whom the troubadours (and Pound) held to be the ideal noble patron (1); for Rican Novas, as we have seen, says that

> in Poitou he learned how Sir Savaric could give.

By 1226 he was with Raimon-Berenger IV of Provence, the one who, as

Dante says,

had four daughters, and each one a queen, (2)

and from here we can trace his involvement with politics. From this period date the three <u>sirventes</u> which almost constitute the entirety of Gordello's political poetry, and they are all to some degree about Raimon-Berenger.

35. This Count and his territory were more or less involved with all the great struggles centred on Southern France in the early thirteenth century. We have seen, in discussing the historical background to Born's works, that the conflict between the houses of Toulouse and Barcelona/Provence began as early as 1119 (1): in about 1230, when Gordello wrote his famous <u>sirventes</u> of the 'three disinherited men', he alluded to the struggle between these houses over Marseilles, then continuing. The house of Toulouse was contemporaneously involved in its death-struggle with Simon de Montfort and the Albigensian crusaders, and in Gordello's <u>sirventes</u> he reproaches Raymond VII for his weakness in the face of losses. The house of Aragon was also in this struggle, having lost its head, Pierre II, fighting against the Crusaders at the battle of Muret; here Gordello refers to a petty conflict between it and Toulouse over Millau. And finally Provence, after Raimon-Berenger's death, was to become the springboard by which the house of France, so thoroughly cursed by Dante (2), would make its entry into Italy, in the person of Gordello's future patron Charles of Anjou. This is what Gordello says in the <u>sirventes</u>:

Since I don't consider myself rewarded in love,

and since matter for cursing immediates me,

before Easter comes

I want people to hear a <u>nirvenion</u>

as a true messenger

to tell the three disinherited men

that when a man is so shameless

that in his heart

he does not fear dishonour, a living man dishonoured

is worth a lot less than a buried corpse.

...and if our King of Aragon

understands my language, I am pleased

that Millau has been recovered nicely,

Millau that he had won with honour;...

When he sees the tower of Beaucaire

that Count of Toulouse must be really happy,

because with great honour

he recovered the entry, and the exit.

But inside the fortress

they are still saying, though he doesn't like it:

"My lord, why are you pleased?"

He is pleased like a wild man,

the Count who was a Duke,

and the County isn't even in one piece.

I am glad about my lord [Raimon-Berenger]

because I see him take the revenues

of the port of Marseilles, with great honour;

but he let the Count of Toulouse get them

the other year, at the great invasion,

so that Toulouse is well provided,

and my lord very honoured.

He will easily repair the damage

because he is in disgrace with the Church,

and won't ask pardon for his sins. (3)

36. The same kind of situation is the basis for Sordello's most famous sirventes (1), which starts out as a plenh on Blacatz, a nobleman of Provence who was a renowned patron of troubadours. The trouvaille is the suggestion that the heart of the brave man should be cut out and that all the cowardly princes of Europe should be made to eat of it, to give them 'heart'. The Emperor Frederick II is shamed by the resistance of the Lombard League; Louis IX of France by the loss of Castille; Henry III of England by the loss of Normandy, and so on. Ferdinand III of Castille and Louis IX of France are warned that they had better not tell their mothers, or their plans will be thwarted. This poem is translated, with only minor errors, by Pound in The Spirit of Romance (2), and has no need of quotation here.

37. The Blacatz sirventes immediately raised Sordello's status as a troubadour: it was imitated closely by both Peire Bremon Ricas Novas and Bertran d'Alamanon (1). Reforzat, Viscount of Marseille and lord of Trets and Forcalquier, now thought it worth his while to devote a poem to attacking Sordello and Ricas Novas, the one which mentions the rape of Cunizza (2). One might have expected Sordello to have fallen from the graces of Raimon-Berenger, for though in the Blacatz sirventes he merely warned the Count that he would need plenty of heart for the tasks facing him, in an earlier sirventes

Sordello complained that he was taxing his vassals, including Blacatz, excessively (3). Yet it is now that we find Sordello for the first time in politics, not as a propagandist, but as a principal. On the 5th June 1241 Raimon-Berenger signed a treaty with Jacme I of Aragon and Raymond VII of Toulouse (both of whom Sordello had slandered, as we have seen, in two of his sirventes) for the divorce of Jacme's aunt and Raymond. In the conclusion of the document the witnesses are given:

> Datum Montispessulano nonas junii, anno domini M°.CC°.XL°. primo. Testes sunt Comes Empuriarum, Eximen de Focibus, Sordellus... (4)

Sordello's name is immediately after those of two great vassals of Jacme I; evidently he was now an important member of Raimon-Berenger's court. Where in Italy he was a mere 'castle-owner', the remarks of other troubadours now attribute to him riches and the feudal rights of knighthood (5); which accords with what we have seen in the shorter vida:

> And then he went off to Provence, where he received great honours from all the good men, and from the Count and from the Countess, who gave him a good castle and a wife of noble birth. (6)

30. It is not possible to say what brought Sordello to this eminence, beyond the general considerations that I have put forward; though it is worth noting that, like Bertran de Born, he had the temerity to offer critical and particular advice to his overlord. Such courage may have been respected. But at any rate his standing was now assured. When Raimon-Berenger died in 1245, the brother

of Louis IX of France, Charles of Anjou, married his last daughter to whom Rainon-Berenger had in fact bequeathed Provence. Sordello immediately addressed to him, as 'mon seingnor', exhortations to begin great deeds (1). Though he excused himself fron joining the Seventh Crusade, on which Charles was absent for two years, when the ambitious prince returned he was there to help put down rebellions in Provence and Marseilles, and to witness the submission of Barral de Baux. Here Sordello for the first time is qualified as miles, 'knight':

> Testes etiam rogati et acciti fuerunt Hugo de Arsicio, senescallus Provincie, Albota de Tharascone, Guido Lupi, Symon Bagoti, Landericus de Floriaco, Guillelmus Tade, Bertrandus de Lamannon, Sordellus et Jacobus Cantelmi milites... (2)

His name appears in many of Charles of Anjou's acts from this period onwards; with lords like Barral of Baux--with whom his name appears alone when Charles is away as co-regent of France--and famous troubadours like Bertrand d'Alamanon and Bonifacio of Castellana; and always, now, as miles (3). Several of the acts of these later years are in preparation for the great expedition of Charles of Anjou to conquer the kingdom of Sicily.

39. When this invasion took place, disembarking at Rome on the 21st May 1265, Sordello probably went with the land army that crossed the Alps into Piedmont. He thus returned to Italy for the first time in more than 35 years. From now on his name no longer appears as a witness to Charles's acts, but, surprisingly, turns up next in a letter from Pope Clement IV to Charles, in these terms:

> From these things it follows that you are said to be inhuman, and show friendship to no-one, so that many people presume that having subjected them to labours beyond their capacities, you are defrauding your Provençal men of their pay, though they followed you faithfully; and many of these men have died of starvation, many, without any regard to their nobility or yours, have lain in poor-hospitals, and many have followed you as foot-soldiers. The son of the nobleman Jourdain de l'Isle is languishing in prison, held at Milan. Your knight Sordello is languishing at Novara; even had he not deserved well of you, he ought to be bought out, and how much more should he be ransomed for his merits; and many others who have served you in Italy, have returned naked and poor to their homes. (1)

40. This letter is surprising; as much for its convincing proof of Sordello's importance as for his strange predicament. We do not know how either Sordello or the son of Jourdain de l'Isle came to be in prison (1). Yet not only is Sordello named beside such an important person, but Charles's obligations to him are given in a special flourish of rhetoric; and that Sordello should have caused the Pope's intervention is itself of interest. And it seems that Sordello was soon freed, to judge from a *pirventes* addressed to him soon after (2).

41. Not only was he freed, but Charles of Anjou began to

shower him with gifts. First there was the castle of Norra d'Alba, probably after Sordello's liberation (1). Then, when the battle of Tagliacozzo and the summary execution of the only surviving Hohenstaufen heir had assured Charles's hold on the Kingdom of Naples, Sordello was included in the handout of fiefs to loyal followers. I include parts of Canto XXXVI in brackets:

> ...Considering therefore the great merits and services received that Sordellus de Godio the beloved familiar and faithful knight [Sordellus de Godio dilectus miles familiaris et fidelis] has shown to our Serenity and that we hope he will show in the future we give...the castles of Monte Odorisio Monte San Silvestro Paglieta and Pila [castra Montis Odorisii Montis Sancti Silvestri palloto et pile] and the hamlet of Castiglione situate in the Justiciarate of the Abruzzi otherwise in the district of Thetis [in partibus Thetis] with their greater vassals possessions houses vineyards lands cultivated and uncultivated plains hills meadows groves pastures [pratis nemoribus pascuis] mills waters watercourses and other rights and jurisdictions and things pertaining que de demanio in demanium et que de servitio in servitium to the aforesaid Sordellus and his heirs of both sexes... (2)

The adjective familiaris, Boni notes, 'was normally only given to the barons most connected with the court and to those of the highest lineage, and with it went special rights and particular distinctions at court.' (3)

42. There followed a gift for life of another castle in the Abruzzi, and, at some point, of the castle of Cinestra, which is mentioned later (1); and then Sordello, apparently to fit in with the arrangements for rewarding another of Charles's followers, on the 30th June of the same year (1269) exchanged San Silvestro, Pila and Pagliote for the castle of Palena. He was now worth 200 ounces of gold per annum. Yet it is probable that from this period stem two strophes where Sordello seems to complain and Charles of Anjou to reply:

"... how could a man [be of comfort]
when he's poor in goods and ill every day
and badly-off for a lord and for love and a lady?..."
"Sordello says ill of me, and he shouldn't,
for I hold and have held him dear and honoured always;
I have given him cloth-works, mills and other goods,
and a wife just like he wanted...." (2)

--Palena, in fact, was famous for its cloth- and dye-works (3). And that is the last that we hear of Sordello, alive. It seems that he enjoyed his riches for a remarkably short time, for on the 30th August 1269 his five castles went to another knight from Charles's retinue (4); so that we must presume that by now Sordello was dead.

43. In all this time most of what we know of Cunizza stems from Rolandino's story, which we have seen, with its gallivantings and many marriages; and one would have assumed her to be dead by the time Sordello returned to Italy, were it not for an act which survives from that very year. Boni describes the situation thus:

[Sordello] returned, changed, to a changed Italy, where many of those he had known or at whose side he had lived had disappeared: Ezzelino di San Bonifacio had died in 1253; and, with the total ruin of their house, had gone Ezzelino da Romano, killed at Soncino on the 1st October 1259 following wounds received at the battle of Cassano d'Adda, and his brother Alberico, fallen by treachery into the hands of the Guelfs at San Zeno and ferociously butchered on the 26th August 1260 with his wife and children. Of the powerful house there remained alive only Cunizza, who, having been married after the death of Bonio to a noble of the house of Braganze, and having had (according to Rolandino) yet a third husband, at the fall of the Da Romano had found refuge in Tuscany with the counts of Mangona, her relatives on the mother's side. On the 1st April 1265, in Florence, being a guest at the house of Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, she signed an act in which she freed her brothers' slaves, except those—violently execrated—who had, by their treachery, allowed the capture and slaughter of Alberico and his family. (1)

44. We should now, therefore, be able to see what Dante has made of the lives of Sordello and Cunizza, Canto VI contains both the main themes, which are: the grace-in-beauty of Cunizza, its effect on men and in particular on Sordello, and her consequent position in Paradise; and the same quality as an agent of cultural

transmission from Provence into Italy. Canto VI in its last section begins, as we have seen, with the life of Sordello taken from his vidan, up to the time of Cunizza's abduction:

E lo Sordels si fo di Mantovana,
Son of a poor knight, Elor Escort,
And he delighted himself in chançons
And mixed with the men of the court
And went to the court of Richard Saint Boniface
And was there taken with love for his wife
Cunizza, da Romano,

Then Pound immediately switches to what Cunizza did in her old age:

That freed her slaves on a Wednesday
Massnatas et servos, witness
Pious de Farinatis
and Don Alinus and Don Licus
sons of Farinato de' Farinati
'free of person, free of will
'free to buy, witness, sell, testate.' (1)

To the freeing of her slaves (massnatas et servos, meiny and slaves) are witnesses three sons of Farinata degli Uberti. The act itself is of great significance to Pound; as also the witnesses.

45. The Beatrice of Dante's visions may not have begun her career quite as the good-time girl that Cunizza was; yet in the beginning she was worshipped for her material beauty. But the extreme idealization of the later Beatrice, while exceeding the Provençal vision, proceeds from it, as Gauvetto points out (1); and as Beatrice is at least partly an allegorical figure (2), we

may say that for Dante the spiritual beauty of the later Beatrice proceeds from the earthly graces of her first manifestations. This we have discussed in relation to Pound's view of Arnaut Daniel (3). With Cunizza we may assume a similar progression in Pound's mind, for while, we shall see, her earlier pleasures are evident in the Cantos, she later comes to represent the grace that inheres in beauty. The freeing of the slaves is involved in this. In the Guide to Kulchur Pound speaks of

> Cunizza, white-haired in the House of the Cavalcanti, Dante, small gutter-snipe, or small boy hearing the talk in his father's kitchen or, later, from Guido [Cavalcanti], of beauty incarnate, or, if the beauty can by any possibility be brought into doubt, at least and with utter certainty, charm and imperial bearing, grace that stopped not an instant in swooping over the most violent authority of her time, and, from the known fact, that vigour which is a grace in itself. There was nothing in Crestien de Troyes' narratives, nothing in Rimini or in the tales of the ancients to surpass the facts of Cunizza, with, in her old age, great kindness, thought for her slaves. (4)

Again, when Pound criticises the philosophy of Aristotle as being without a basis in humanity, he says

> Fiorentino tries to whitewash Aristotle's character. Like Cunizza, later, he freed his slaves, but by testamentary disposition. She did it while living, but circumstances etc... (5)

46. Now there can be no doubt from the first of these passages that the mortal beauty is identified with the physical attraction, the 'beauty incarnate' and 'that vigour which is a grace in itself.' It is so for the philosophic (Platonistic) reasons which I have discussed with relation to Arnaut Daniel (1). In the Guide to Kulchur, where the whole method is one of juxtaposition (2), the passage on the grace of Cunizza is followed by remarks on the beauties of Sordello's verse; the fineness in the philosophy of contemporary Christianity; the beauty of the Romanesque architecture out of Byzantium, and its relation to Moslem building and certain monuments in Poitiers; and the relation of all this to an 'anti-usura paideuma'. The 'significance' is that beauty has a definite connection with moral (anti-usury) virtue. The implication is that religion cannot be a question of morals alone, but must contain some element of the worship of 'the revelation of God in beauty' (Zielinski's phrase), as allowed for especially by the philosophy of Scotus Erigena (3), for instance, but also by the visions of men like St Francis. Since beauty is inextricably involved, for us, with our humanity, art as a human construction of beauty, is essential; hence Pound's quotation from Gourmont: 'L'essence d'une religion, c'est sa littérature; or la littérature religieuse est morte.' (4) Zielinski likewise recognised 'cette source sublime du sentiment religieux qu'est la révélation du divin dans le beau.' (5)

47. If we ask how physical and moral beauty can find their fusion, whether in religion or elsewhere, the answer might be in Pound's remarks that a sense of style might save our nations from many of the worst political excesses. For the basis of political

activity is the making of the kind of distinctions that Gourmont's Average Citizen is boldly making here:

> Devenu animal électoral, le citoyen n'est pas dépourvu de subtilité. Ayant flairé, il distingue hardiment entre un opportuniste et un radical. Son ingéniosité va jusqu'à la méfiance: le mot Liberté le fait aboyer, tel un chien perdu. A l'idée qu'on le laisse seul dans les ténèbres de sa volonté, il pleure, il appelle sa mère, la République, son père, l'Etat. (1)

Our failure to do any better than this Citizen may be a reason for our troubles; in every generation, for instance, the swindlers, the Ivar Kreugers and Bernie Cornfelds, present themselves, and our elected representatives are men of so little worth that they become deeply involved with them and never notice the difference. The necessary distinction, the differentiation between fakes and 'serious characters', is probably one of 'taste' or 'discrimination of quality' just as in art; for is not the stupidity of Gourmont's citizen a mere shift of emphasis towards the vulgar, differing in no wise from the quality of the dicta in Flaubert's nottinior? As a parable, this could be applied to most fields of human relations.

40. Such at any rate I think is Pound's belief, and the frowning of Cunizza's slaves is an important exemplar of it. The theme is greatly developed in Canto XXIX. The Canto begins (1) with the story of the havoc wrought by the concubine of Aldobrando Orsini 'wishing her son to inherit', moves to Propertius with the Via Sacra, where the poet is afraid his lady may sell her charms (2), and to a

mock-battle between the Roman Empire and woman (also in Propertius) (3), and then to Cunizza; so that we may take it that the subject is woman as a species.

Liberans et vinculo ab omni liberato
As who with four hands at the cross roads
By king's hand or sacerdos'
are given their freedom
—Save who were at Castra San Zeno...

Cunizza for God's love, for remitting the soul of
her father
—May hell take the traitors of Zeno.
And fifth begat he Alberic
And sixth the Lady Cunizza.
In the house of the Cavalcanti
anno 1265:
Free go they all as by full manumission
All serfs of Eccelin my father da Romano
Save those who were with Alberic at Castra San Zeno
And let them go also
The devils of hell in their body.

And sixth the Lady Cunizza
That was first given Richard St Bonifaco
And Sordello subtracted her from that husband
And lay with her in Tarviso
Till he was driven out of Tarviso
And she left with a soldier named Bonius
nimium amorata in eum

And went from one place to another
'The light of this star o'ercame me'
Greatly enjoying herself
And running up the most awful bills.
And thus Ezzelino was killed on a sunday
and she had then a Lord from Braganza
and later a house in Verona. (4)

49. This is basically a restatement and slight amplification of the themes in Canto VI, and for it Pound reverses the chronological order. The last part is taken in its entirety from Rolandino, with the addition of the (correct) particular about Treviso and of the line from Dante, 'The light of this star o'ercame me'. (1) This line can be taken as the key to Dante's philosophical use of Cunizza, and is from her speech in Paradiso, where she introduces herself:

In that part of the evil Italian land
that is between the Rialto [i.e. Venice]
and the sources of Brenta and Piave
rises a hill, not very high,
from which once descended a spark [Ezzelino III]
that caused great destruction to the land.
From one root were born both I and it;
I was called Cunizza, and I shine here
because the light of this star [Venus] overcame me.
But joyfully I pardon myself
the cause of my fate, and don't lament,
which would probably seem strange to your people. (2)

50. And indeed it has seemed strange to people; to Hauvette, for instance:

> Dante ne paraît avoir rien connu des aventures galantes qui marquèrent la jeunesse de Sordel; cette impression est d'autant plus forte que le poète a placé Cunizza au Paradis, naturellement dans le ciel de Venus, mais sans aucune allusion ni à Sordel, ni à d'autres amants qu'eut cette dame joyeuse. Il semble donc qu'ici Dante fût assez mal informé. (1)

Rather than apply the mental effort that Cunizza's words explicitly demand ('which would probably seem strange to your people'), the critic takes the easiest way out: Dante didn't know. Nonetheless Hauvette has noticed that Cunizza is 'of course in the heaven of Venus'. Venus' sphere is that of sensual love. Surely that is why Cunizza, this 'dame joyeuse', is there?

51. This, however, would be to admit that sensual love might bring one to Paradise. Porena in his Dante commentary perceives that Cunizza is in the sphere of sensual love, but cannot admit the connection, for he says that God represents the very opposite to sensual love (1). Yet Cunizza says 'because the light of this star' (which is Venus) 'overcame me'. And again, Scartazzini in his commentary says that the reason for her place in Paradise is difficult to guess; he can only suggest the freeing of the slaves (?).

52. It seems to me that Pound, by contrast, gives the words of Dante's poem the attention they deserve. In The Spirit of Romance he rightly connects this passage with the words of Folquet de Marseille

that follow:

> Here, in defiance of convention, we find Cunizza:
>
> Out of one root spring I with it; Cunizza was I
> called, and here I glow because the light of
> this star overcame me.
>
> In Canto IX, lines 103-106, [Folquet's]
>
> Yet here we not repent, but smile; not at
> the sin, which cometh not again to mind, but
> at the Worth that ordered and provided,
>
> we have matter for a philosophical treatise as long as the Paradiso. (1)

Pound is right to make the connection, because the parallel is exact: the sin that Folquet speaks of is the ardour of his love, which he has described at length; in this his life is identical to what we know of Cunizza; and his words are almost identical to Cunizza's 'But joyfully I pardon myself / the cause of my fate, and don't lament'. The meaning is absolutely clear: in both cases, the 'Worth that ordered and provided', namely God, laid the first sin, that of sensual love, as a bait. The doctrine is exactly that of Plato in the Symposium (2). Dante, though by comparison with Cavalcanti (according to Pound) 'diablement dans les idées reçues' (3), was independent enough from the body of Thomist dogma to accept that Platonism with which the early Renaissance was so suffused, for as Pound goes on to say in The Spirit of Romance passage,

> ...Canto IX, lines 133-135,
>
> Therefore it is that the Gospel and great Doctors
> are deserted, and only the Decretals are no

> studied, as may be seen upon their margins, shows Dante's scant regard for the ecclesiastical lumber by which his philosophy is said by certain critics to be smothered. (4)

Benvenuto da Imola in his charming manner has summed up for Pound:

> Rightly the poet [Dante] figures himself finding this lady in the sphere of Venus; for if the noble Cypriots dedicated their Venus and the Romans their Flora, each a most beautiful and splendid whore [formosissimam & ditissimam meretricem], how much more worthy and nobly could the Christian poet save Cunizza. (5)

For Plato's doctrine in the Symposium, as we have seen in discussing Arnaut Daniel and the gill de Dona crux, is that a complete love of physical beauty will lead on to the love of moral and spiritual beauty, and lastly to the love of the 'idea' of Beauty, which is God (6).

53. The quotation from Dante thus fits perfectly with the naivety of the excerpts from Rolandino:

> And she left with a soldier named Bonius
> nimium amorata in eum [excessively in love with him]
> And went from one place to another
> 'The light of this star o'ercame me'
> Greatly enjoying herself
> And running up the most awful bills. (1)

But as we saw in the Guide to Kulchur passage, the grace of Cunizza's action in freeing her slaves is seen as intimately bound up with, or a natural expression of, her grace as an earthly love-goddess. And thus in the earlier part of Canto XXIX Pound returns to this theme

and redevelops it.

54. So far Sordello has not seemed of importance, but he comes back in the conclusion of Canto VI:

A marito subtraxit ipsam...

dictum Sordellum concubuisse:

'Winter and Summer I sing of her grace,
As the rose is fair, so fair is her face,
Both Summer and Winter I sing of her,
The snow makyth me to remember her.' (1)

The first two lines are from the passage in Rolandino: 'took the lady away from her husband', and 'with [her it was] said that Sordello lay' (2); we are thus back with the abduction. Then come four lines from Sordello's 'Atretan dei ben chantar finamen' (3), which represent Pound's sole published attempt to translate this troubadour. The lines are rather abstracted than translated, and I think bring over the gentle obsessiveness of mood, as well as the free cadence, of the original. Their purpose here is definitely to specify the importance of Cunizza for Sordello: she is the chief goddess of his mind, the Lady who 'contains the catalogue, is more complete. She serves as a sort of mantram.' (4) Sordello was formed by the worship of this woman; <u>ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit</u>, as Pound never tires of repeating from Propertius (5); the idea is clearer in other lines that Pound quotes from Sordello, in Canto XXIX:

Ailas e que'n fau miey huelh
Quar noi vezon so qu'ieu vuelh. (6)

—Alas, what are my eyes doing to me, / For they don't see what

I want.' Though Canto XXIX at this point is about misuse of woman-an-mantram ('our desire, drift... Our mulberry leaf, woman,'), the idea remains the same.

55. The mental vision of the lady becomes an important part of the mantram idea because of Cavalcanti's Platonistic idea, which Pound took over and used insistently, that 'Where memory liveth, [Love] takes its state' (1); that perhaps the most important thing about love is 'that formed trace in his mind' (2), the mental vision that is retained. Looked at cynically, the memory of the lady then becomes like Rochester's Reason, 'an ignis fatuus of the mind', on which the thoughts of the troubadour are over bent. But whether we look at it cynically or not, that is the view of the troubadour poetry that Pound holds (3), and it is important in the consideration of Sordello in Canto XXXVI.

56. Canto XXXVI opens with Pound's final translation of Cavalcanti's 'Donna mi prega', his 'philosophical canzone' about Love, which Pound's ideas about memory stem from (1). It ends with a line from 'Atretan del ben chantar finamen', Sordello's song from which Pound took the lines in Canto VI:

'...Both Summer and Winter I sing of her,
The snow makyth me to remember her.' (2)

The line here is 'Quan ben m'albir en mon ric ponsarea', 'when I consider well in my proud thoughts—

of her to whom I give myself up and surrender myself,
what kind she is,
I love her so much, because her worth is beyond that

of the delightful women that exist,
that in the matter of love I esteem each one as
nothing... (3)

I quote the other lines to give some idea of the function of 'Quan bon m'albir en mon ric pensamen' in Bordello's original; but its importance for Pound, I think, would remain the same if the other lines were altered. What is necessary to Canto XXXVI is the idea of the vision in the troubadour's mind, of which this line is a very powerful expression. 'M'albir' in the context must mean 'consider', 'ponder on', but he is pondering on the lady's qualitas or 'whatness' and the vision of her thus brought to mind renders his thought 'ric'. This is a difficult word, covering a group of meanings that are covered by no single word in English, like 'noble', 'nobly-born', 'proud', 'distinguished' and 'rich'; but clearly the idea of the lady has occasioned a change of state in the troubadour's mind, 'ingenium nobis ipsa puella fecit.'

57. The intervening matter in Canto XXXVI might seem rather far from this theme. It speaks of Scotus Erigena, the furniture that he puts in God's heaven, his condemnation by the Church and his views on Authority and Reason (1). Then, surprisingly, it shifts to 'Sacrum, sacrum, inluminatio coitu', 'The rite, the rite, illumination in coitus', and to Sordello. Now as we shall see in discussing Scotus Erigena, Pound sets up a great division between the 'whole' philosophy of Erigena and its synthesis of reason and authority, and the 'Greek splitting', from an excessive reliance on the syllogism, that the Thomists, and a whole Western tradition, have inherited from Aristotle. Thus here!

Aquinas head down in a vacuum,

Aristotle why in a vacuum?

not quite in a vacuum. (2)

Aquinas, Pound says, 'lacked faith (3); Erigena on the other hand refused to derogate the claims of either faith or 'right reason'. He suggests that the causative difference lies in the attitude to nature: Erigena's whole philosophy is a symptom of his belief that God is *in* nature, and his poems a sign that he received nature's beauty. The poems have the same function that the Confucian Odes had for Confucius' disciples: to bring the mind back to nature, and to prevent it from wandering too far in empty speculation. And Pound suggests that, apart from Erigena, for a satisfactory synthesis of reason and faith we have to go to China, and in particular the *li* or rites on which Confucius placed so much emphasis. (4)

58. Now the 'Sacrum, sacrum, inluminatio coitu' is not, as the *Annotated Index* translates, merely 'a sacred thing... the cognition of coition' (!) but is 'le sacre du printemps', the generative rite that is at the root of the whole Frazerian anthropology, the basic idea of Stravinsky's piece of music, the rite that is depicted in Canto XXXIX:

Sumus in fido

Puellaeque canentes

sub noote....

there in the glade

To Flora's night, with hyacinthus,

With the crocus (spring

sharp in the grass)

Fifty and forty together

ERI MECUM AI DE KUDONIAI

Betweene Aprille and Marche

with cap now in the bough... (1)

Whether or not, as here, sex is a formalised religious rite, Pound is of the opinion that of itself and for the individual it can have the importance of a rite; and such, obviously, would be the case with the troubadours with their apparently-endless 'ritualized and elegant foreplay' (Fiedler's words) (2), so ritualized that theoreticians have been led to believe that sex never actually occurred (3).

59. The 'Sacrum, sacrum' in Canto XXXVI is therefore an extension of the tendency towards religion that is in the mantram idea: that rendered the 'poetic' relations between troubadour and lady religious, this renders the sexual relations religious. The two, for Pound, are less far apart than they might seem, given his ideas about the effect of 'la copulation complète et profonde', in Gourmont's phrase, as an extender of the cerebrum (1).

60. But the bulk of the Sordellian matter in Canto XXXVI concerns the relations between Charles I of Anjou and the troubadour. This would seem to have very little to do with rites. However, the framing idea of the Canto is 'ingenium nobis ipsa puella facit', or as Pound translated it in his Homage to Sextus Propertius, 'my genius is no more than a girl' (1). The lady, to choose a more watery phrase, has 'influenced the poet's development', as a man and as a poet. Sordello, we have seen, cuts a very noble figure in Dante's Purgatory, as a proud and harsh castigator of the behaviour

of princes. Pound lays a certain emphasis on this role, where he has Sordello among the prophets and warriors outside his Hell:

And in the west mountain, Il Fiorentino,
Seeing hell in his mirror,
and lo Sordels
Looking on it in his shield; (2)

and where he echoes Adams' words to Jefferson on the royalty of Europe with Dante's description of Sordello who wrote similar words:

Whether in a stye, stable or state-room,
let everything bend before them and banish whatever
might
lead them to think...and thus are become as mere
animals...
Cannibals of Europe are eating one another again...
(...)
...whether in a stye, a stable or in a state-room...
Louis Sixteenth was a fool
The King of Spain was a fool, the King of Naples a fool,
they despatched couriers weekly to tell each other,
over a thousand miles
what they had killed...
(...)
a guisa do leon
The cannibals of Europe are eating one another again
quando si posa. (3)

61. Sordello wrote three political sirventes which give us

some idea of this role, but obviously if we extend this idea into his relations with Charles of Anjou, as indeed seems reasonable, the basis for Dante's and Pound's characterization seems stronger. Quite how strong, I shall have to discuss. But it seem to me that the function of the Sordello material in Canto XXXVI is to fill out the character of the troubadour, to help to define his political function, and thereby to specify just what sort of an 'ingenium' Cunizza 'fecit' in Sordello. Thus:

Aquinas head down in a vacuum,
Aristotle which way in a vacuum?
not quite in a vacuum.
Sacrum, sacrum, inluminatio coitu.
Lo Sordels si fo di Mantovana
of a castle named Goito.
'Five castles!
'Five castles!'
(king giv' in five castles)
'And what the holl do I know about dye-works?!'
His Holiness has written a letter:
'CHARLES the Mangy of Anjou....
...way you treat your men is a scandal....'
Dilectis miles familiaris...castra Montis Odorisii
Montis Sancti Silvestri pallots et pilo...
In partibus Thotis.... vineland
land tilled
the land inoult
pratis nemoribus
pascuis

with legal jurisdiction

his heirs of both sexes,

...sold the damn lot six weeks later,

Sordellus de Godio.

Quan ben m'albir en mon ric pensamen. (1)

62. The 'Five castles!' part is imaginary dialogue, about the donation, which we have seen (1), of Monte Odorisio, Monte San Silvestro, Paglieto and Pila, with the hamlet of Castiglione, to Sordello on the 5th or 12th March 1269. Phrases from the act of donation (from 'Dilectis miles familiaris' to 'his heirs of both sexes') are given a little further on in the Canto; they can be seen in their context in the act of donation quoted above. The hamlet of Castiglione doesn't quite fit the description 'castle', but it is possible that Pound includes in the total the castle of Civitaquana, which Charles of Anjou ordered his officials to hand over to Sordello on the 21st May (2). There is a slight difficulty in the 'sold the damn lot six weeks later', for as we have seen Sordello merely exchanged three of his castles for one of equal or greater value on the 30th June (3); it is possible that Pound refers to the granting of the whole lot to Bonifacio Calibert on the 30th August (4). I have assumed this to mean that Sordello had died, but the matter is a little obscure. At any rate, Sordello was at one point in possession of five castles (5), and the fact that Pound mentions this number shows that he read De Lollis' edition better than the scholars of the Annotated Index, for they translated the names of two of the castles ('palleto et pile' in the donation) as 'to have and to hold (?)'. (6)

63. In this material there is an insertion concerning the worse side of Charles's relations with Sordello. We have seen that one of the cantos, the one for which Sordello exchanged three of his first group, belonged to a noted cloth-working town, Palena (1). In the strophes I have quoted from where Sordello complains of his circumstances and someone, apparently Charles of Anjou, replies, this latter person says

> "...I have given him cloth-works, windmills and other goods..." (2)

We can therefore assume that Pound compressed the meaning of this little dialogue and that this complaint from Sordello is the result:

> 'And what the hell do I know about dye-works?!' (3)

And following that, there are three lines containing the essence of what Clement IV said to Charles of Anjou about his treatment of his retinue, notably the son of Jourdain de l'Isle and Sordello, in the letter I have quoted at length (4). So that, in sum, the Sordello material in Canto XXXVI is a good abstraction of what to know of the troubadour in the retinue of Charles of Anjou.

64. I have said that the two main themes that Pound makes of Sordello and Cunizza are 'the grace-in-beauty of Cunizza, its effect on men and in particular on Sordello, and her consequent position in Paradise; and the same quality as an agent of cultural transmission from Provence into Italy.' It remains to discuss the latter of these themes. We have seen it already in the long and eloquent passage from the Guide to Kulchur:

> Allow, in my case thirty years, thereabout, for a process which I do not yet call finished, the process

of gradually comprehending why Dante Alighieri named certain writers. Sordello he might also have touched in spoken tradition. Cunizza, white-haired in the House of the Cavalcanti, Dante, small gutter-snipe, or small boy hearing the talk in his father's kitchen or, later, from Guido, of beauty incarnate, or, if the beauty can by any possibility be brought into doubt, at least and with utter certainty, charm and imperial bearing,... (1)

The references to Guido Cavalcanti and to Dante are not casual. They occur again in Canto VI:

> Cunizza, da Romano,
> That freed her slaves on a Wednesday
> Nacnatos et servos, witness
> Picus de Farinatis
> and Don Elinus and Don Lipus
> sons of Farinato de' Farinati (2)

These witnesses, as I have mentioned, are the sons of Farinata degli Uberti, most aristocratic of the Florentine Ghibellines, whose lofty spirit and whose concern for race are recorded for eternity in the Inferno:

> ...he raised his chest and brow
> as if he held Hell in great scorn.
> ...When I reached the foot of his tomb,
> he looked at me a little, and then as if disdainfully
> asked me: 'Who were your ancestors?' (3)

Though Farinata certainly has to ask about Dante's antecedents, since he is some time dead, the choice of expression is certainly not

accidental in view of his politics. Now the poi t of introducing his sons into Canto VI at this point is that in 1267, two years after this act freeing Cunizza's slaves, Farinata's daughter Bice married Guido Cavalcanti (4); and that his sons should have witnessed the act shows how close the two houses were.

65. When Pound says 'witness Picus de Farinatis' therefore, he is drawing attention to the fact that the freeing of the slaves took place in the house of Cavalcanto de' Cavalcanti; and this is explicit in Canto XXIX:

In the house of the Cavalcanti

anno 1265:

Free go they all as by full manumission

All serfs of Eccelin my father da Romano

Save those who were with Alberic at Castra San Zeno (1)

Guido Cavalcanti, by the time of his unfortunate marriage about 20 years old, was by that period older than Dante, born in 1265 (2); but Pound says that 'His mind was in a way the matrix against which the mind of the young Dante formed itself.' (3) Now I have discussed at length at the beginning of this section how Pound takes the transmission of culture to operate through personal contact; and we must note that for him 'Knowledge is NOT culture. The domain of culture begins when one HAS "forgotten-what-book" (4). He regards civilization is something more subtle than the erection of large and brassy monuments; something that could inhere for example in the last and most 'decadent' of the great Chinese rulers, the Empress Dowager, or again, possibly, in the quarterdeck Bath Olivers on a British flagship, or in the courtesy of the peasant who made him an omelette at Born (5). I will not attempt a closer definition here.

66. Cordello was the last great representative of the troubadour culture, and Cunizza was 'the matrix against which' his young mind formed itself. She survived into old age and was living at the house of Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti during the formative years of his son Guido, who was the mould of the young Dante's mind. That is the thesis that underlies the references in Cantos VI and XXIX. There are two ways of taking it. One may regard it as a suggestion, as a 'symbol' or hypothetical representative example of what happened when the Provençal culture died and the Italian culture was born. I believe it to be valid when taken this way; I think it exemplifies the enormous part that the troubadours played in the creation of Duecento literature. This seems to me an extremely important point both for the histories of these two literatures and for the understanding of culture in general; and I shall be concerned to defend its validity in the next part of this chapter. The other way of taking Pound's thesis is to understand it as literal; I think that Pound in later years came to do so, as he moved towards a 'conspiratorial' view of history, in which Jews and bankers in hidden conclave were the mysterious causes of evil, while culture and civilization became more and more the property of a sect which passed it down 'along the margins of history'; and where the idea of dynasty became involved more with that of race, so that for example the aristocracy of Farinata degli Uberti itself gained importance. I shall discuss this view when I come to the Cathars (1), who are probably the chief example of this reaction in Pound's thinking.

An attempt to verify Pound's suggestion

67. Taking Pound's thesis in its more general aspect, taking

it as an assertion that the psychological perceptions of Provence were carried over into Italy, by a culture which continued physically without a break and operated largely by personal contact; it seems to me important to ascertain whether Pound is here hopelessly wrong, or whether he has something to tell us. It is yet another test case for the poetic theories of his generation. If there is an 'absolute rhythm' (1), if for each shade of emotion there is a sound-rhythm that expresses it exactly, and likewise for the other mechanisms of poetry, then the corollary is that the reader will have an 'objective' knowledge of the emotions and intelligence that governed the poet at the time of writing. Provençal poetry embodies a certain type of civilization; likewise with Duecento Italian poetry. If the civilizations are physically related it will show in the poetry. Pound claims that it does; and it is therefore legitimate to look for evidence of a different nature that will corroborate or cast doubts on this view.

60. Santangelo's Dante e i trovatori provenzali is easily the most extensive, though oblique, attack on a view such as Pound's. The relation of Dante to the troubadours has provoked much discussion, but monographs on the subject have tended to be short and without an abundance of evidence. Though, as I have put it, Santangelo's basic assumption seems exceedingly arbitrary, his book has enjoyed a considerable success, having been reprinted recently on the initiative of a committee of professors (1). It is therefore worthy of a close look.

69. It is not the purpose of Santangelo's Dante e i trovatori provenzali to claim that Dante knew little of the troubadour culture;

he assumes this as a starting-point, though without seeming to notice the assumption. His overt purpose is simply to establish the source of Dante's knowledge of the troubadours, and the manner in which he assimilated this knowledge during his poetic career. Santangelo first criticises the opinion that Dante knew the vidas and razos that describe the troubadours' lives and poems; then examines the conclusions of Bartsch concerning the manuscript anthology that Dante used, having established his own new manuscript classification for all the relevant surviving anthologies; and finally shows why he thinks that Dante's source was the hypothetical one he designates. Having shown in these chapters that Dante could not have known any of the vidas and razos, he proposes another source for the poet's information: a hypothetical version of a thirteenth-century grammar which would have contained biographical notes. Finally Santangelo describes in detail the supposed progression in Dante's knowledge of the troubadours.

70. What concerns us chiefly here in the nature of the arguments (1). That Dante could not have known the vidas, for instance, because:

(a) The vida of Peire d'Alvernhe says that he 'was the first good troubadour in the world'; while Dante simply includes him among many 'antiquiores doctores'. Dante doesn't name the other ones because he probably doesn't know their names; and doesn't cite any poems by Peire d'Alvernhe because he probably doesn't know any. There is nothing in the vidas that could be the source of Dante's assertion that Provençal was the first Romance poetic language. And Dante does not have the idea of the vers that the vida of Peire d'Alvernhe defines.

(b) In his Purgatorio remarks about Giraut de Bornelh, Dante would not have taken from the vidas the description 'he of Limousin', because the vidas say many were 'of Limousin', and he would have feared confusion.

(c) In these same remarks, Dante's spokesman, Guido Guinizelli, would not have disagreed with the verdict of the vida that Giraut was 'master of the troubadours', because the verdict was reached on criteria that Dante approved of.

(d) In the Convivio, Dante speaks of Bertran de Born's generosity, which is not apparent in the vidas. By contrast, the vidas speak of Bertran stirring up hate between brothers; had he known of this, Dante would have thought it more important than the stirring up of strife between father and sons that he mentions. And Dante cannot have read the vida which speaks of Bertran as retiring to a monastery, for he places him in Hell.

(e) The thing that probably saved Arnaut Daniel from Dante's Hell, and his retirement to a monastery, is unknown to the vidas, though known to Benvenuto da Imola; while the vidas do not mention Arnaut's sin of lechery, which is in Dante.

(f) In Dante, Folquet de Marseille was a lecher in his youth; while this is unknown to the vidas.

Dante know that Folquet was from Marseille, but this was probably not in the vidas Dante could have known.

(g) Raimon, Count of Toulouse, is exalted for his generosity to troubadours in the Convivio, while the other protectors of troubadours mentioned by the vida are ignored.

(h) Dante's Aimeric de Belenoi is Catalan, while the vida says that he was from Bordeaux, though 'he went to Catalonia, and stayed there till he died.'

(i) There is nothing in the vidas which would justify Sordello's exalted position in Dante; and likewise nothing to say why Dante has him among the 'dead through violence', though Benvenuto da Imola by contrast says that he was killed.

71. That is the sum of Santangelo's arguments on the point; and the point they obviously have in common is that they are all arguments from absence, when they are not unwarrantably subjective or trivial. One does not normally argue that, because given points of information are absent from one of a pair of documents, their authors were unknown to each other. Santangelo here does so because of his hidden assumption that information on Provence was so scarce to Dante that he would have included every scrap of information offered by his source that he could work in; and, in reverse, that whatever information Dante does have must all come from one and the same source. In (a) for example:

from the Provençal biography Alighieri could not have obtained [him] information on the greater antiquity of Provençal poetry compared with that of the other Romance literatures: "vulgares eloquentes in ea [lingua qe] prinitus poetati sunt": a piece of information of which the mention of Peire d'Alvernhe is an exemplification." (1)

Santangelo's assertion is clearly true, though trivially so; but his point in making it is not trivial. What he is claiming is that, since Dante mentions Peire d'Alvernhe with the purpose of supporting his point about the greater antiquity of Provençal poetry, his source of information about the greater antiquity must also mention Peire d'Alvernhe, or vice versa. In other words, again, every scrap of information he had about the troubadours must have come from one single written source.

72. But let us propose another hypothesis. It is not to the purpose of my remarks to prove that Dante did know the vidas or the razos; though I think that several points made by critics suggest that he did. Let us however suggest that 'written or oral tradition' concerning the troubadours was still alive at Dante's time, to supplement what he may have learned from the still-extant Provençal prose. 'Tradition' is certainly a vague term; for the moment I would only define it as the kind of personal, though third-hand, knowledge that someone like Cavalcanti might get from those around him, supplemented by documents of a more temporary nature than the full-dress chansonniers that have survived. I would like to go into both of these possible sources in greater detail later. But

once they are accepted, however vague and inaccurate they may be, they remove the force from all Santangelo's arguments concerning the _vidas_: for in no case do his arguments show _contradiction_ of a significant nature. Were the items of information that Dante mentions large in number, their absence in the _vidas_ would be significant; but they are not---their full quotation in Santangelo covers three pages (1)---and so the arguments remain inconclusive.

73. In what I have termed (a), for example, the contradiction is insignificant if we suppose that Dante was not totally ignorant of the troubadours beyond what it could get from the supposed single _chansonnier_ he possessed. The _vida_ says that Peire was the 'first good troubadour'; Dante names him among an unspecified number of 'more ancient sages'. It is clear from other _vidas_ at least, as Santangelo himself points out (1), that Marcabrun was of the same or earlier period as Peire, while the genealogy in the _vida_ of Guilhem de Peitieus shows his antiquity, and the information in the _vida_ of Bernart de Ventadorn, if placed with that of Guilhem, does likewise for Bernart. Santangelo offers general and textual reasons why Dante could not have known the _vidas_ of these other troubadours; the general reasons we are examining at the moment; the textual reasons will come later. But surely, whether or not Dante knew the _texts_ of these pieces of prose, we are not entitled to assume that the information contained in them was known only to those who had these few enormously expensive _chansonniers_ before their eyes.

74. A further argument from absence is in (a): that the _vidas_ say nothing that could have told Dante that Provençal was the first

of the Romance poetic languages. How Dante's teacher was Brunetto Latini, an Italian; this gentleman wrote an encyclopaedic work in French, because 'La parleure française est plus délitable et plus commune a toutes gens' (1); also presumably because French had vastly greater prestige than any other language as a medium for prose and non-lyric poetry. When Guinizelli in the Purgatorio says that Arnaut Daniel 'Versi d'amore e prose di romanzi / Sovorchiò tutti' (2), everybody knows that the 'verses of love' must have been in Provençal and the 'proses of romance' in French, whether he wrote them or not. There is no question of that. Raimon Vidal says that this is for aesthetic reasons: 'la parladura francesca val mais et es plus avinens a far romanz, retronnan et pasturellas, mas cella de Lemosin val mais per far vers et cansos et sirventes.' (3) How this early prestige (Vidal wrote perhaps at the end of the twelfth century) was clearly also because these languages led chronologically in their fields; by the time Dante wrote his De Vulgari Eloquentia he would concede no such pre-eminence to Provençal in lyric. And is it possible that a man like Brunetto Latini, whose life-span (c. 1220-1294) covers almost exactly the birth and apogee of the Italian love-lyric, should not have known that in his early days the 'Sicilian school', first among the Italians, was making its first fumbling imitations of the Provençal, while men like Sordello, Lanfranc Cigala and Bonifazio Calvo conceded so much to the prestige of the hundred-year-old Provençal lyric that they wrote all their poetry in its foreign tongue? Yet the basic belief of Santangelo is that somehow between about 1250, when the success of the troubadours in northern Italy faded, and the poetic 'flourishing' of Dante in about 1270, there came a great void of knowledge,

bridged only by the genealogical relatives of the few great anthologies that remain to us.

75. This belief does not appear in his argument (b), which is simply inconclusive: that Dante, knowing the vidas which refer to several troubadours from Limousin, would not have referred to Giraut de Bornelh simply as 'he of Limousin', for fear of confusion. The argument defeats itself, for it admits that 'he of Limousin' was Giraut de Bornelh; and how do we know this? Only because we know Dante is speaking of a troubadour who is held by 'gil stolti' to be the greatest of them all, and that the vida says Giraut was 'maestre dels troubadors' (1). Modern critics all know the vidas, yet there is no confusion. Santangelo's argument (c) is equally trivial: that Dante, had he known the vidas' opinion that Giraut was 'master of the troubadours', would not have disagreed, for it was based on the kind of criteria that he approved of. This is simply to deny that Dante had a mind, and an ear, of his own. The substance of arguments (d) and (e) is also unwarrantably subjective, and has been disposed of with complete adequacy by O.H. Moore, in passages I have referred to concerning Bertran de Born (2). But argument (g) is based on the supposition, once more, that Dante was so short of information that he would feel obliged to pad out his Convivio with all the other generous patrons mentioned beside Raimon of Toulouse in the vida passage, had he known the vida.

76. And the remaining arguments will not stand up if we accept that at Dante's disposal there remained any source of information other than the supposed single written source, however

distant and diffuse. In (d) and (e) for example, there are the subsidiary arguments that Dante knew of Bertran's generosity and Arnaut's lechery, which are not in the vidas. In fact the former, as Moore has pointed out, is in both razos and sirventes (1), while for the latter, surely whatever vague and unreliable source (if it were not, as it undoubtedly was in many cases, his own invention (2)), gave Benvenuto da Imola the information about Arnaut's retirement to a monastery could certainly have given other information to Dante as well. In fact Imola's information is a clear hint of the kind of information, or misinformation, then available from non-vida sources; but Santangelo passes it by (3).

77. The argument (f) concerning Folquet de Marseille stems from the same assumption that I am attacking. We have seen that there is extant information which would confirm Dante's view of Folquet as a lecher in his youth (1). Dante may or may not have seen the poetry to which I allude; if he did not, it is yet further indication that in Dante's time there were living traditions concerning the troubadours which have simply not survived to us. And Santangelo's point that Dante knew Folquet was from Marseille shows only how extreme, how quite unrealistic (though, apparently, easily accepted by other critics) is his position. The identity of the troubadour with the bishop and persecutor of the Albigensian heretics was for a long time disputed, but in 1910 Stronski proved it definitively. The proofs he cites date from 1210-13 (Provençal), 1210-19 (Provençal), c. 1252 (Frenchman writing in Latin), c. 1260 (same), c. 1261 (same), c. 1300 (same), c. 1265 (same), and c. 1250 (Provençal) (2). It is clear that around 1260 in France, at least, that is five

years before Dante was born, it was public knowledge that Folquet was a bishop, and had been a troubadour, and came from Marseilles. If it be questioned whether Dante knew what was known in France, I can only point out here that he knew some of the streets of Paris so well that one could not pick up his allusions to them without a commentary (3); and that his youth saw the intervention of France in the affairs of Italy which he so bitterly execrated (4); that his master Brunetto lived many years in France (5); and so on.

78. Santangelo's point (h) concerning Aimeric de Belenoi, that Dante would not have called him 'Yspanus' had he known the vida which says he came from Bordeaux, does not stand if we assume that there were other traditions that emphasised Aimeric's time in Catalonia (which the vida itself refers to) rather than his birthplace (1). (i), which concerns Sordello's noble position in the Purgatorio, unexplained by the vidas, similarly will not stand if we assume that the troubadour's influence with Raimon-Berenger of Provence, Barral of Baux and Charles of Anjou, undeniably implied in the biographical material which I have related, was known to people like Cunizza (could it not be?), people among whom Guido Cavalcanti, mentor of Dante, grew up. And the fact that Dante seems to have Sordello among the 'dead by violence' is simply a further indication that he had sources which are unknown to us; though apparently known, once more, to Benvenuto da Imola (2).

79. Having concluded, as we have seen, that Dante could not have known the vidas of the troubadours, Santangelo goes on to pursue much the same method with the razos. The arguments are once more a

mixture of the extremely subjective, the trivial and what is based on the assumption that Dante could only have known one (written) source of information on the troubadours. Each of these kinds is brought to bear on the hypothesis, which Santangelo attacks, that Dante got the idea for his Vita Nuova from the famous series of razos interspersed between the poems of Bertran de Born in the manuscript anthologies FIK. Subjective: that the poems in these MSS are chiefly war-poems, yet Dante in the Vita Nuova condemns 'coloro che rimano sopra altra materia che amorosa'; he could not conceivably have done so had he seen the poems (1). The logical conclusion of this would be that the only possible reason for the difference between Dante's opinion here, against 'those who rhyme on material other than that of love', and his opinion of the later De Vulgari Eloquentia where Bertran is exalted as a singer of war, is that Dante in between had come across some poems of Bertran's. A change in Dante's attitude is entirely ruled out. Trivial: that the Bertran razos are not in chronological order, unlike the Vita Nuova (2). We shall see that Santangelo, like his predecessor Bartsch, places an extraordinary importance on the order of works within a manuscript. Based on the assumption of one written source of information is the subjective argument that I have just cited, for if we accept that there survived in Dante's time any other source, whether written or oral, it is difficult to imagine the great poet ignorant of Bertran's main subject, or even ignorant of some examples. Of this nature likewise is the argument (3) that Dante only cites one of the nineteen poems of Bertran in the MSS FIK; for it assumes that Dante was so short of material that he had to base his citations on availability, not choice. Choice, indeed, is something that Santangelo almost

never grants to Dante, as we shall see. It is difficult to choose the correct category for the argument that, had Dante seen the <u>razo</u> MS3, he would have mentioned Bertran de Born Lo Fills (the son), to avoid confusion (4). This assumes that Dante's information on the poetry of the great troubadours was immeasurably weaker than ours; for do we not know the <u>razo</u> MS3? And are we in any doubt at all as to which of the Bertrans Dante intended? However, to discuss each argument in detail is perhaps superfluous.

80. Following this discussion of the <u>razos</u>, Santangelo begins on the positive side of his thesis (1). First he rejects the conclusions of his predecessor in the field, Bartsch. These were chiefly that Dante must have used the source of MS3 ADI because: these three begin with Peire d'Alvernhe, a fact from which Dante might have deduced his chronological antecedence; only they have all the songs Dante cites; D is the nearest to Dante's source, because of various readings and because the only song of Folquet's that Dante cites is first in order in that manuscript; though on the other hand D has some errors that Dante avoids, and has not the <u>vida</u> from which Dante must have learned of the antecedence of Peire d'Alvernhe and of Giraut de Bornelh's homeland, so that we must look to the hypothetical source of these MSS. Santangelo objects to these arguments on the grounds of certain readings in Dante; he claims that Folquet's song could not have been first in the source-MS, and points (2) to the contradiction in looking to the order of Peire d'Alvernhe's songs when the troubadour's antecedence is stated clearly by the <u>vida</u> that Bartsch himself refers to. What Santangelo does not worry about is the essential ridiculousness of arguing from the order of the songs in these sources; in fact he

goes on to incorporate it into the method of his textual reasoning.

81. As the basis of his textual argument (1), Santangelo revives the manuscript classification, the 'genealogy' as it is known to classic editorial method, of the relevant Provençal chansonniers. The textual variants which are his basis are for the most part not given in this volume; therefore I shall leave it aside, making only the observation that the validity of such classification depends ultimately on the history of the chansonniers and their sources, on which I have disagreed so profoundly with Santangelo.

82. Santangelo has so far persuaded himself that Dante could not have known the vidas and the razos. Now he has to produce a source of information other than they, which contains all the readings that Dante uses in his citation of Provençal poetry and names, plus as much of Dante's information on the troubadours as possible. He decides (1) that Dante's source must be a hypothetical ancestor of MS3 GQUcV^{2}P3; and reorganizes their classification. Then he gives his reasons (2):

1. Dante has Brunel and Tornello for Giraut de Bornelh; C has Brunell Q has Brunelus, and U has Bornell. Dante has Gerardus; C has Gerard, Q has Girardus.

2. Quoting Giraut's Si sentis merely to prove the existence of the word amor in Provençal, Dante was looking for the first song he could find with this word in it; Si sentis is the first song in C, and first among Giraut's in Q.

3. Dante merely mentions Peire d'Alvernhe without citing one of his poems; accordingly, GQUcV^{2}P3 have none of his poems.

4. GQUcV^{2}P3 have no songs by Guilhem IX, Cercamon or Marcabrun, and the songs in U3 by Rudel are probably from a subsidiary source; which is why Dante doesn't name any 'more ancient sages'.

5. Dante's Bertramus is in GU3; V^2 has Bertran; QcP don't have the name.

6. Non pose mudar, the only poem of Bertran's that Dante cites, is first among his poems in UV^2; absent elsewhere.

7. Arnaut's L'aura amara, the first of his cited by Dante, is first in U; absent in GQcP3; elsewhere in V^2.

8. Giraut's Per solatz, cited by Dante, is in QUcP, though the last two attribute it falsely.

9. For an example of the illustrious canzone beginning with a decasyllable, Dante also cites Giraut, which reinforces argument 2; though the example given, Ara auniretz, is only in QU.

10. In D.V.E. II.2. the order of citation is not dictated by the preceding argument; it is approximated by Uc.

11. Giraut's Si per mon Sobretotz, cited by Dante, is in Q.

12. UcPG have Dante's reading for Folquet's Tan m'abellin; admittedly this song is not first in any of them, but here Dante was looking in particular for an illustrious song to fit his argument.

13. Arnaut's Sols sui, cited by Dante, is in U.

14. Dante has Namerious (de Belenoi), while GUcPS have Naimeric, like many other MSS.

15. Dante's Belhui is approximated by c (Bellhui).

16. Arnaut's Sem fos amors, cited by Dante, is in QUcV^{2}P^1, though none of them have the same reading.

17. Arnaut's sestina, to which Dante alludes, is in CQUcV^{2}3.

18. The planh for Blacatz, thought by Santangelo to be the basis for Sordello's noble position in the Purgatorio, is in S.

19. Each of Giraut's five songs 'imitated by Dante' is in at least one of CQUcV^{2}P3.

20. Dante's remarks on Arnaut's metric are supported by the songs of Arnaut in CQUcV^{2}P3.

83. As a piece of work this seem thorough; as a proof of its thesis that Dante's sole source was the ancestor of CQUcV^{2}P3, it has been accepted as perfectly conclusive by Toja, for instance, in his 1961 edition of Arnaut Daniel (1), and as authoritative by Avalle in his 1961 study of the Provençal manuscript tradition (2). But there seem to me to be two kinds of reasons for excluding it. The first is that having arranged the evidence in such a manner and with such assumptions, Santangelo could not fail to prove whatever he wished concerning Dante's source; the other is that these assumptions are in any case false ones.

84. Santangelo in suggesting that Dante used the source of M53 CQUcV^{2}P3; or rather, in view of difficulties which he finds, the source of this source (1). Now if scribes were not human, all twenty pieces of evidence assumed to be corroborated in the supposed original

source would also be corroborated in its hypothetical descendant and in <u>its</u> still-extant descendants, the seven MSS we are dealing with. There should then be 7 x 20 = 140 pieces of corroboration. To assess how many pieces of corroboration there actually are is very tricky, for Santangelo's reasons in each case vary as to their solidity. But putting a favourable construction on them in general, and ignoring for the moment the reasons I shall later present as to why most of them are invalid, we get the following table:

MSS

	G	Q	U	o	V^2	P	S
1	x	x	x				
2		x		x			
3	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
4	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
5	x		x				x
6			x		x		
7			x				
8		x	x	x		x	
9		x	x				
10			x	x			
11		x					
12	x		x	x		x	
13			x				
14	x		x	x		x	x
15			x				
16							
17	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
18							x
19							
20	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

65. There thus appear to be, instead of the ideal 140 pieces of corroboration, only 60, so that the evidence is less than half in favour of Santangelo's thesis. But the nature of the evidence is very tricky; it is unlikely that Santangelo himself would accept that the non-corroborations are pieces of negative evidence. And indeed if we have decided, with him, that a certain hypothetical source called q^2 gave rise, with the normal scribal corruption, to a hypothetical q^1, which gave rise with the normal scribal corruption to our GQUcV^{2}P3, then naturally we conclude that the non-corroborations are simply where the scribe corrupted the text. But there are two steps here, and it is important to identify the method in each. The first is establishing the manuscript 'family' GQUcV^{2}P3; the second is proving that its source was Dante's source. Now it is clear from Santangelo's argumentation (1) that his method is the same in both; he argues from similarities of poem-order, reading and attribution to establish his original grouping of manuscripts, just as he then argues from these points to establish that the source of this particular group was Dante's source. And since the aim and method are the same, clearly, though the details of the first step are not given in the book, he must have accepted the same mutual proportion of corroboration and non-corroboration in the first step as in the second; explaining the negative points by terms such as 'contamination by other MSS'. However, we can only swallow such a high proportion of negative evidence, in our original establishing of relationships between manuscripts, if we have <u>previously assumed</u> the relationships. If on the other hand we have not already assumed this common parentage, if we have not in fact assumed what we are setting out to prove, then the items of negative evidence must surely weigh as strongly as the items of positive evidence; is it not to be

explained why the poem-order, attribution etc. differ more often than they agree? In the second step of Santangelo's argument, since the non-corroborations suggest that this supposed 'family' of manuscripts has not much in common with Dante's source or sources, we ought perhaps to look, as in the first step indeed, for an error in the historical presuppositions. Santangelo, however, once having made the necessary assumptions in his own favour, has no need of rethinking.

86. But my ad hoc table shows up a further point, which is that there is no apparent order in the distribution of corroborations, other than the obvious fact that U tallies with Dante much more than the others; and Santangelo offers no pointers to any kind of order. Both in his first step of manuscript-classification and in his second step of proving the hypothetical q^2 to have been Dante's source, he is unable, and in principle is bound to be unable, to say why the corroborations occur in a particular pattern; that is, especially why MS G corroborates point 5 but not point 6, and so on.

87. The pattern surely is of great importance. In the genuine science of genetics, it is possible to determine the statistical probability that any given plant will exhibit a particular characteristic, from a study of that characteristic or the lack of it in the plant's ancestors. Here, we know the exact characteristics that the hypothetical ancestor 'must have' exhibited; Santangelo has listed 20 of them; but we are totally unable to predict, statistically or specifically, which of those characteristics a given manuscript will inherit; or rather, to predict in reverse, which is to explain. The

reason is clear: we have no idea whatsoever of the mechanism which caused <u>any one</u> of the manuscripts to be copied accurately, or inaccurately, or with interpolations, or with false attributions, or in whatever manner we are presupposing that they were copied. And since the whole of our evidence consists of individual manuscripts, between which we cannot <u>a priori</u> assume any relationships, the ability to explain the individual case is crucial; it must form the basis of any method of explaining the collective case.

88. It is true that we have some general ideas as to why scribes might make particular changes. These chiefly relate to similarity between particular letters, and to the kind of error to which the human mind is exposed by relying on 'recognition' rather than perfect vision. Some detailed and important work has been done on the rationale of such errors; though Chaytor has shown that it often errs by assuming that

> the mediaeval scribe adopted exactly the same mental attitude that one of ourselves would assume if he were occupied in copying a manuscript for his own purposes. This was certainly not the case, for the reason that we gain the majority of our information and ideas from printed matter, whereas the mediaeval obtained them orally... he brought not a visual but an auditory memory to his task. (1)

89. But such general ideas, however sophisticated they may become, are likely only to have a marginal bearing on such a case as this, where we are attempting to indicate the specific source of

certain manuscripts and certain information; for these ideas are incapable of predicting for the individual case, except by a statistical method which is liable to be totally inappropriate, namely that of the majority verdict. Suppose that a given MS showed a lot of m's where a lot of MSS with similar contents contained n's; we could say that the latter were probably faithful copies of an original, while the former was probably the product of a scribe who had a mental or cultural aberration concerning the letter n. But our 'probably' here has a fundamental difference from the probability operating in true genetics; for we have no means whatsoever of calculating it. The unknown causative factor that makes us say 'probably' is the whim of the scribe; and while plenty of philosophers have denied human free will, none has yet worked out a mathematics of probability to predict an individual's behaviour, like the probability operating in Mendelian genetics.

90. Furthermore, my hypothetical case of m's and n's is of a simplicity that rarely occurs. The seven MSS we are dealing with are, by contract, a chaos; Santangelo is driven to accepting the evidence of two, one, or even (in the case of item 19) some fractional quantity that I am unable to determine, out of seven, as giving the true nature of the original. If we remember that he is proposing two steps, q^2 to q' to $GQVoV^2P3$, and that according to his theory all the corruptions except the one about Bertran de Born took place in the second step (1), this gives interesting theoretical possibilities. For we then have in several cases a 'survival rate' of items of corroboration, over the generation q' - $GQVoV^2P3$, of one-seventh; Santangelo is thus accepting a corroboration of one-seventh

an adequate evidence, over one generation. We must then suppose that, had the case demanded it, he would have posited an equal quantity of corruption over the generation $q^2 - q'$, with, again, a survival-rate of as little as one-seventh. Over two generations, then, he is prepared to accept in theory a survival-rate of corroboration as low as one-forty-ninth.

91. Never having considered the point that manuscripts are the product of human beings, Santangelo is driven to scientific absurdity to explain their behaviour. Chaytor has pointed out (1) that the habitual metaphor of 'genealogy' has led much manuscript-editing astray; his reason, that genealogy cannot handle 'matrilineal' descent (= manuscript contamination), is inadequate, for genetics as now developed easily handles such complexity; but I think I have shown that any such 'causative' analogy simply confuses the issue with regard to manuscript history. The results, it seems to me, appear in such a book as this one of Santangelo's, whose 20 points 'proving' that Dante used q^2 are in fact a proof of Bédier's thesis (2) that with many MSS, while it is not difficult to produce a classification, it is possible to produce several, any one of which is as defensible as another. And the reasons are not peculiar to this particular case of Dante's supposed source. Chaytor has quoted remarks by Jean Misrahi on his difficulties with the MSS of Eric et Enide:

> The evidence points either to considerable and almost systematic individualism on the part of each scribe or else to equally considerable and erisscross "contamination" of all the MSS. Until we have more direct knowledge of the habits and procedures of

mediaeval scribes occupied in copying vernacular texts, we cannot definitely know. It seems probable, however, that both sources of MS. variation were ever present in varying degree. The "mechanical" sources of scribal errors, as exposed by Pinaver, are responsible for only an infinitesimal fraction of the total number of variants in any text of which we have several MSS. As yet we know with certainty only that the MSS. very frequently disagree. Until we know why in each individual case, or, in other words, until we can see the reason for each textual variation, any method that we may use to tabulate them with a view to establishing distinct "families" of MSS. is foredoomed to failure. (3)

92. 'Scribal individualism' may therefore be the preponderant, and quite unpredictable, factor in the huge proportion of inexplicable variations in the manuscripts that Santangelo is attempting to classify. Misrahi also speaks of 'equally considerable and criss-cross "contamination" of all the MSS.' (1); this assumes that scribes habitually selected contents from several MSS in front of them; surely it is equally likely that they put together, rearranged, interpolated from individual sheets and from ad hoc collections (2). In other words, the culture of Provence was still live in late thirteenth-century Italy; the picture of a lineal descent of rare luxury editions not only fails to work out in Santangelo's theorising, but is improbable on general grounds. And thus it seems to me clear that both parts of my case are proven: that with his statis-

tical method, Santangelo could have shown any of his hypothetical sources to be the supposed 'single manuscript source' of Dante's information on the troubadours; and that the historical assumptions from which this method starts are unlikely.

93. It may be worth analyzing, briefly, another hypothesis based on assumptions similar to Santangelo's. Jean Boutière, in his recent edition of the Biographies des Troubadours, has suggested that the relative dating of the vidas and the razon may not be what was previously supposed; that in fact the razon may go back to the thirteenth century (1).

94. Observing, among the apparent Italianisms of many of these manuscripts, a habit of ending the third person singular of the perfect (1st conjugation) with -g, instead of the normal Provençal -st, he suggests that many of the manuscripts are copied (or copies of copies) of a copy of this material that was made in the Venetian area around the beginning of the thirteenth century; he points to the known example of the biographer Uc de St Circ at Treviso, to which we shall refer later (1). This hypothesis would account both for the concordance as to position of -g forms in so many manuscripts; and for the fact that the writer of the original was incontestably very familiar with places in Provence. He goes on to say:

> Certainly, most of the razos survive today only in chansonniers of the fourteenth century. But nothing proves that it was always so. Furthermore, IK, which go back to the thirteenth century, have preserved razos to Bertran de Born; and one of these razos

(H, p.113) shows in a 'cascade' the same three -a forms as F, which belongs to the fourteenth century:

anem, derocs, abrasa (brulna F)

FIK therefore go back to an original of the thirteenth century which had the three forms in -a...

Nothing therefore prevents the conclusion that the original text of the 'biographies' contained, as well as the vidas, most--perhaps all--of the razos which have survived. (2)

95. It has been noted by Panvini (1) that Boutière makes no use of the works of Santangelo; and clearly this new hypothesis ignores Santangelo's findings. Boutière justifies himself by attacking Santangelo's ideas about the importance of juxtaposition in manuscripts (2). But it seems to me that Boutière's hypothesis here, which assumes like that of Santangelo that the 'descent' of written Provençal material was infinitely simple, ignores even the few things that are known.

96. It springs to mind that the 'cascade' (a phenomenon on which Boutière rightly insists, since it is obviously much more significant than a single error) in question, that in the Bertran de Born razo which he classifies as H:

In Richartz assega borcs e chastels e pres torras
e derrocs et ars et abrassa... (1)

is in fact modelled on the forms in Bertran's song 'D'un sirventes no•m chal far lonhor ganda':

Conselh vuolh dar el no do n'Alemanda
Lai a'n Richart, si tot no lo•m demanda:
Ja por so frair mais sos omes no blanda.
Nonca•s fai ol, anz assotja o•ls aranda,
Tol lor chastels o dorocha et abranda
Deves totz latz.
E•l reis tornei lai ab cels de Carlanda
E l'autre, sos conhatz. (2)

97. Against this point it should be mentioned that -a forms in the relevant lines of the poem are in the present, while the -a forms in the line from the razo seem to be in the perfect, since the sentence before is in the normal Provençal perfect and the clause after is in the imperfect, and since there are even known perfect forms (pres, arm) within the clause we are talking about. But it is not at all unusual for the historic present and the past tenses to be mixed most intimately in this prose material (1). Furthermore, and this is the most important observation, there are many other exact verbal borrowings in this razo from the poem it 'explains', to the extent that, as Thomas says of a companion-razo, it 'n'est qu'un pitoyable délayage des vers de Bertran de Born, dinjcoti membra poetae.' (2) This verbal parallelism has been noted, in the case of the razo we are dealing with, at least by O.H Moore (3).

98. This point does not undermine Boutière's general hypothesis concerning the importance of the -a forms, though perhaps more attention should be paid to imitations from the poems. But the example I have quoted is one of only two produced in suggesting that at least one

group of razos (those in FIK) goes back to the thirteenth century, since FIK contains cascades of -a's. The other example in this from the IK version of a Raimon Jordan razo:

> Quant lo vescoms auzi aquels honratz plazers que la gentils valens domna li mandava, o si li comenssa a venir una granz dousors d'amor al cor; si qu'el comenssa a far alegressa et a esjauzir se, o comenssa a venir en plasa e recobrar solatz entre la bona gen, e vestir se e sos compaingnos e cobrar se en armes et en armas et en solatz. (1) (My italics.)

This appears to me an absolutely clear example of the historic present mixed in with the past.

99. My interest in the theses of Boutiere and Santangelo stems solely from the fact that their assumptions flatly contradict the picture of Provençal and Italian culture that Pound gives. If we can talk in terms of transmission by means of one single parent-manuscript, then the link between these two cultures becomes, literally, accidental. In so far as the assumptions of Boutière and Santangelo are those that lie behind the 'science' of manuscript-genealogy, it seems to me that these assumptions, widely-accepted as they are, do not come out well from a comparison with the assumption behind Pound's work on this period. Pound proposes a human culture which had a life beyond the letter of the manuscript, and which was important enough to its agents not to be governed by considerations which are, in artistic terms, trivial. Santangelo and those who support his method presuppose a culture whose protagonists only know of each others' work via highly-expensive collector's editions; where the making of these editions was governed by an

interest in poem-order and spelling worthy of a modern librarian (yet where more than 50% of the crucial readings inexplicably lack this characteristic); where knowledge of what was in those editions was limited to those few happy individuals who had them in their hands, so that, had a friend of Dante's not possessed one, the Divina Commedia would have been the less by the dramatic passages which contain Bertran de Born, Arnaut Daniel, Folquet de Marseille, Sordello and Cunizza; and where, as the final insult to the scientific nature of poetry, Dante is supposed to have had the same subservient attitude to the very letters of his sources that Santangelo imputes to the unfortunate scribes.

100. It is not within the scope of this chapter to detail Dante's debt to Provence, or the immediate means of his contracting it. For the former, I would agree with Mauvette's very reasonable conclusion (1) that it is not visible in particular borrowings (despite some striking instances, like the speech of Arnaut and even, as Mauvette acutely remarks (2), that of Folquet), but in the whole approach: 'Lorsque Dante a composé son premier sonnet, il n'avait peut-être pas encore lu un seul vers provençal; et pourtant il était tout pénétré de l'art et de la manière des Provençaux' (3)— and that is to put it at its lowest. For the means I would point out that the borrowing of forms from the 'Sicilian school' (whose representatives Guittone d'Arezzo and Bonagiunta di Lucca he nonetheless puts so firmly in their place) is not of great importance (4); the literary world Dante moved in, including the 'Sicilian school', would have been a nullity without Provence and its continuing influence.

101. It seems then that, so far as historical evidence can support what Pound has perceived by 'poetic intuition', that is by reading the poetry, about the cultural stream of Provence, that perception is supported. Pound asserts the personal factor in culture, and he exemplifies it in Canto VI. To him it was no more probable that Dante should have been ignorant of Sordello than that he himself, a friend of Ford Madox Ford as Dante was a friend of Cavalcanti, should have been ignorant of Rossetti. The chronology is almost the same; Rossetti died three years before Pound was born. The modern world, certainly, has a system of communications that is different from that of the mediaeval world; what Pound attacks is the idea that the mediaeval world had no system of communications. To use on a realistic plane what he has expressed poetically, namely that the gods are gods 'by speed of communication' (1): the troubadours, raising themselves by their art beyond the limitations of average mankind, were able to maintain an unbroken line of communication from Guilhem IX of Aquitaine to Dante; and this is what Canto VI asserts.

102. This last argument shows that Pound's exemplar, namely Sordello and his lady Cunizza, is indeed relevant to the problem. If we accept the idea of 'Cunizza white-haired in the house of the Cavalcanti' (1) as a true indication of verbal and personal traditions carrying knowledge of the troubadours into northern Italy, then clearly there can be no doubt that Dante knew of Sordello's political role (a point doubted also by Hauvette (2)); or that Dante knew Sordello wrote in Provençal, which Hauvette has likewise questioned (3). There are certain points which support the validity of this example. First there are the facts that Pound has pointed to: Sordello abducted

Cunizza and became her lover, and in view of the role of the lady's brothers Da Romano he must clearly have been on good terms with them. The affair was famous. We must assume that a certain rapport was established between troubadour and lady. There are indications that she was a lady of a certain vigour, not merely of easy virtue. In 1265 she is to be found at the house of Guido's father, Cavalcanto de' Cavalcanti, freeing the slaves of her brothers as we have seen in Cantos VI and XXIX. Not only does this take place in the house of Cavalcanti's father, at a time when Cavalcanti was not yet married and therefore persumably still at home, but the document cites as witnesses three persons from the house of the Farinati/degli Uberti. In 1267, two years later, Guido Cavalcanti was to marry the daughter of the illustrious Farinata de' Farinati.

103. But Sordello was not Cunizza's only contact with the world of Provençal poetry. Her brother Ezzelino had been a patron of troubadours, and notably of Uc de Saint Circ, who however turned against him (1); and of Guilhem Raimon, who wrote:

> When I came from Hungary
> Sir Ezzelino laughed
> Because with greetings and with messages
> I was crazy... (2)

Furthermore, Alberic, her other brother, not only acted as patron to Uc de Saint Circ, who is thought to have been the author of many vidas, but also caused to be made one of the manuscript anthologies of troubadour poetry that are now our only source for this culture. This anthology is now part of MS D, which says in its index: 'Hec sunt inceptiones cantionum de libro qui fuit domini Alberici et

nomina repertorum earundem cantionum'; it is accepted by scholars that the 'Alboricus' referred to is Cunizza's brother (3). Nor was Alberico a mere collector, but himself wrote excellent Provençal verse, two items of which have survived (4).

104. Cunizza, then, if anyone, should be an embodiment, a good hypothetical example of what we presume to be a large number of cases, of what I have called an 'oral tradition' of information about the troubadour culture. It is not possible here to give a history of the death of Provençal verse and the birth of the Italian; but it is possible to show that personal contacts and memories of the former must have abounded in northern Italy during the youth of Dante; and much more so during the youth of Guido Cavalcanti. Of Alberico da Romano, for example, Cortoni says that his name

> belongs with those of Manfredi Lancia, Alberto Malaspina, the Count of Biandrate and... Count Thomas II of Savoy. All these men not only protected the Provençal or Italian troubadours, but themselves delighted, among business and the cares of politics and affairs, in composing verse in the Provençal tongue. And they succeeded in a truly singular manner, to judge by the remains of their poetic activity that have reached us (1).

To the people of northern Italy in the thirteenth century it must have seemed at times, in fact, as if the culture of Provence had transported itself bodily to Italy. At the beginning of the century, with the disastrous Albigensian Crusade destroying their homeland, famous troubadours like Aimeric de Peguilhan and Uc de Saint Circ sought their fortune among the courts of northern Italy, and

especially the houses of Malaspina, Este, Da Romano, Savoy and Monferrat; they had been preceded at the end of the twelfth century by men like Peire Vidal, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and possibly even Arnaut Daniel (2). The flood seemed to reach a peak around 1220, to judge by the complaints which we have heard from Aimeric de Pegulhan about the 'crowds of jougleurs', including Cordello:

> And now the backbiters
> are two for every one of us... (3)

105. At this point, in the autumn of 1220, there arrived in Italy the victorious Emperor Frederick II, and a new era for the troubadours began (1). At his court many troubadour patrons met: Monferrato, Este, Malaspina, Carretto, Blandrate; not to mention the poets themselves, Duvalelli, Pegulhan, Folquet de Romans and Elias Cairol. During this period and among these circles the native Italian poetry began to arise: Giacomo da Lentino for instance, imitated by the troubadour Perdigon, and Stefano di Messina imitating the troubadour Rigaut de Berbezieu (2).

106. Now the Italian emulators of the troubadours in their own Provençal tongue, Cordello, Cigala and Calvo, become famous; while the 'Sicilian school' of Italian poetry grows, with poets like Guitton d'Arezzo and Bonagiunta di Lucca. The Provençalising Italians reach their apogee and die, in the person of Cordello, concurrently with the death of the 'Sicilian school' and the birth of the 'sweet new style'. Among the 'Sicilians' the interest in Provençal verse is intense: it is a friend of Guittone d'Arezzo who urges Uc Faidit to compose his Donat Proensal, or Provençal grammar,

'ad dandam doctrinam vulgaris provincialis et ad discernendum inter verum et falsum vulgare' (1). This concern to get the language correct, at a time (around 1240) when the influx of troubadours from the devastated Midi of France was drying up, is evident elsewhere: in the concern of men like Alberico da Romano to have the poetry written down in 'library editions' where before they had simply waited for an ad hoc copy, or for the jongleurs to come and sing it—most of the extant manuscript anthologies date from the Italy of this period and later—and in the activity of scholar-poets like Ferrarino di Ferrara. This vida of Ferrarino has been dated as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century:

> ...he was a jongleur and understood composition in Provençal better than any man who was ever in Lombardy and understood better the Provençal language. He knew letters very well, and was a better scribe than any man in the world and made many and beautiful books... He was always in the Este household. When it happened that the Marquis had a celebration at court, and the jongleurs who understood the Provençal language came to the Marquis, they all went around with Ferrarino and called him their master... And he made an abstract of all the songs of the good troubadours of the world;... (2)

107. Clearly Ferrarino, whose existence as a 'doctor grammatico' is well-attested (1), is only the centre of a cult; doubtless he dropped Provençalisms in his speech in much the same way as the young James Joyce in his 'Latin quarter hat' would have dropped bits of French; the cultural level is not necessarily high. But such

a fashion, an interest and a knowledge, however faddish, persisting at the end of the thirteenth century, is a very long way from the picture which is behind all the argumentation of Santangelo: a picture of a complete blackout of information, broken only by the ancestors of our surviving chansonniers.

103. That is the kind of thing that I mean by 'oral tradition', whether or not (as in the case of Ferrarino) it was backed up by documents; perhaps it would be useful here to amplify the idea of 'written tradition'. We shall see that it is the basis of Santangelo's textual work, as we have seen with his other arguments, that the only information on the troubadours extant in Dante's time was that enclosed in the pages of the relatives of our Provençal chansonniers. The assumption even that these anthologies were the only documentation available then seems to me unwarrantable.

109. We know that books, in mediaeval times, were expensive (1). The ordinary person would probably have less chance of buying one than has the modern working man of buying a car; considerably less. Book-making was a highly 'labour-intensive' industry. Now the actual mechanics of the troubadour culture in the South of France are more a subject of speculation than of knowledge to us; but a scholar so deeply-read in the troubadours as Stronski has asserted that a troubadour like Folquet de Marseille 'knew about the activity of every one of his colleagues.' (2)

110. Is it possible even for a moment to believe that such a network of information-diffusion, which at times seems almost instantaneous in action, should have depended on the chansonniers,

a means which it was only within the reach of great lords and merchants to provide? Certainly we have good reason to believe that the communications of the period were much more oral than they are now. Oral memory is thought to have been many times more efficient in the Middle Ages (1). Yet there are signs that the culture of the troubadours by no means depended on it. Many of the troubadours were educated in monasteries; the vidas say of some that they 'wrote well'—were good scribes. Their verse is full of reminiscences of authors like Ovid; since, at the time when their verse was appearing, Ovid had not yet been translated into the Romance languages, their learning in letters is undeniable (2). Now to assert this is not to contradict what Chaytor has said concerning the manner in which mediaeval men approached texts, an oral manner (3); but it implies that the troubadours were at ease with documents. To my knowledge, the lyric poetry of the troubadours is not like any of the types of poetry that occur in purely oral cultures, like that of the Jugoslav epic described by Lord; though the North French romances as Chaytor has explained them would fit into those patterns (4). Orally-transmitted poetry does not have intensive form, for it depends on permitting to the reciter a certain choice at every point between a number of formulae; otherwise the pressure on the memory is too great. An oral culture could not handle the Divine Comedy; and for the same reasons, though the troubadour's work is shorter, it could not handle Arnaut Daniel. If the poet needed pen and parchment to compose his work, there is no reason why the parchment should not have been handed to the troubadour's undoubtedly-literate colleagues, the jongleurs, and thence copied and plagiarized.

111. There are examples of this manner of transmission by scrap

of parchment. Avalle reproduces, in his work on the editing of Provençal MSS, an MS illumination showing an ecstatic poet composing at a desk with pen and parchment; and another showing Jean Bodel reading his Congé to friends from parchment (1). He cites several of Chaytor's examples on oral and parchment transmission, like this one from Jaufre Rudel:

> Without a parchment letter
> I send the poem, which we sing
> in simple vernacular
> to Sir Uc Brunone via Folhol... (2)

—written, he says, 'as if to underline the singularity of the event.' And though Avalle returns (3) to the old thesis that the surviving Provençal anthologies descend from at least one earlier generation of manuscripts, he includes among these earlier MSS possible 'manuscrits de jongleur' and collectors' copies; pointing out that only a continuous written tradition could have preserved the complex songs as entire as they are between the tire of poets like Marcabrun and the period of the anthologies.

112. Yet one could wish for much deeper research on the subject of the mechanisms of distribution in the troubadour culture. Avalle's book, one of the most recent on the subject of editing in this field, goes no further than borrowing from Chaytor's work, slim enough itself, on this subject of the physical mechanisms, before plunging once more into the quasi-science of manuscript 'genealogy' which after all depends on those mechanisms. I think no-one has noticed, for instance, the implications of the little razo about Arnaut Daniel and Richard Coeur de Lion. I have suggested elsewhere that this razo is built up by the writer from the coda to Arnaut's song (1):

but it should give a clear idea of the manner of writing poetry and delivering it in the thirteenth century, when the razo was probably written. It says:

> And it happened that he was at the court of King Richard of England, and while he was at the court, another jongleur bet him that he could compose in harder rhymes than he. Arnaut took this as a joke and they placed their horses as stakes, that he couldn't do it, with the King as judge. And the King shut each of them up in a room. And Sir Arnaut, because he was angry, was unable to put two words together. The jongleur made his song easily and quickly; and they only had ten days' time, and the King was to judge them in five days. The jongleur asked Sir Arnaut if he had done it, and Sir Arnaut said 'Yes'; three days had gone and he hadn't yet thought it out. And the jongleur sang his song all night, to learn it well. And Sir Arnaut thought how he could turn it into a joke; so that a night came, and the jongleur sang his song, and Sir Arnaut learns it all, and the tune. And when they were before the king, Sir Arnaut said he wanted to perform his song, and began very finely the song that the jongleur had made. And the jongleur, when he heard it, looked him in the eye and said he had made it. And the King asked how this could be; and the jongleur asked the King to find out the truth; and the King asked Sir Arnaut how it had come about. And Sir Arnaut told him how it all had happened, and the King was very pleased and took

> it all as a big joke; and they were acquitted of their bets, and he gave fine gifts to both of them... (2)

113. It is interesting first of all that the razo-writer should say 'they only had ten days' time'. On reflection, it would be hard to produce the finished pieces that form the troubadour corpus in less; but this rules out any memorial process known to the students of oral cultures. Then there are the jongleur's frenzied efforts to learn his piece: they prove that he was expected to recite it from memory, and that Arnaut was expected by the razo-writer to have been able to memorize it from hearing it (much as, according to Chaytor (1), jongleurs used their excellent oral memories to plagiarize others' productions); but they also prove that the author had composed it on parchment and not in his head, for otherwise he would not have had to learn it.

114. This suggestion that the troubadours used bits of parchment is not new; Cröber already spoke of 'Liederblätter' in this context (1); but it makes nonsense of the purpose and method of Santangelo's book. If the piece of ad hoc parchment was a standard tool of the troubadours' and jongleurs' profession, is it possible to imagine that every specimen would have disappeared from North Italy between the time when the troubadours ceased to frequent the courts, and the period of Dante's apprenticeship, a matter of twenty years, when we know that the subject remained a dilettante and literary interest throughout this time? Not only is this unlikely, but in view of Santangelo's difficulties in working on it as an assumption, it seems impossible.

115. It therefore seems to me that the value of Pound's para-historical method, for our knowledge of the governing factors in this area of history, is proven. Taken as a parable or myth, the story of Sordello, Cunizza and Cavalcanti fits the case in all its implications; taken as a suggestion in itself, it has every chance of being historically 'true'. It is therefore some validation of the basic Frobenian theorem (1), that the nature of civilizations can be deduced from their art-product, for the art-product is where Pound began.

SECTION TWO

CHAPTER SEVEN: MEANINGS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF CANTO VI

1. The purpose of this whole section, as I said at the beginning (1), is at once to show Pound's approach to the main points of the troubadour culture, and to explicate Canto VI. This Canto tries to follow a thread of cultural causation from the very beginning of the troubadours until their virtual extinction. To understand it, a great volume of information is necessary, and I have tried to provide this. Having given a context at great length, I shall now try to show how the main points work. For detailed citation of the sources, see Appendix One.

2. Canto VI presupposes and attempts to prove the validity of a certain attitude towards culture. It assumes, first, that principles of causality can be applied to culture; that is, that not only can we tell the condition of society from the art-product, but we can vice versa show that an improved condition of society produces a finer cultural product. This whole outlook is best developed by Pound using Frobenius as a base, but Pound did not start reading Frobenius until about 1925 (1); causality is nonetheless there in Pound's mind much earlier, in this Canto for example (2). I attempt to show how it developed when I discuss his ideas about the heretics of Provence. The idea is best put into action by attempting to create conditions under which artists can work fruitfully, thereby benefiting society to the maximum degree; and this is done by enlightened patronage and by allowing artists to use each others' experience. This is one of Pound's fundamental conceptions about cultural 'Vorticos', and we have seen him applying it to Bertran de Born, Bernart de Ventadorn and Arnaut Daniel (3).

3. Canto VI assumes secondly that one's personal level of cultivation or perception has an influence on other people, and that therefore, a level of awareness can be passed on through generations by personal contact. We have discussed at length a prime exemplar of this, namely the relations between Sordello and Cunizza and the persistence of the love-lyric into Italy. Extended over several generations, this concept turns into one of 'dynasty', and Pound accepts the aristocratic implications of this. He believes with Confucius that

> One humane family can humanize a whole state; one courteous family can lift a whole state into courtesy; one grasping and perverse man can drive a nation to chaos. Such are the seeds of movement [semina rerum, the inner impulses of the tree]... (1)

These semina rerum are the seeds that are blown from the religious citadel of Montsegur (2); in LXXXVII, quoting Machiavelli's 'gli uomini vivono in pochi', they are:

> in pochi,
>
> causa notuum,
>
> pine wood splitting cliff's edge.
>
> Only sequoias are slow enough.
>
> MinBin 'is beauty'.
>
> 'Slowness is beauty.' (3)

4. As this Canto argues, the seeds may be minute, and they may grow slowly; but they grow. Now if one man can influence a whole state, obviously it must be through others. Hence one of the main themes of the Cantos: the voyage in search of knowledge, the necessity of searching out wise men; they may have a secret to pass on.

Pound believes that there is a special quality of communication effectible only in person. He has defined the culture of an age as 'what you can pick up and/or get in touch with, by talk with the most intelligent men of the period?' (1) If this is so, then obviously the family or household will be a major means of transmitting civilization. Pound seems almost to have carried around a pressure-gauge for the evaluation of conversation; Ford Madox Ford's was better than that of Yeats, 'consisting in res non verba' (2), and something more subtle than conversation is recorded in Pound's remarks on the music of the Dolmetsch family (3). Thus we have come across 'Cunizza, white-haired in the House of the Cavalcanti' scattered throughout Pound's works and functioning often as an agent for the transmission of cultural energy.

5. Those things being so, 'Dynasty' naturally recurs as a subsidiary theme in the Cantos. In China a dynasty was always regarded as a coherent entity. When a dynasty fell, as Pound informs Eliot, it was specifically because it had forgotten the Confucian doctrine, and become wrong-headed. It necessarily thereby lost the 'Decree of Heaven'. The dynasty that he chooses to illustrate this is an American one:

> ...if he would consider the dynasty of the Adamses he would see that it was precisely because it lacked the Confucian law that his family lost the Celestial Decree. (1)

The Adams family is in fact an important exemplar to Pound, and it strikes him as something of a pity that the Adamses were not quite wise enough to retain the Celestial Decree: 'Popular hatred of the monarchist idea hampered Adams throughout his life' (2), and

> Lacked not who said that John Adams disliked not so much the idea of a monarch as preferred Braintree House over Hanover... and his son, seeking light from the stars deplored that representatives be paralyzed by the will of constituents. (3)

6. But there are dynasties without power, which like that of Cunizza operate as transmitters of cultural energy, or multiple-phase Vortices, and Pound came to regard his own as one of these. His consciousness of the qualities of the American race is evident in Patria Mia, in his endless argument with W.C. Williams over which of them was the more genuinely American (1), and in the Henry-James-style autobiography Indiscretions. It comes out in remarks about his own house: 'The frontier aristocracy was, of necessity, a physical aristocracy. The others died or weakened. My grandfather used to wrestle with his lumberjacks not only for sport, but to maintain his prestige. Lincoln was the last president of this race and this tradition.' (2) And naturally Pound was pleased when he discovered that his grandfather was involved in that central fight for honesty and the natural order, the fight against usury:

> It was only when my father brought some old newspaper clippings to Rapallo in 1928 that I discovered that T.C.P[ound] had already in 1878 been writing about, or urging among his fellow Congressmen, the same essentials of monetary and statal economics that I am writing about today. (3)

7. We shall see, discussing Pound's ideas on the Provençal

heretics, how he takes those ideas of family to their logical conclusion and equates some parts of the 'millenial conspiracy' with groups like the aristocratic Ghibellines of Florence (1); and how, legitimately as it seems, he equates the 'specific gravity' of the troubadour culture with that of the Duecento Ghibellines (2).

8. It seems to me that, if one is able to keep in mind all the relevant contexts, these ideas of causation and dynasty are clear in Canto VI:

> What you have done, Odysseus,
> We know what you have done...
> And that Guillaume sold out his ground rents
> (Seventh of Poitiers, Ninth of Aquitain).
> 'Tant las fotei com suzirets
> 'Cen e quatre vingt e voit vetz...'
> The stone is alive in my hand, the crops
> will be thick in my death-year...
> Till Louis is wed with Eleanor
> And had (He, Guillaume) a son that had to wife
> The Duchess of Normandie whose daughter
> Was wife to King Henry e maire del rei jove...
> Went over sea till day's end (he, Louis, with Eleanor)
> Coming at last to Acre.
> 'Ongla, oncle' turned Arnaut,
> Her uncle commanded in Acre,
> That had known her in girlhood
> (Theseus, son of Aegeus)
> And he, Louis, was not at ease in that town,

And was not at ease by Jordan
As she rode out to the palm-grove
Her scarf in Saladin's cimier.
Divorced her in that year, he Louis,
divorcing thus Aquitaine.
And that year Plantagenet married her
(that had dodged past 17 suitors)
Et quand le rois Lois le entendit
mout er fasche.
Hauphal, Voxin, Harry joven
In pledge for all his life and life of all his heirs
Shall have Gisors, and Voxin, Neufchantel
But if no issue Gisors shall revert...
'Need not wed Alix... in the name
Trinity holy indivisible... Richard our brother
Need not wed Alix once his father's ward and...
But whomso he choose... for Alix, etc...

Eleanor, donna jauzionda, mother of Richard,
Turning on thirty years (wi have been years before this)
By river-marsh, by galleried church-porch,
Malemorte, Corraze, to whom:
'My Lady of Ventadour
'Is shut by Eblis in
'And will not hawk nor hunt
nor get her free in the air
'Nor watch fish rise to bait
'Nor the glare-wing'd flies alight in the crook's edge

'Save in my absence, Madame.
"Que la lauzeta mover"
'Send word I ask you to Ebli
you have seen that maker
'And finder of songs so far afield as this
'That he may free her,
who sheds such light in the air.'

E lo Sordels si fo di Mantovana,
Son of a poor knight, Sier Escort,
And he delighted himself in chançons
And mixed with the men of the court
And went to the court of Richard Saint Boniface
And was there taken with love for his wife
Cunizza, da Romano,
That freed her slaves on a Wednesday
Magnatas et servos, witness
Picus de Farinatis
and Don Elinus and Don Lipus
sons of Farinato de' Farinati
'free of person, free of will
'free to buy, witness, sell, testate.'
A marito subtraxit ipsam...
dictum Sordellum concubuisse:
'Winter and Summer I sing of her grace,
As the rose is fair, so fair is her face,
Both Summer and Winter I sing of her,
The snow makyth me to remember her.'

And Cairola was of Saxlat...

Theseus from Troezene,

Whom they wd. have given poison

But for the shape of his sword-hilt.

9. The Canto begins with acts that lead to fertilization. Odysseus goes down into Hades at the beginning of the Canto; he returns to the region of the dead to find the clue before he can return home to found a dynasty. This journey involves the 'Nekuia', the descent into Hades, but is part of the larger 'Nostos' or return to his homeland, as in Canto I:

'Odysseus

'Shalt return through spiteful Neptune, over dark seas,

'Lose all companions.' (1)

Guilhem IX of Aquitaine similarly journeyed to a distant land, crusading in 1101 as far as Jerusalem at the head of an army of 160,000 (2). This disastrous journey, during which Guilhem may possibly have been imprisoned by the Saracens (3), together with the campaign against the Moors of Spain in 1120 (4), has always been cited by those who see Arab traits in Provençal poetry as a possible point of contact. Thus Pound:

And Poictiers, you know, Guillaume Poictiers,

had brought the song up out of Spain

with the singers and viols. (5)

Pound similarly sees close contacts between the art of Provence and that of the Byzantine Empire (6), and contact with this Empire seems to have had an effect on Guilhem IX and his granddaughter Eleanor. (7)

10. This contact seems to have been liberating, in her case

sexually; and Pound, very much concerned in these early Cantos to see patterns of life-renewal in sympathetic magic (he saw Frazer as fundamental), draws a parallel here between cultural, political and sexual fertilization. In order to go crusading, Guilhem 'sold out his ground rents'--sold, in fact, one of his richest counties (1). This act is like that recommended by Bertran de Born, with Pound's support: 'Barons, metetz en gatge...' --'Barons, put in pawn before you make war...' (2) We have seen Bertran's phallic, fertilizing role translated by Pound into terms of feudal generosity with money (3). So Guilhem IX in this Canto is free with his sexual 'coin', in the song from which Pound quotes:

I f----- them as much as you will hear,
A hundred and eighty-eight times,... (4)

And in accordance with the role of the sacrificial king in the sympathetic religions described by Frazer (5), Guilhem's return to the earth will be a physical as well as a spiritual refertilization: 'the crops / will be thick in my death-year...'

11. The Canto then shifts (line 9) to Guilhem's grand-daughter Eleanor, with a faulty genealogy taken from the Provençal vida of Guilhem (1), and mentions the marriage to Louis VII of France, and the subsequent marriage to Henry II Plantagenet, in which Eleanor became 'mairo del rei jove', 'mother of (Henry) the Young King'. Going back in time, there is Eleanor's journey to the Holy Land with Louis on the Second Crusade, and the unpleasantness caused by her affair with her uncle Raymond of Antioch, not to mention the (apocryphal) flirt with Saladin (2). Pound seems to suggest at this point:

'Ongla, oncle' turned Arnaut,
Her uncle commanded in Acre,

--that Eleanor is simultaneously having an affair with Arnaut Daniel, who says in his song that he will seduce the lady under the nose of her uncle:

> Firm desire that doth enter
> My heart will not be hid by bolts or railing...
> Yea, by some jest, there where no uncle enters
> I'll have my joy in garden or in chamber.
>
> I remember oft that chamber
> Where, to my loss, I know that no man enters
> But leaves me free as would a brother or uncle... (3)

12. Now Theseus enters this passage, being the hero who carried off Eleanor's alter ego in the Cantos, Helen of Troy, before she was nubile. Obviously there is a parallel with the relations that Eleanor had with Raymond of Antioch, who, the Canto says, 'had known her in girlhood'. Eleanor 'had been only a child of five or six when he had left Poitiers for the English court'(1); it is as if an early liaison had been put off for twenty years, just as the liaison between Theseus and Helen was broken until the girl had been brought up to a marriageable age by Theseus' mother. There may also be a reference to 'confusion/ Exits of renewals' (2), for the mention of Theseus comes in the middle of the affairs of Eleanor in Palestine. Her descent is, at the least, dubious, since she is the daughter of Guilhem's son and the daughter of Guilhem's quondam mistress (3); similarly Theseus is known as 'son of Aegeus' but was probably fathered by Poseidon, god of the sea. This god-man promiscuity is seen by Pound as a source of renewal.

13. Pound then (lines 23-28) briefly relates the collusion of Eleanor's marriage to Louis, and the subsequent transfer of her patrimony (the dukedom of Aquitaine) to Henry II Plantagenet. This event, of course, formed the basis of the Hundred Years' War much later; but Pound is not concerned with that. He is concerned to bring across the drive and energy of the houses that Eleanor and Henry Plantagenet represented (1), in strong contrast with the 'monk' Louis whose reaction to the news of the new alliance is given in Pound's own Old French: 'He was very angry'. In fact Louis declared war on them (2), but with no conclusive result; throughout the rest of his reign he was outfought by Plantagenet.

14. Immediately following this at line 29, Canto VI begins to quote from a 'document' (put together by Pound) representing the agreement of August 1150 between Henry and Louis, by which Henry the Young King was to marry Louis' first daughter by his second wife. This agreement settled a long-standing dispute over the Vexin territory, by settling it on the Young King as a dowry. Unfortunately, while Louis regarded it as a future arrangement (the bride at this time was three years old), Henry pushed the marriage through and took the territory. Then at line 33 we have the same territory in question in an actual document of much later, in fact 1191, when another political betrothal-settlement between these two families was finally cleared up. In about 1169 another son of Henry, Richard Lionheart, had been betrothed to Louis' daughter Adila; 22 years later they were still unmarried, and Philippe-Auguste, complaining received the answer that the girl had been interfered with by Richard's father. The Vexin was still a point of dispute, and was cleared up by giving it finally to the Plantagenets when Alix was returned. Again, the subject of

this part of Canto VI is the turbulent marital affairs of the Henry-Eleanor alliance.

15. Then this 'donna jauziosda' ('gay lady') Eleanor is seen (lines 37-53) in her involvement with the chief art-form of the time, the troubadour poetry. Her involvement is not in aesthetics, but in the subject-matter that gave rise to those aesthetics: love-affairs. Bernart de Ventadorn has been banished by the lord of the castle in which he grew up, Eblis, for showing too much interest in his wife; while the lady herself is guarded close. In the Provençal vida of Bernart from which most of this is taken, Bernart simply goes to Eleanor (the 'Duchess of Normandy') as to another patroness (1); but Pound has him seeking help from her, by asking her to certify to Eblis that Bernart is safely distant, so that the lady may be let out.

16. As I have explained elsewhere (1), this has to do with an idea of Pound's that the 'Audiart of Malamort' of his own 'Na Audiart' poem (based on Bertran de Born) was in fact Eleanor herself. This makes her (according to the Provençal prose) the friend of the Maria de Ventadorn whom Pound seems to identify with Eblis' wife, Bernart's lady. This supposed friendship between Eleanor/Audiart and the lady of Ventadorn makes the situation doubly complicated when, as happens in the Provencal vida (2), Bernart then falls in love with Eleanor herself, 'et ella de lui', and she with him. But the atmosphere of this part of Canto VI is one of shimmering clarity, of summer and bright nature, and is the atmosphere which Pound feels (as we have seen in passages concerning Arnaut Daniel (3)) to embody the Provençal ethic and aesthetic more than any other; and that atmosphere is concentrated in the Bernart poem cited ('Quan vei la lauzeta mover...',

'When I see the lark move its wings for joy against the light, so that it forgets itself and lets itself fall' (4)) and in the line from Cavalcanti at the end of the paragraph.

17. But we have already seen a suggestion, in an earlier part of the Canto, that Eleanor of Aquitaine was also involved with Arnaut (1). She may, it seems to me, be the lady with whom Arnaut is seen talking in another passage of Arnaldian clarity:

So Arnaut turned there
Above him the wave-pattern cut in the stone
Spire-top slewed the well-curb
And the tower with cut stone above that, saying:
'I am afraid of the life after death.'
and after a pause:
'Now, at last, I have shocked him.' (2)

This, in a passage where woman is a 'submarine, she is an octopus, she is / A biological process', must show Eleanor as jolting Arnaut into some kind of perception by the very 'chaos' of her femininity. It raises and perhaps answers the question of Eleanor's role in these Cantos: if Pound's women are, as it appears (3), either disorganized destroyers or goddesses radiating order, into which category does Eleanor come? In Canto II she is placed quite firmly with Helen of Troy, as 'ship-destroyer' and 'city-destroyer' (4), and at the beginning of Canto VII (therefore immediately following the text we are dealing with) she is again

Eleanor (she spoiled in a British climate)
<u>Helendrae</u> and <u>Helentolia</u> (5)

But her role in Canto VI is quite clearly the opposite of 'man-destroyer':

though Pound might well think she could destroy some men. In Pound's mature views of the sexual relation, it seems to be the very chaos of the female nature that arouses the male's energizing drive (6); and therefore, the more female the better, providing that the male's faculty of control is sufficiently-developed. 'Restraint' is the part of the Provençal aesthetic that Pound praises in the 'Cavalcanti' essay (7).

18. The polarisation of the sexes, as looked for by Rémy de Gourmont in the 'Physique de l'Amour' (1), is what fertilizes, and the demonstration for Pound is his belief that the magnificently-energetic household of Henry II Plantagenet and of Eleanor of Aquitaine was the focus of the three greatest troubadours of their day: Bernart, Arnaut and Bertran (2).

19. Pound then proceeds to 'prove' in the most effective manner possible, namely by demonstration of poetic atmosphere, that the Italian Duecento culture derived its chief energy from this cultural dynasty. The paragraph concerning Bernart de Ventadorn and Eleanor, which attempts to reproduce the tone-colours of Bernart's poem of the lark and of those other parts of Arnaut, Bertran and Bernart that I have tried to isolate elsewhere (1), ends with a line from Cavalcanti, 'who sheds such light in the air' (2). Chronologically out of place, this line nonetheless continues the atmosphere established by Pound in the Provençal situation, and demonstrates at least to my satisfaction that there is an important continuity. The following paragraph suggests the means for this continuity into Italy.

20. It relates (1) in a straightforward manner, following the

Provençal vida, the career of Sordello as far as his affair with Cunizza, and then transfers to her personal dealings in her old age. It says in Provençal that Sordello was from Mantua (2), thus inferring that Sordello lived in a Provençal-imbued culture, and it shows the process by which that surrounding culture educated his sensibility. All these points I have gone into elsewhere at great length (3), and especially the illogic of that view of Provence and Italy which places a great and arbitrary gulf between them. In this passage of Canto VI we see Cunizza freeing her slaves in her old age, at the Cavalcanti house where she was then living, in an act witnessed by relatives of the Guido Cavalcanti who was to grow up in that house (4). Cavalcanti, Pound considers, was a formative influence of the first importance on the mind of Dante. Cunizza, like Eleanor, was not one to deny herself sexual pleasures, and Pound quotes from the account by Eolandino of her abduction, but one of many escapades in an eventful and long life; again, like that of Eleanor. But once more a certain sexual freedom does not hinder, in fact seems to contribute to, the beneficent effect of this lady on the surrounding culture; Pound points this out by translating verses by Sordello, that, as I have said elsewhere, carry a quiet and obsessive beauty (5).

21. We thus have in this Canto a complete chronological picture of one possible line of development in Provençal culture. It forms a 'dynasty' which at times coincides with a physical dynasty, that of Guilhem IX and his matrilineal descendants, but which is capable of bringing up to its own level men of poor origins, like Sordello. In each generation it renews itself not by anxious conservation of dead images of the past, not by a kind of cultural classicism, but by sexual/monetary/cultural 'investment' on a large scale, which is why

the Provençal poetry is not a static but an evolving art. If the Canto has a 'message' it is that the heritage of the past can only be refertilized by those who are capable of living also in the present; culture is not dead.

22. It ends with a pair of allusions to an obscure troubadour, and to one of the escapes of Theseus. This Elias Cairel was, says the vida,

> of Sarlat, from a town of Périgord, and he worked gold and silver and designed arms. And he became a jongleur and travelled for a long time. He sang badly and composed badly and played the viol badly and spoke worse, and wrote down words and music well. He was for a long time in Romania, and when he left there, he returned to Sarlat, and there he died. (1)

Here we have the very opposite of a living culture; it is for example in the spirit of Elias Cairels, the scholarly and conserving spirit, that the bourgeois of Toulouse and Bologna attempted to perpetuate the Provençal lyric, and their results were not worthy of the effort. Elias was and remained of the artisan-class, neither attaching himself to a patron of discernment nor seeking the company of good fellow-artists. He thus remained, like those later schools of poetry in Pound's eyes (2), provincial.

23. Theseus links in a strange way with Elias Cairel by the fact of his sword-hilt, for Elias 'designed arms'. (The only reasonable interpretation of this phrase is that he engraved on them (1).) But Theseus is at this point in the mythology saving himself from

his turbulent family, for Aegeus' wife attempts to have him poisoned; and we are back, by poetic sleight-of-hand, in the aristocratic, dangerous, but alive world of the best Provençal culture. It seems to me that Canto VI in fact offers at the same time an excellent summary of that culture, and a plausible explanation of the way it worked.

24. As historiography, the Canto shows Pound's main principles in action. It shows, first, a rigorous selectivity; there are very many important centres of Provençal culture that this picture simply ignores, and some of them have claims to pre-eminence which are far more obvious and easily-proved than those of the foci chosen by Pound. However, Pound wishes to demonstrate the operation of a certain kind of historical factor. To have included all those events and elements which did not exhibit this would merely have been to weaken the presentation of his case; nor is this approach dishonest, since the inclusive and systematic negation of all opposing arguments is not ultimately convincing, nor does it make fruitful reading.

25. Canto VI also shows Pound attempting to keep the idiom of his originals. Sometimes this works by direct quotation, either from that part of a troubadour's work which seems to Pound to concentrate the <u>virtù</u> of the man (1) (thus the lines from Guilhem IX and Bernart de Ventadorn (2)), or from a document which seems likewise to carry in it the mental attitudes of an epoch: thus the naivety of the pieces of <u>vida</u>, the pomp of the Cunizza document, and the innocent lechery of the account of her abduction (3). Alternatively, Pound concocts documents when he cannot find them, and this method has not been

noticed by critics (4), since they have had to rely to such an extent on the inadequate Annotated Index. As a method this seems to be legitimate to the extent to which Pound captures the tone of what he is dealing with; and he would undoubtedly have preferred to make his 'forgeries' so good that no-one would feel them out of place. With his Old French, here and elsewhere (5), he is not successful in this. Sometimes Pound translates, but only where he feels he has found a genuine and adequate equivalent, one capable of conveying to us precisely what the original conveyed to contemporary readers. In this he has been particularly successful, it seems to me, with the line

And that Guillaume sold out his ground rents

Anyone reading through the acts of the kings of this period will be struck by the endless grants of manors, exemptions and petty fiscal settlements with which they took up their time. This was their living; a king with a bad eye for the 'profit and loss' would soon be in as sticky a position as a supermarket chain with bad buyers; and many a local war was fought over disputed dues (6). In this and other ways a mediaeval lord was like a modern property magnate. This is the kind of essential resemblance at which Pound excels, and brings out often so subtly as to escape one's notice. More obvious successes in 'poetic equivalent' are the Cordelle passage, whose qualities I have already referred to (7), and the meeting between Eleanor and Bernart, suffused with that clarity found in Bernart's own lyrics.

26. Juxtaposition also, as a method of history-writing, operates here effectively. To place the marital complications of the Plant-agenets next to the 'fisher-king' role of Guilhem IX is immediately to suggest that there is a causal connection; but that connection is only as strong as the reader feels it to be demonstrated by the force

of the individual components. On a smaller scale, the eight lines with which the Canto begins tell us things about the fruitful past, about fiscal and sexual fertilization, and about the importance for society as a whole of such a liberating figure as Guilhem IX, simply by putting together four components that would normally seem quite disparate. The important effect of this, and one about which I have elsewhere been sceptical (1), is that not only do Guilhem, sex and sympathetic magic tell us something about the role of Odysseus, but also Odysseus, Guilhem's fiscality and his sex tell us something about sympathetic magic; and so on; each group of components throws light on any one of them. As a practical demonstration of the multiple interaction of 'causes', this Canto seems to me quite convincing.

27. Given that Pound sets up in this Canto propositions about which one cannot be more than neutral (for instance that Eleanor was at different times the lady addressed by Arnaut, by Bertrand and by Bernart, and that Sordello's Lady Cunizza effected a qualitative change in the environment of Cavalcanti's youth); propositions which at the same time, we have seen, have an immense potential as 'symbolic' representations of the workings of civilization; and that in order to show the protagonists in the precise light that will bring out the nature of their actions, Pound is willing to invent sources; it seems an obvious conclusion that he is here making myth. I have to admit that this poetry fulfils most of the requirements of myth— 'an impersonal or objective story woven out of [a man's] own emotion, as the nearest equation that he was capable of putting into words' (1); or of epic, 'a poem including history' (2), 'an encrustation of 'beautiful lies' (3). Our age has discovered, after all, that ancient myth and epic are capable of yielding important truths on the purely

historical level. My only reasons for not calling Canto VI an example of mythopoeia are, first, that its author appears to believe everything in it as historical truth (4); and second, that to do so would tend to distract the attention of students of history from Pound's important contributions to their area of knowledge.

SECTION THREE: POUND AND THE 'CATHAR' HERETICS

CHAPTER ONE: SECRET LITERARY CODES

Evidence that Pound does not accept the general view of the 'Cathars'

1. I do not think that the word 'Cathar' occurs in Pound's published works; the majority of his readers may not be aware that there is any connection in his mind between the troubadours, whom they may regard as a personal interest arising from Pound's early romanticism and continued obsession with craftsmanship, and the sect, generally defined in the history-books as a throwback from dualist Manichaeism (1). When I advance the evidence that Pound saw a connection, it will seem trivial. There is a reason for this, as Pound notes in Canto 74:

> and they dug [Erigena] up out of sepulture
> sol disantly looking for Manichaeans.
> Les Albigeois, a problem of history,
> ...
> Tempus tacendi, tempus loquendi. (2)

In other words, the Albigensians, another name for the Cathars, are not suitable for public debate. Yet in other places Pound says that the subject of a genuine religion is 'fool-proof'; these are

> the mysteries self-defended, the mysteries that can not be revealed. Fools can only profane them. The dull can neither penetrate the arcanum nor divulge it to others. (3)

If this is so, then explaining the mysteries will only strengthen the tradition that, as Pound says in his 'Catechism', 'tells us to be ready to look' (4). The prophets of the new renaissance will not profane the secrets:

They who are skilled in fire
shall read 易 tan the dawn
Waiving no jot of the arcanum. (5)

2. Yet everything Pound says about the Cathars is in hints. The passage I have quoted about the 'mysteries that can not be revealed' is nonetheless not in a very complete justification of esotericism:

...prose is NOT education but the outer courts of the same. Beyond its doors are the mysteries. Eleusis. Things not to be spoken save in secret...

"Il sait vivre," said Brancusi of Léger. This must also be said of the catechumens before they pass the third door. It is quite useless for me to refer men to Provence, or to speculate on Erigena in the market place. (1)

Already there can be seen a quite open attempt, as it were, to deter the reader by hinting of treasure; to draw him on by putting him off. The warning is as in Dante,

O voi che siete in piccolotto barca (2)

—'O you who are in a small vessel, / Wishing to hear.../ Don't set out to sea, for perhaps, / Losing me, you would be lost forever'—a warning echoed literally by Pound at the end of the Thrones Canto (3), and by all mystics fearful for the spiritual safety of weaker brethren. Already associated with these warnings we find the Cathars (Albigeasians); the Manichaeans, negatively; Eleusis, Provence and Scotus Erigena.

3. Erigena, in the statements I have quoted so far, is connected with Albigeasianism, and, by the authorities, with Manichaeism; also with Provence, and with mysteries, in particular those of Eleusis. The troubadours do not so far come in. Yet we have seen that Pound considers a very particular spiritual state to have underlain the culture of

Provence (1); also that he sees strong continuity between this culture and that of Cavalcanti and Dante (2). The following remarks are therefore interesting:

> Says Valli, all those /dolce stil nove/ poets were Ghibelline. That seems to be a provable assertion, while the rest of his, Valli's, wanderings in search of a secret language (for Dante, Guido and the rest of them) are, at mildest estimate, unconvincing. "Something" behind it? Certainly "something" behind it or beyond it. Which the police called "Manichaean" knowing nothing either of Manes or of anything else. (3)

We shall have more to say on Valli and the connection between Cavalcanti and the troubadours; but if the connection in Pound's mind be accepted for the moment, what he is saying is clear: that-which-the-authorities-labelled-'Manichaean' was the spiritual force behind 'these roots', including the troubadours.

4. But there is one outstanding doctrine that the Cathars are supposed to have inherited from the Manichaeans, and it is that the material world is evil, being the creation of a Principle which is in total opposition to the Light, to God. Yet Pound is at some pains to insist that the troubadours have no part of this Manichaean doctrine:

> Erotic sentimentality we can find in Greek and Roman poets, and one may observe that the main trend of Provençal and Tuscan poets is not toward erotic sentimentality.
>
> But they are not pagans, they are called pagans, and the troubadours are also accused of being Manichaeans, obviously because of a muddle somewhere. They are opposed to a form of stupidity not limited to Europe, that is, idiotic asceticism and a belief that the body is evil. (1)

One important implication is not rejected: that the troubadours are to be associated with the religious phenomenon, whatever it was, that occurred in contemporary Provence; but Pound says that this phenomenon was not ascetic. His view could not be more opposed to that of most recent historians; to give an idea of the temper of the latter I shall quote here from the argument of a chapter on Cathar ethics by Guiraud, who, as we shall see, is representative (2).

> Cathar morals follow from Cathar pessimism.— Hate of life.— The endura suicide.— The Cathar nirvana.— Abstinences and fasts.— Reasons for Cathar vegetarianism.— Duty of absolute chastity for Perfecti.— Condemnation of marriage and procreation.— Debauch preferable to marriage... (3)

5. I want to discuss this contradiction, but first it is necessary to clear up the terminology. For the majority of modern students of the subject, the term 'Cathar', like the term 'Albigensian' and certain others, denotes 'that dualist sect whose doctrinal origins were in Manichaeism and which was suppressed by the Church in southern France in the early thirteenth century'. Some historians even refer to these sectarians as 'the neo-Manichaeans' (1). Now Pound suggests that there was indeed a sect in thirteenth-century Provence that the Church suppressed, but that it had nothing to do with the Manichaeans. Therefore, to avoid prejudging the issue, to avoid accepting in advance either that there was <u>one</u> sect only or that it was dualist (believing in Two Principles, as did the Manichaeans), I shall refer simply to 'heretics', meaning thereby those persons whom the Church felt to be a threat to its existence in Provence.

6. But how did Pound reach the view that the existence of the troubadour poetry was related to the existence of the heretics, and in

what way did he think it was related? First we could consider the development of this view, and secondly its rationale in a mature form. Causality was always very important to Pound. He had a strong interest in science, one that reached in mathematics beyond the simplicities of algebra to the mysteries of calculus (1). His earlier writings on subjects like the troubadours are peppered with scientific analogies, like sparkplugs and steam-engines (2); and his later theories are often supported by reference to modern scientific method (3). His great effort in the early letters to Americans like Williams and Harriet Monroe was to show that the contemporary standard of American letters had a cause: parochialism (4). He was attracted to Confucius chiefly because the philosopher suggested a causation in human affairs, or, as the Cantos have it, that there is some connection 'between criminality and calamity' (5). He expended his enormous energy with such conviction because he believed that causality was inexorable (6); he could be the cause of good effect just as much as anyone else, and to precisely the degree to which his actions were rooted in understanding of his own motives (7).

7. Pound therefore desired to know the causality of art. First perhaps elitism offered itself, to explain why great art occurred here and not there, now and not then: Pound went round in peculiar clothes at college to accentuate his difference from the herd (1), for, like the Rossettis and Holman-Hunts of earlier decades, he was born peculiar, and his art was but one manifestation of his superiority. The culture that grew great was the one that knew how to use these wandering geniuses: 'The poetry [of Provence], as a whole, is the poetry of a democratic aristocracy, which swept into itself, or drew about it, every man with wit or a voice.' (2) Then, in accordance with the Protestant work-ethic which put fire into his denunciation

of slackers all through his life, found probably decided that labour, labor limae, was the chief causal factor, and that is why he preferred Arnaut Daniel to Cordello, whose labours were hidden (3). In all this his thinking had constantly to adjust itself, exactly as Confucian theory said it should (4), to the reality of poetry; for Pound never, to my perception, 'cut off the nose and ears' (5) of a poem to fit it to a theory. This kept him from ever being too mechanistic, from equating work simply with success. In the 'Psychology and Troubadours' theory, work, or mental effort, is what builds up the tension against the obstacle either of woman or of the monastic life, but the 'spark' that then may result is not measurable in terms of the work, but in 'divine' or beyond the normal human plane (6).

Literary codes for heresies

6. In view of the complexity of the poetic phenomenon, Pound was naturally tireless in his search for causes, and interested in any new theories that were offered. In the cases of Provence and of Dugento Italy, there has been no lack of theories, and, T.E. Jackson's assertion to the contrary notwithstanding (1), Pound followed them closely. They all suggest a spiritual precondition to the troubadour or Tuscan cultures, and all claim that the evidence is the poetry itself, which is a code concealing secret heretic messages. In the Philadelphia Book News Monthly, as early as 1906, Pound published the following remarks:

> Of all this year's publications of that nervy little bookshop of E. Sansot, which lucky wanderers in Paris will fall upon in the Rue St André des Arts 'on the other side of the river', perhaps the book most filled with the snap of brilliant conclusions, arrived at by the sort of argument that most persuadeth, is Péladan's

Le Secret des Troubadours. The theme is the descent of the idealist from Parsifal to Don Quixote.

...Péladan's Origine et Esthétique de la Tragédie (1905) is, however, a contradiction of this, being apparently sound, and brim full of clear views of the drama from its Greek beginnings in the Mysteries of Eleusis to the point in literature where Sancho Panza takes unto himself the functions of the chorus of Euripides.

In Le Secret... Péladan invades the realm of uncertainty when he fills in the gap between these two with four centuries of troubadours singing allegories in praise of a mystic extra-church philosophy or religion, practiced by the Albigensians, and the cause of the Church's crusade against them. (2)

9. Found later knew of, and recommended, the volume which seems to be at the root of this line of thinking: Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Il mistero dell'amor platonico nel Medioevo, of 1840 (1). Péladan in fact refers to Rossetti's work (2) and so does Gourmont (3). To quote Valli,

> Rossetti, whether he perceived it by a happy intuition, or whether (as seems to me more probable) he learned it from a tradition among the Rosicrucian brothers, to whom he belonged, hold that the love-poetry of the Middle Ages was constructed in a conventional code [4] whereby, under the appearance of love, it expressed ideas of a mystical and religious or political nature. These id as with such a device could be communicated between groups of initiates, who

called themselves in fact the 'loyal servants of love' ["Fedeli d'amore"], and could escape the attention at the same time of the "vulgar herd" ["gente grossa"], as they put it, and of the Inquisition, who were intended to see in these poems only the expression of amorous feelings. The ladies of these "Fedeli d'amore", whatever name they bore, whether they were called "Rosa", as the lady of all the Sicilian poets (by an obvious convention) is always called, or "Beatrice" or "Giovanna" or "Lagia", or "Selvaggia", are all one single lady, or better, one single idea; a secret doctrine of which the souls of all these adepts are enamoured. And [by synecdoche] this beloved lady served the adepts also to designate secretly the sect to which they belonged and to which they called themselves "fedeli".

> Rossetti [came to consider] the "Fedeli d'amore" as the continuers of a secret Pythagorean worship of an initiatory Wisdom, and haters of the Church and its doctrine. (5)

10. This is the essential structure of the ideas of Rossetti, of his successor Aroux, of Aroux' successor Péladan, and of Rossetti's ultimate successor Valli. Aroux published his Dante hérétique, révolutionnaire et socialiste in 1854, and the amusing thing about this title is that the adjectives are all opprobrious; whereas Rossetti was looking for an ally in Dante against the Church of his time (1), Aroux, who dedicated his work to Pius IX, saw in Dante's supposed heresy a threat to be denounced. And indeed, were his theories correct, the Church would have reason to fear such a formidable opponent. But Aroux' approach is unrealistically literal, and leads him eventually to produce a Dante dictionary, where of course the Whore of Babylon is the Roman Church, and where this is a typical entry:

> ALBIGENSIANISM, ALBIGENSIAN. Words not to be found in the Divine Comedy, while the idea is present everywhere... (2)

11. Péladan, though denounced by Valli for his ignorance (1), is much more sympathetic to ideas such as Pound's because, though he traces the origins of the Provençal heresy back to the Gnostics (2), who are usually thought of as ascetic, he elaborates the heretical doctrine on the basis of 'the revelation of the divine in beauty' (3). Péladan exalts the mediaeval artist and makes him into a kind of alternative hierarchy which rendered the human divine:

> Ils mettaient donc leur amour-propre dans la perfection du procédé... Le sculpteur de 1300 n'est pas ce manieur de terre mouillée que nous connaissons: il s'affrontait, marteau et ciseau à la main, avec le bloc de pierre. (4)
>
> ...ceux qui conçuront le choeur de Beauvais... s'estimaient fort au-dessus de leurs curés... (5)
>
> Chacun donnait à la Vierge mère les traits les plus chers à son coeur et je ne trouve aucune erreur à employer même la beauté de sa maîtresse aux représentations sacrées. (6)

The assembly of ideas is in fact remarkably like that at which Pound finally arrived: precision in art (the stonecutter) (7) inextricably linked to perception of 'the intelligence' (the beauty of God in the universe); particular focus of this beauty and this purpose in woman (8). Péladan also notes the easy movement from cleric to troubadour, like Pound in the 'Psychology and Troubadours' essay, and though his point is to suggest that the troubadours were literally an 'alternative church', Pound would agree with him on the resulting mysticism in the

troubadours (9). And Péladan shares with Pound the detestation, expressed in the Dolmetsch essay, for established religion, where 'they told horrid tales to little boys in order to make them be good; or to the ignorant populace in order to preserve the empire; and religion came to an end and civic science began to be studied.' (10) Thus Péladan: 'En méprisant les oeuvres du génie pour exalter les vertus cachées... le clergé de tous les temps a conçu un dessin politique où sa paresse s'accordait avec le soin de son prestige.' Its purpose was to 'humilier la supériorité véritable.' (11) Pound would probably also agree with Péladan about the 'rêve césarien' of Roman Catholicism at this time, (12) and that the papacy saw the whole Provençal civilisation as a threat to this dream: '...la langue provençale fut excommuniée... Une bulle de 1245 la qualifie [d'idiome hérétique par excellence] et interdit son usage aux écoliers.' (13)

12. It seems to me probable, therefore, that Péladan's works gave Pound a lot of ideas. It is unlikely that he thought much of Péladan's proofs. They take in, in Le Secret des Troubadours, two centuries of international mediaeval civilisation, skipping from one centre of interest to another with remarkably little evidence per subject; the technique is that of Time magazine and the more exciting historians. Péladan uses etymology freely; since it is necessarily, according to his theory, fabricated etymology (fabricated for use as a code), it need not conform to any morphological laws, and thus allows him great freedom: 'Renart (re in art, roi en artifice)' in the roman of that name is the Church, as against 'Cortoise, femme de Belin (agneau innocent)'—that is, the sect (1). Application of the code, as is normal in these cases, produces strange results:

> ...la paroisse de Pénautier appartient au giron orthodoxe. [Foire] Vidal prend le déguisement romain;

les sectaires croient à son apostasie et le maudissent jusqu'à ce qu'il se fasse reconnaître. (2)

13. G.R.S. Mead, whose catarhynion we have already seen in modified use by Pound (1), is one of the last links in this chain. Mead must undoubtedly have known of Péladan, who called himself a Magus, was a follower of the Rosicrucian Eliphas Levi, and had met Yeats (2). Pound discussed similar varieties of spiritualism with Yeats, and took one of them at least, that of John Heydon, into the major framework of his later ideas (3). It is entirely probable that the ideas of Péladan were discussed by Pound with both Mead and Yeats at a time when he was synthesizing just such an esotericism about the troubadours, and publishing it, as we have seen, in Mead's spiritualist journal (4). But it is to Valli that Pound goes, at a more mature period, for stimulation on the question of 'codes' in Provençal poetry; or at least he uses Valli as a pivot wherewith to introduce his own ideas to the careful reader. T.H. Jackson--whose extensive errors in these matters I note elsewhere (5)--has claimed that Pound was not interested in 'the downright mystical interpretation of troubadour poetry' because, among other things, 'on the one occasion in his work when someone else's 'mystical' reading of important poetry came up (Luigi Valli's theories...), Pound was at some pains to confute it.' (6) So indeed he was, but only so as to introduce his own mystical reading.

14. Pound, in the 'Cavalcanti' essay, refutes Valli's suggestions of a secret language in the <u>dolce stil novo</u> poets much as one would refute the suggestions of Péládan: by their superfluity. When a piece of writing has a complete and satisfying complex of meanings on the normal, literal level, then the chances that a codistic inter-

pretation should be equally meaningful are very slim. Again, if the code's literal meanings are meant to hide heresy, it is strange that these meanings are themselves heretical:

> If Guido is concealing anything it is certainly not the spirit of complete personal independence, not yet of open defiance of piety--for whoever be the heroine of the sonnet 'Una figura...' its blasphemous intention is open to the simplest capacity. If sect existed, Guido's pastorellas [shepherdesses], as distinct from donne [ladies], may as well imply contempt for the sect as for anything else in the neighbourhood.
>
> A really good mind throws out not only the idées reçuen of its time, but the fancy snobbism of the 'elect'...
>
> In sum, Valli cannot offer us merely two alternatives, he must offer us something like thirty. He can take the Convito, and play with it as he likes, but he must leave the De Vulgari Eloquio, which, if not an aesthetic treatise in the modern mode, is most certainly a technical treatise... (1)

15. But Pound is clearly of the opinion that Cavalcanti at least was a heretic of some sort:

> We may trace his ideas to Averroes, Avicenna; he does not definitely proclaim any heresy, but he shows leanings toward not only the proof by reason, but toward the proof by experiment. (1)

Thus Valli is not essentially wrong:

> ...I do not mean Valli is necessarily wrong in his main contention. He is merely a very bad advocate...(2)

And one of Valli's errors is obviously a mistaken idea of Guido's

particular variety of heresy:

> Valli must try to imagine what sort of mysticism his adepts and neophytes practised, and what its effect would have been, for certainly neither Frederick II nor Cavalcanti were openly famed as ascetics. (3)

Pound's suggestions of esotericism in Arnaut Daniel

16. In other words, Valli is wrong in accepting the traditional view that the heretics of this period were necessarily dualists, believing therefore that their bodies belonged to the Principle of Evil. But on the way, Pound has brought in the troubadours:

> Arnaut would be perhaps better ground for him than Guido. What for example is 'Mantle of Indigo'? Is 'doma', in 'cills di doma', an equivalent to the Italian word <u>domma</u>, meaning dogma?
>
> If Arnaut says 'I love her more than god does her of the dogma', does he speak of a secret doctrine more precious to its followers than the orthodox? Does the illegible 'di noigandres' boggle a Greek 'ennoia' or 'dianoia'? At least it is open round, and if Valli chose to assert these things no one could bring proof against him. Coming to Guido, he could find various inexplicable passages:... (1)

17. This is clearly Pound's contribution to the 'science' of secret literary codes. As may be seen in my analysis of his translations of Arnaut (1), two of the esoteric readings offered here (those for 'cills de doma' and 'di noigandres') are based on editorial <u>cruces</u>, points indeed of such difficulty that no satisfactory solution has yet

been found for them. Pound is actually suggesting that Valli should look for 'inexplicable passages' like these:

> Valli... is merely a very bad advocate, trusting to conviction rather than to clear-headed observation and logic. If he will throw out his supposition, and his inept evidence and stick to the unsolved enigmas one can give him many passages on which the, by him, hated positivisti could gain no foothold whatever. (2)

18. The reader may by now be feeling that I am the victim of Pound's irony, since he is merely offering Valli another set of will-o'-the-wisps to chase. But we have seen Pound's own hints of 'something behind' the troubadour culture, and of heresy behind that of the Ghibelline poets, and his ideas about how these cultures are linked (1). We have also seen one of the above-offered crucem, the 'clin de doma', used by Pound as evidence for this link (2). It is perhaps worth examining the possibilities for Pound's ideas on the other crucem.

19. I have already examined one possible set of meanings for the crux that Pound reads here as 'di noigandres', as they seemed to arise from Canto XX (1). There the interpretation appeared to be concerned with a heightened awareness of the sensual world, which led into a perception of a spirit-world. In Pound's suggestions to Valli, a different explanation seems to be offered.

20. It has been observed that Pound is interested in the magic number four, especially as concerned with his vision of the sacred city (1). He is similarly interested in triads; for example, that of St Anselm on the Trinity (2). Arnaut's 'quasi-allegorical... tree of love', as we have seen Pound refer to the part of his poem that contains

'di noigrandree' (3), offers a triad, and it n ems reasonable to go looking for an allegorical parallel. Pound's note on Richard of St Victor offers one:

> In cogitation the thought or attention flits aimlessly about the subject.
>
> In meditation it circles round it, that is, it views it systematically, from all sides, gaining perspective.
>
> In contemplation it radiates from a centre, that is, as light from the sun it reaches out in an infinite number of ways to things that are related to it or dependent on it.
>
> The words are my own, as I have not the Benjamin Minor by me.
>
> Following St Victor's figure of radiation: Poetry in its acme is expression from contemplation. (4)

21. In the same year that Pound published the 'Cavalcanti' essay with the 'dianoia' clue in it, Scotus Erigena appeared for the first time in the Cantos (1). We shall see the vital role Erigena plays both in Pound's theology and in his ideas of the historical process (2). After the war, in Section: Rock-Drill, we find:

> 'Cogitatio, meditatio, contemplatio.'
> Wrote Richardus, and Dante read him.
> Centrum circuli.
> Remove the mythologies before they establish clean
> values. (3)

Mythology is what deals with the ' un-named', Pound says in the Guide to Kulchur (4); we have seen this in his theory of historiography (5).

Later in the Canton, Scotus Erigena is brought into the company of Dante and Richard of St Victor (and also of follow-heretics like Avicenna and Jacques de Molay, as we shall see (6)).

> Dante, out of St Victor (Richardus),
>
> Erigena with Greek tags in his verses. (7)

Erigena used a lot of Greek words in his prose, and one of them was dianoia, as we see in this paraphrase by Mario del Pra:

> The highest form of consciousness is the noun of the Greeks, or the intelligence; this constitutes the principal part of the soul and is that movement by which the spirit, purified and illuminated by action and by learning and rendered perfect by theology, turns eternally around God, known in himself... (8) Logos and dianoia ... The second [movement] is that which is contained within nature and which defines God as cause, that is to say in so far as He is the cause of all that exists. This movement impresses on the soul as far as it can the consciousness of the primordial causes of all things... This second movement is the logos, the reason, which is born in the intelligence... (9) The third movement refers itself to the reasons of things in their singularity in so far as they are founded in the primordial causes; it begins from the images of things announced by means of the external senses, and reaches the purest discrimination of all things by means of their own reasons, collecting them into the most general essences, both in the most general categories and in the determined forms and species. This movement, which is called dianoia or interior sense,

proceeds from the intelligence by means of the reason. (10)

22. This classification fits almost exactly with that of Richard of St Victor. Given, then, Pound's suggestion that 'noigandres' is *dianoia*, we can reconstruct Arnaut's triad. His allegorical tree as *olorn* (smell) which is *dianoia*, or *cogitatio*; it has a seed (*grana*) which is *logos*, or *meditatio*; and at its fullest development it has a *fruc*, a fruit, which is *nous* or *contemplatio*. Thus on this highest level we have 'contemplation' which, if expressed successfully, is poetry like that of Arnaut.

23. The other reading that Pound suggests for 'di noigandres', namely 'ennoia', seems to have a similar meaning for him. Like 'dianoia', it has to do with the poet's basic perception of what is in nature, and his truth in organizing what he perceives. Here it is glossed as 'comprehensive sincerity':

> To see the light pour,
>
> that is, toward sinceritas
>
> of the word, comprehensive
>
> KOINE ENNOIA
>
> all astute men see it encircling. (1)

24. If I am right about this interpretation, Pound's offered readings of 'di noigandres', like that of 'ills de doma', are clearly not frivolous. By now it seems certain that the theology of these hidden meanings, and that of this 'sect' (or rather thin'"close ring," this aristocracy of emotion', in Pound's earlier formulation (1)), is to be identified with that of Scotus Erigena. I shall analyse this theology in some detail in a later section (2). Meanwhile it is

sufficient to say that Erigena saw all things as the visible manifestation of the Divine Radiance, and that the lines I have quoted above:

To see the light pour, (...)

all astute men see it encircling

--refer to such a theology. They also take us directly back to more of Pound's comments on Arnaut.

25. Near to one of Pound's earlier suggestions of his 'cils de dona' interpretation, he makes a number of remarks about precision in the terminology of the troubadour poetry, comparing it to that found in mediaeval theology; and he continues:

Cossir, solatz, plazers, have in them the beginning of Italian philosophic precisions, and <u>anora qu'inz</u>

<u>el cor me plou</u> is not a vague decoration. (1)

This 'love raining in my heart', which 'even though the cold wind blows... keeps me warm when winter is bitterest' (2) in Arnaut's <u>En</u>

<u>cest sonet</u>, is a central image for the divine radiation in Pound. It immediately recalls the passage in Cavalcanti, where he relates:

Era in penser d'amor quand'i'trouai

due foresette noue;

l'una chantaua; e'pioue

giocho d'amore in noi. (3)

/I was thinking of love when I found/ two young country girls;/ one was singing: 'joy of love is raining in us.'/

Pound brings this poem together with the bont of the Sun (4), and a 'river' that Cavalcanti 'sends' in another poem (5) to his lady Finella:

Ra-Set in her barge now

over deep sapphire

but the child played under wave...

e piove d'amor

in nui

a great river, the ghosts dipping in crystal

& to Pinolla... (6)

26. The 'love raining in my heart' equally recalls Pound's reading of Arnaut's 'e lo soleils plovil', 'and the sun rains', which I have discussed in my section on the Arnaut translations (1), and which he paraphrases and develops thus:

Thus the light rains, thus pours, <u>e lo soleils plovil</u>

The liquid and rushing crystal

beneath the knees of the gods.

Fly over fly, thin glitter of water;

Brook film bearing white petals. (...)

Fly over fly

The shallow eddying fluid,

beneath the knees of the gods. (2)

The divine effulgence is figured at once as a fluid and as light; and this connects it with all that Dugento material on the eyes as the entrance whereby knowledge of the poet's lady, who is a manifestation of the divine, reaches the heart; which I have discussed in my section on Arnaut in Pound, especially as centring round Pound's reading of Arnaut's <u>Pensar de lieis m'es rinaun</u>. (3)

27. It is worth noting, again, how Arnaut's knowledge of his lady is especially concentrated, as we have seen (1), in a light-filled vision of her, centred round another Poundian reading of a line in Arnaut:

And the light falls, <u>remir</u>,
From her breast to thighs. (2)

20. Theologically, the concept of the divine effulgence as light, especially as we have seen it figured ('The liquid and rushing crystal...'), connects with all the material from Scotus Erigena and Robert Grosse-teste which I discuss in my section on Scotus Erigena (1); and which is probably given its best summation for Pound in his translation of Confucius:

As silky light, King Wen's virtue
Coming down with the sunlight, what purity!
He looks in his heart
And does. (...)
Here the sense is: In this way was Wen perfect.
The <u>unmixed</u> functions [in time and space]
without bourne.
This unmixed is the tensile light, the
Immaculata. There is no end
to its action. (2)

And the divine light is part of all the anthropologically-inspired religious sexuality, whose central rite is an imitation of the sun fertilising the earth, which I shall touch on in discussing Pound's views about the heretic centre at Montségur (3).

29. So far I have not mentioned the 'Mantle of Indigo' which Pound offers to Luigi Valli along with his other disputed readings of Arnaut Daniel (1). The 'amor qu'inz el cor me plou', the 'e lo soleils plovil' and the 'remir' are all connected with a theology of divine radiance; the 'di noigandron' seems to be concerned with man's

ways of approaching God; but the 'Mantle of Indigo', like the 'oils de doma' in part, appears to be connected with the material existence of the suggested cult. When Pound asks:

> If Arnaut says 'I love her more than god does her of the dogma' [Pound's reading of 'oils de doma'], does he speak of a secret doctrine more precious to its followers than the orthodox? (2)

—he is obviously suggesting the existence of a mutually-known and private group of esotericists, if not the 'fancy snobbism of the "elect"' (3) on which he pours scorn. The concept is remarkably like that of Péladan and of Valli. Pound's 'Mantle of Indigo' comes from lines in Arnaut (see my section on his translations (4)) which he renders:

> That day we kissed, and after it she flacked
> O'er me her cloak of indigo, for screening
> Me from all culverts' eyes, whose blathered bluster
> Can set such spites abroad; win jibes for wages. (5)

His exoteric interpretation of this, I can only guess, is that here Arnaut refers to his acceptance into the heretic 'Church' by some such progress as we have seen Pound alluding obscurely to:

> "Il sait vivre," said Branoual of Léger. This must also be said of the catachumens before they pass the third door. It is quite useless for me to refer men to Provence, or to speculate on Erigena in the market place. (6)

30. We therefore find that in every phrase of Arnaut to which Pound shows particular attachment, both in the discussion of Valli and elsewhere—'Mantle of Indigo', 'l'amor qu'inz el cor me plou',

'o lo soleils plovil', 'di noigandres', 'e quel remir', 'oils de doma' and 'ponsar de lieis m'on repuis'—he sees a fully-developed body of meaning, with complex relations to important structures in his prose and poetry; and that these meanings have to do with just such a cult as he is supposed to be scorning in Valli. Pound is thus firmly within the Rossetti-inspired tradition which has read codes into the poetry of Duecento Italy and of Provence; and at this point it is not surprising to find him attacking Eliot's ideas on heresy thus:

> To replace the marble goddess [of Venus] on her pedestal at Terracina is worth more than any metaphysical argument.
>
> And the mosaics in Santa Maria at Trastevere recall a wisdom lost by scolasticism, an understanding denied to Aquinas. A great many images were destroyed for what they had in them.
>
> Ma dicon, ch'è idolatria, i Fra' Minori,
> per invidia, che non è lor vicina.
>
> [—from Cavalcanti's 'Una figura de la donna mia'; see my discussion of 'oils de doma' (1).]
>
> In his After Strange Gods Eliot loses all the threads of Arachne, and a new edition of Gabriele Rossetti's Mistero dell'Amor Platonico (1840) would be useful. (2)

31. It is true that in the Guide to Kulchur of 1938, Pound appears to take a much more sceptical view of these codes than in the slightly-earlier material I have largely been discussing. Dead is seen as a harmless experiencer of the Platonic ecstasy (1); Valli's Linguaggio Segreto might even serve as a lesson to cranks and faddists (2).'

Nonetheless, of these esoteric means of communication Pound says 'there is no field where the careful historian is more likely to make an ass of himself than in trying to deal with such phenomena either to magnify them or to deny them.' (3) (My italics.)

Universal conspiracies

32. Many pressures combined to make Pound magnify them. Having in the thirties renounced any role as a writer except that of prophet, Pound found himself excluded from the recognition that a more amenable writer, like Eliot for instance, could find in the literary capitals of the world. His personal sense of isolation therefore probably increased. His theories of historical causation placed a very heavy emphasis on free will and moral responsibility; and he came to see the protagonists on the wrong side of the millenial conflict as being quite without excuse, and at the same time the embodiments of a common evil. He seems to have treasured the sense of moral wrath, as a necessary weapon in the reforming of the world, referring to 'a stupidity which effaces the grade and scale of evil', (1), and avoiding a person like G.K. Chesterton who might mitigate this wrath (2). Theoretically, and in practice for the rest of us, this seems to me Pound's most valuable contribution to the current age; but its results for himself were extreme and dehumanizing:

> We find two forces in history: one that divides, shatters, and kills, and one that contemplates the unity of the mystery.
>
> "The arrow hath not two points."
>
> There is the force that falsifies, the force that destroys every clearly delineated symbol, dragging man into a maze of abstract arguments, destroying not one but every religion. (3)

33. Pound therefore set out to identify the protagonists in this gigantic conflict; and since they did not seem to be above ground, they must necessarily be underground. At this point enter the Jews, usurers and gun-sellers. But conspiracy-theory was not applicable only to 'the force that falsifies'; it worked equally well with the instruments of the divine radiation. To a certain extent this idea seems reasonable, and especially from Pound's point of view: his main contacts were always with small groups of artists, who (the man in the street can now see) were all engaged in lonely struggles against uncomprehending editors, publishers, backers, and general public; while they bore no responsibility for the catastrophic messes into which the world in the Thirties was stumbling. We are here concerned with conspiracy-theory as Pound applied it to the force 'that contemplates the unity of the mystery'. He saw two kinds of aristocracy as embodying this 'divine conspiracy': a mental and a physical. We have seen how the latter becomes a kind of 'cultural dynasty', where the transmission of the highest forms of culture takes place by personal contact, often within a family (1). Cunizza, whose function for Pound I have discussed at length (2), is again an example of the personal transmission of culture; and it seems that the Ubaldo degli Uberti whom Pound knew and admired (3) is taken to be a throw-back to Cunizza nee degli Uberti, Diana/Venus' representative on earth:

> And over an arch in Vicenza, the stemma,
> the coat of arms, stone: 'Lapo, ghibelline exile'.
> 'Who knows but I also from some vento di siepe?'
> six centuries later 'de gli Uberti'.
> Queen of Heaven bring her repose (4)

34. It is natural that Dante, Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni and the

other Ghibelline poets of the Duecento should recur to Pound as examples of a continuous underground cult, for these poets especially proclaimed the sense of their works to be hidden from all but the most noble of mankind. George Dekker has made some very penetrating remarks about the relation of this esotericism to the trobar clus or 'closed poetry' of Arnaut Daniel and the vision of Accetes in Canto II (1); his meaning, as I take it, is that all these esotericisms have the same function as the obscurity in Dante's Paradiso, that of turning away the unworthy from a vision that would only do them harm.

SECTION THREE

CHAPTER TWO: 'A LITTLE LIGHT ALONG THE BORDERS'

Eleusis

1. Found was able to find a number of instances, scattered in time over the whole history of Europe, where such a millenially-preserved underground cult appeared to come to the surface. As far as Europe was concerned, it was established perhaps a thousand years before Christ at the small town of Eleusis, a few miles from Athens (1).

2. Jane Harrison, whose work Pound probably used, postulated an early matriarchal order of society in the origins of the Eleusinian cult, which chiefly celebrated the mother in Demeter and the daughter in Persephone. The patriarchal order which superseded this also overlaid its own cult, that of the patriarchal Olympic gods, associated with the sky rather than the earth that Demeter and Persephone inhabited (1). However, in the words of Guthrie,

> ...there was going on all over Greece, obscured for a time by the enormous influence of Homer but reappearing as early as the sixth century, the worship of the chthonian gods [that is, the gods associated with the earth]. In some way (though it may well be that we have not yet got at the right reason for it), men linked with this worship their own hopes for a fuller life after death. The worship at Eleusis was originally of this sort. Demeter, the Earth Mother, and her daughter Persephone, the consort of the King of the Dead, were the chief deities worshipped. It was

adopted by the highly civilised city of Athens, and a fusion of ideas took place. The Homeric, barely-conscious, shadowy existence remained the lot of the ordinary man after death. Now, however, the ordinary man was the uninitiated, and the privilege of Elysium, now transferred from the surface of the earth and made into a part of the realm of the dead, was reserved, not for the sons or sons-in-law of Zeus, but for the initiated. (2)

3. The earth-aspect of the Woman-goddess is for Pound a negative as often as a positive one. Baumann has delineated very clearly the ambiguous relation between Pound and the earth 'at 'the gates of death' (1) in the camp at Pisa (2). She draws Pound as a lover, towards wisdom but possibly annihilation:

till one sink into thee by an arm's width

embracing thee. Draweat,

truly thou draweat.

Wisdom lies next thee,

simply, past metaphor. (3)

And if, as in Confucius, man and earth are 'two halves of the tally' (4), the Earth-goddess may easily overwhelm:

Two span, two span to a woman,

Beyond that she believes not. Nothing is of any

importance.

To that is she bent, her intention,

To that art thou called ever turning intention,

Whether by night the owl-call, whether by rap in shoot,

Never idle, by no means by no wiles intermittent

Noth is called over mountain
The bull runs on the sword, naturam
To the cave art thou called, Odysseus,
By Kold hast thou respite for a little,
By Kold art thou freed from the one bod
that thou may'st return to another
...
Forked shadow falls dark on the terrace
More black than the floating martin
that has no care for your presence,
His wing-print is black on the roof tiles
And the print is gone with the cry.
So light is thy weight on Tellus [the Earth]
Thy notch no deeper indented
Thy weight less than the shadow
Yet hast thou gnawed through the mountain,
Scilla's white teeth less sharp. (5)

4. If GEA TERRA (the earth) is ambivalent, Zeus the father-god barily exists in the Cantos, though he appears momentarily as Demeter's lover in Canto LXXXI (1). Pound has no more need of him than of the monotheistic father-figure in what he sees as the Jewish element of Christianity. He refuses to admit any hegemony of a single god over the other gods. The male element is for him quite adequately provided by the cult of Dionysos and his fellow-god Adonis at Delphi, as in this formulation by Zielinski: 'Delphi is day, light, the active and conscious life; Eleusis is night, mystery, death and what is beyond the grave... they complement each other admirably.' (2) Pound undoubtedly regards the rite of Dionysos and the rite of Eleusis as inseparable, for before

the invocation of the Earth-goddess in Canto XLVII (see above) there is the rite for the 'yearly slain', the god Adonis/Dionysos/Thammuz/Osiris/Zagreus who died every year with the corn, to be born in spring:

The small lamps drift in the bay
And the sea's claw gathers them.
Neptunus drinks after neap-tide.
Tamuz ! Tamuz !
The red flame going seaward.
...
The sea is streaked red with Adonis,
The lights flicker red in small jars.
Wheat shoots rise new by the altar,
flower from the swift seed. (3)

5. In the Adonis-myth the god is buried like grain to sprout again in spring (1), in Persephone's myth the god fertilises her by taking her down into the realm of riches and stored grain (2); the two may combine easily. Persephone may be the god's guide in her underworld kingdom, or Odysseus', as at the beginning of the Canto:

Who even dead, yet hath his mind entire!
This sound came in the dark
First thou must go the road
to hell
And to the bower of Ceres' daughter Proserpine,
Through overhanging dark, to see Tiresias,
Eyeless that was, a shade, that is in hell
So full of knowing that the beefy men know less than he,
Ere thou come to thy road's end.
Knowledge the shade of a shade,
Yet must thou sail after knowledge

Knowing less than drugged beasts. <u>phthenometha thanson</u> (3)

Odysseus has to go to Pluto's kingdom to get knowledge: a generalised knowledge, that is the understanding of the gods, in order to placate the wrath which keeps him from his homeland. This is a major theme in the Cantos; the <u>Nekuia</u> or journey to the world of the dead is for Pound the journey into history to get the knowledge with which he may complete his earthly journey. Eleusis and Delphi thus combine to give Pound an image for one of the central efforts of his poem: return to Hades for knowledge and riches, death in order to get life, and so on. They also include Pound's attitude to woman. The death of the fertilizing god is archetypal of man's experience: as the English language once put it, when a man has made love he 'dies' (4). Now this death may also be a <u>nekuia</u>, as in Rémy de Gourmont's suggestion quoted by Pound: it is possible that in 'la copulation complète et profonde' there occurs a development of the cerebrum (5).

6. So therefore, for Pound, the sacred marriage takes place at Eleusis, 'in perfect chastity', as Jane Harrison insisted (1), but not Miss Harrison's kind of chastity. The sanctity of Persephone's defloration could only be broken when usura brought 'whores for Eleusis' (2). And we see that Odysseus' <u>nekuia</u> is once again close to the rite:

'I think you must be Odysseus....
feel better when you have eaten....
Always with your mind on the past....
Ad Orcum autem quisquam?
nondum nave nigra pervenit....
Been to hell in a boat yet?

Sumus in fide

Fuollaeque canamus

sub nocto....

thore in the glade

To Flora's night, with hyacinthus, [= Persephone's]

With the crocus (spring

charp in the grass)

Fifty and forty together

...

Ver novum!

ver novum!

Thus made the spring,

Can see but their eyes in the dark

not the bough that he walked on.

Beaten from flesh into light

Hath swallowed the fire-ball

A traverso le foglie

His rod hath made god in my belly

Sic loquitur nupta

Cantat sic nupta (3)

7. But the goddess remains in her most important aspect a mother, and man's relationship with her must reflect this. With the Greeks it is possible that a balance was effected by the Mysteries of Dionysos; I suspect that it is not so with Pound. There is something that seems particularly appropriate both to Pound and to the troubadours in this picture of the pre-Homeric religion drawn by Jane Harrison:

> The relation of these early matriarchal, husbandless goddesses, whether Mother or Maid, to the male figures that accompany them is one altogether noble and womanly, though perhaps not what the modern mind holds to be

feminine. It seems to halt somewhere half-way between Mother and Lover, with a touch of the patron saint. Aloof from achievement themselves, they choose a local hero for their own to inspire and protect. They ask of him, not that he should love or adore, but that he should do great deeds. Hera has Jason, Athena Perseus, Heracles and Theseus, Demeter and Kore Triptolemos. And as their glory is in the hero's high deeds, so their grace is his guerdon. With the coming of patriarchal conditions this high companionship ends. The women goddesses are sequestered to a servile domesticity, they become abject and amorous. (1)

Thus Pound's comparison of the troubadour's love to Mariolatry, the mother/lover worship that he and Zielinski see as one of the redeeming features of the Catholic church (2). Thus also Pound's own Mariolatry, echoed from the Provençal of Guilhem d'Autpol:

> Glorious, so great in the joy that comes to Thee
> Because of him who championeth the world and Thee
> That man can say no more good in praising Thee
> Tho' all the world were set to praising Thee
> ...
> Dry twig giving fruit without seed,
> Door of heaven, way of salvation,
> Of all the faithful, the light, and clarity, and dawn. (3)

It is only such a concept of woman, the goddess to whom man is a mere adjunct, that can inspire the vision of the poet as iron filings shaped by a female magnet. This vision Pound got from the troubadours, and he probably combined it with what he drew from Plotinus.

Hellenised Christianity and Neoplatonism

8. It is not my intention in this study to give a full description of the various manifestations of Pound's cult embodying 'the force... that contemplates the unity of the mystery.' (1) I shall merely mention the main points in the chain of awareness that he sees; though it will be possible to go into the important case of Scotus Erigena. First Pound sees the important content of Eleusis as having been transferred to Christianity, in so far as that religion became Hellenised.

9. It was Pound's belief already when he wrote 'Psychology and Troubadours' (1912) that paganism, or a worship of Hellenistic gods in some form, was an essential precondition to the culture of Provence (1). His discussion of the 'old cults' of this paganism embraced 'Christianity and all other forms of ecstatic religion' in so far as they 'stimulate a sort of confidence in the life-force.' (2) Christianity as a possible origin was however rejected:

> Christianity had, one might say, brought in the mystic note; but this would be much too sweeping. Anatole France, in his commentary of Horace's "Tu ne quaesaris", has told us a good deal about the various Oriental cults thronging the Eternal City. At Marseille the Greek settlement was very ancient... (3)

10. The implication here is that, if the worship of the 'old gods' in mediaeval Europe did not originate with Christianity, it was transmitted to the Church, which was quite able to sustain it. Pound came to accept the ideas of men like Ziolinski, to whom I refer elsewhere (1), and of Gourmont, whose analysis of mediaeval mysticism we have seen him use in 'Psychology and Troubadours' (2). Gourmont sums

up the process of transmission thus:

> In the time of Tiberius one could still invent an ethic, but one could no longer invent a religion. Those that existed, in the West and the East, passed in beauty and richness all the imaginings that could ferment in the head of a Jewish prophet or a Graeco-Latin novelist. Neither Jesus nor Philostratus founded a religion. Mithras came from the East with a complete dogma. Bacchus and Isis drew to themselves, along with immense swarms of believers, all the superstitions scattered over ravaged and laboriously-worked lands. There is a mollusc which can only become a shellfish by getting itself an abandoned shell; Christianity became a religion by introducing itself into mythological paganism, whose age had weakened its internal organism. An apostle, clothed, like a philosopher, in any old rags, and with his hair floating as if in a prophetic wind, entered a temple and rebaptised the age-old god. Mars became Martin, and the people, accustomed to religious novelty, showed no great astonishment... there is only one religion, and it renews itself. (3)

It can be said, in fact, that the sun and moon became metamorphosed into Christ and the Virgin Mary, and that the latter came to play a role almost directly equivalent to that of the Demeter and Persephone in the Eleusinian cult. (4)

11. Pound therefore stated often his faith in the Catholic Church

as a vehicle for some essential religious awareness (1). For himself he said that if he were able to choose his own Doctors he could well be a Catholic (2); and this reserve is bound up with the position of Scotus Erigena, which I shall shortly discuss. His admiration for the Church comes out especially when it shows itself 'Catholic', that is, able to adapt itself and tolerate (3):

> 'Sono tutti eretici, Santo Padre,
>
> ma non sono cattivi.'
>
> It can't be all in one language'
>
> 'They are all prots YR HOLINESS,
>
> but not bad.
>
> Yes yr/ Holiness, they are all of them prots.' (4)

12. It is therefore an important fact for Pound that the troubadour culture, and the religion he considers to be within it, sprang up in a Catholic civilization. Many of the monuments he refers to as physical manifestations of the highest awareness were built by the Church; at least, officially (1). But he suggests that, as far as the main body of the Church was concerned, there may have been a break in awareness in the 'Dark Ages':

> Assuming that the early Catholic tradition has
>
> been broken (for the general public) or, for the sake
>
> of brevity skipping the controversies of Byzantium and
>
> of the declining Roman empire in Italy... (2)

And in this passage he goes on to discuss the contribution of the 'Neo-Platonicks etc.' to the preservation of the essential religious awareness. The general conclusion is that the activities of men like Porphyry in the third century, down to Gemistus Plethon 'in the 1430s' (3), have been favourable to religious awareness and even to social progress:

> What remains, and remains undeniable to and by the most hardened objectivist, is that a great number of men have had certain kinds of emotion and, _mystical_, of ecstasy. (4)

But Pound's tone remains cool:

> _Se non e vero e ben trovato_... It has done no man any harm. I doubt if it has even distracted men from useful social efforts.
>
> I shd. be inclined to give fairly heavy odds to the contrary... (5)

Scotus Erigena as a link in the chain

13. What characterises all the manifestations of important religious awareness that Pound discovers through the centuries is knowledge of Greek culture. Scotus Erigena is a good example of this: his knowledge and use of Greek were outstanding for his age, and Pound sees in him an important agent in the millenial conspiracy for good. I have devoted an Appendix to his theology and its use in Pound, on the questions of Authority and Reason and of the Divine Radiance (1). Here I shall sum up his role in Pound's vision of the 'conspiracy'.

14. 'That Irishman' (_Scotus ille_), as some of his contemporaries knew him (1), was born at some time in the early ninth century (2). He left Ireland before the year 847, when he was to be found at the royal court of Charles the Bald, successor on the throne of France to Louis the Debonair. From the epithets applied to him (_scholasticus et eruditus_) it has been supposed that he taught at the Palace School. He is next heard of at Laon, where (with another Irishman called Martin) he represented the only noteworthy understanding of Greek in the West

of his time. It is possible that his retirement to Laon was connected with events that had taken place while Eriugena was still at the Palace School: he had been invited by certain ecclesiastical notables to confute the unruly monk Gotteschalc, whose independent spirituality is evident in Pound's 'Psychology and Troubadours' (3), and who had written in favour of predestination. Eriugena was the wrong person to bring into such a controversy; he over-reached himself in the opposite direction, and his De Praedestinatione was condemned at the Council of Valence (855) and the Council of Langres (859).

15. It is likely that this disgrace made him determine to build his faith on more solid foundations, and the means to this, he considered, was Greek. The language was almost unknown to his period; Eriugena saw in the Greek Fathers an untapped source of spiritual wisdom. At Laon he must have devoted himself to the language, for when Charles the Bald, who remained his personal patron, invited him to make a new translation of the famous manuscript of Dionysius the Areopagite, he produced a work that was a long way ahead of the standards of his time. He went on to translate Maximus the Confessor, Gregory of Nyssa and Epiphanius. He retained always a preference for the Greek Fathers, and his greatest original work, the De Divisione Naturae, was profoundly influenced by them.

16. Pound, it has often been said, telescopes time; but he was always at least as much interested in Eriugena's historical function, in his action within a context, as in his philosophy. He became interested in Eriugena in the Thirties, and discussed him with Santayana (2); he told Eliot that if he could get hold of recent publications he could 'write quite a chunk' (3). But Eriugena had already appeared

in the ABC of Reading of 1934 (4), and Canto XXXVI of the same year, where the interest is at least half historical:

> Erigena was not understood in his time
> 'which explains, perhaps, the delay in condemning him'
> And they went looking for Manichaeans
> And found, so far as I can make out, no Manichaeans
> So they dug for, and damned Scotus Erigena (5)

17. This condemnation is not the one that happened after the unfortunate De Praedestinatione affair; it took place some 300 years after Erigena's death, in 1210. In that year there took place a violent reaction against the rise of Aristotelianism in the University of Paris, and there fell at the hands of the Council of Paris not only Amaury de Bène and his disciples, but also everything they were reading, including Siger de Brabant, Aristotle himself, and even Erigena's De Divisione Naturae (1). The letter from Honorius III confirming the condemnation gives an idea of the atmosphere prevailing in the Church:

> siquidem est quidam liber perifisin intitulatur [i.e. the Periphyseon or De Divisione Naturae of Scotus Erigena] inventus, totus scatens vermibus heretice pravitatis... Vobis... mandamus... ad nos, si secure fieri poterit, sine dilatione mittatis solempniter comburendum... (2)

This desire solemnly to burn everything that disturbed it was simultaneously being manifested by the Church in the South of France, where in 1209 Honorius III's predecessor had preached the Albigensian Crusade. The movement against the Albigensians made unprecedented use of burning at the stake, and paved the way for the Inquisition. There is considerable suggestion in Pound's works of a connection between Scotus Erigena

and the heretics; it is strangely foreshadowed by the chronicler Albéric des Trois-fontaines, who notes after Honorius' letter that the De Divisione Naturae

> incurs condemnation on account of the new Albigensians and false theologians who, by misunderstanding, pervert words which were perhaps rightly uttered in their time and understood simply by the ancients; and from them they confirm their heresy. (3)

18. It will be observed that the chronology is not in favour; Erigena lived 300 years before Amaury de Bène and the Albigensians. But Pound considered that some awareness of the Greek gods hung on in Provence and Languedoc after the death of the Roman Empire, and ultimately gave rise both to the troubadours and to the Albigensians, who were accused of being Manichaeans. (1) And we find that he constantly connects Provence, the troubadours, the supposed 'Manichaeans' and Scotus Erigena:

> Chaucer uses French art, the art of Provence, the verse art comes from the troubadours. In his world there had lived both Guillaume Poitiers and Scotus Erigena... (2)

Again:

> Civilization went on. I reiterate that the cultural level is the determinant. Civilization had been in Italy. It had hung on in Provence and the Exarchate after Romulus Augustulus.
>
> A conspiracy of intelligence outlasted the hash of the political map. Avicenna, Scotus Erigena in Provence... (3) "Il sait vivre", said Brunoni of Léger. This must also be said of the catechumens before they

pans the third door. It is quite useless for me to refer men to Provence, or to speculate on Erigena in the market place... (4)

And again:

and they dug him up out of sepulture
soi disantly looking for Manichaeans.

Les Albigeois, a problem of history

19. Erigena was in Provence, and there he picked up the awareness of the Hellenic cults; hence his continuing preference for the Greek Fathers. I have not come across this story anywhere; it is probably apocryphal, like much of the material that has attached itself to Erigena. The Palace School to which the Irishman is supposed to have been attached seems to have followed Charles the Bald round his kingdom (1); it is possible that it came to rest at some period in Provence. Certainly Erigena would have had a close affinity for Hellenic religion, with its ubiquitous gods, as we shall see when I examine his philosophy (2). Pound points out, again, that he had 'Greek tags in his verses' (3); obviously this is not, as has been suggested, simply a mark of prestige in Pound's eyes (4); it points to the nature of the philosopher's sensibilities. Greece was in Provence, and Provence in Erigena. The verses are, as it happens,

excellent verses
in fact an excellent poet, (5)

—or, as Dom Cappuyns remarks,

most of the Erigenian verse contains something to surprise; especially the knowledge of the Greek language that it shows. (6)

20. But Pound, we have noticed, refers to the digging-up of

Erigena's body: 'and they dug him up out of sepulture'. This is another story that I cannot trace, but its function in the Cantos is obvious: it is another case where the few men who constitute the 'little light from the borders' (1) of history are pitted against the 'enormous organized cowardice' (2). The Church authorities, whom Pound refers to scathingly as the 'police' (3), according to him

> probably murdered Erigena (4)

and then, at the time of his condemnation 300 years later, dug him up in order to burn him and scatter his ashes. Pound explicitly connects this 'police' activity with the Albigensian Crusade, and its leader, the fanatic Simon de Montfort:

> so they dug up his bones in the time of De Montfort (Simon) (5)

Boris de Rachewiltz in fact maintains that Erigena was exhumed for the following purpose (though the connection is never clearly made in the Cantos (6)):

> to discover in Erigena's remains the bone luz and, by its removal, to prevent his resurrection on judgment day: 'the bone luz, I think was his take off', and later, 'or the bone <u>luz</u> / as the grain seed' (Canto LXXX).
>
> In Agrippa's <u>De occulta philosophia</u>, I, 20, mention is made of 'a certain very small bone called luz..., which is incorruptible, which is not destroyed by fire but is preserved unimpaired, and from which, as a plant produces a seed, our body will come to life again as in the resurrection of the dead.' (7)

21. Erigena, then, was removed from the philosophical map. But his 'second wing', the translation of Dionysius the Areopagite, went on

to exert an unparalleled influence on Western Christianism. It inspired men like Albertus Magnus (used by Cavalcanti) and St Bonaventure (1), both of whom furthered, for Pound, the Hellenic tradition of awareness (2). With the works of St Augustine, it probably did more than any other work to effect the change in Christianity whose result was that 'Dante's god has nothing to do with the Jehovah of the Old Testament' (3); it brought in the Hellenic element from Plato and Plotinus. But Erigena's own work, the <u>De Divisione Naturae</u>, was well-nigh buried by the papal anger. Still it exercised a kind of 'underground' influence, as Gilson says (4), and among those who used its rare manuscripts were men who themselves did a great deal in the fight 'against thickness and fatness' (5). Pound connects Saint Anselm with Erigena, for their common <u>hilaritas</u> and for other spiritual resemblances (6). When he does so we also find the names of Rémusat and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Charles de Rémusat wrote a series of books on philosophers of 'natural religion', like <u>Lord Herbert de Cherbury</u> (1874) and <u>Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry</u> (1853); in the latter work he points to several propositions from Erigena's <u>De Divisione Naturae</u> which he finds echoed in St Anselm (7).

22. But St Anselm belongs to the period before the <u>De Divisione</u> was condemned, to the prescholastic epoch which Dom Cappuyns calls 'the golden age of Erigenian influence' (1). To this period also belongs Richard of St Victor, whom Pound connects with Erigena (2); Richard's predecessor at the Abbey of St Victor, Hugh, was 'the commentator <u>par excellence</u> of the Celestial Hierarchy' of Dionysius the Areopagite, and there are traces of Erigena's own doctrines in Hugh's work (3). After this time the <u>De Divisione</u> itself disappears from view, to be resurrected only by those Renaissance 'Serendipity hunters', the Neoplatonists (4), who in Pound's eyes did so much to break the bogey of the monotheistic state religion. Giordano Bruno was influenced by it (5). Nicholas

Cusanus read it; his annotated copy is today in the British Museum; he said that it was the kind of work that should be kept from the eyes of the ignorant, who would only misunderstand it (6). In view of the wrath it occasioned in the Middle Ages, it seems possible that he was right.

Scotus Erigena's position in the conspiracy against Evil

23. The role of Scotus Erigena in Pound's vision of a millenial fight between the forces of good and evil is, I have said, important. Pound was far from seeing this fight as between the self-proclaimed agents of the Christian God, or even between the mystics, and the forces of darkness. 'Pound never lets us forget', in John Peck's words, 'that Plotinus, John of the Cross, and Brother Anselm all suffered the occupational hazard of dyspepsia.' (1) If we try to ascertain the role played by Scotus Erigena in the Cantos, we find that his perception of nature, and everything in it, is set in strong opposition to 'mystic ascoticism'. When Pound is in the concentration Camp at Pisa, he is careful to dissociate his own 'dark night of the soul' from the kind experienced by St John of the Cross:

> is it blacker? was it blacker? Nux animae?
> is there a blacker or was it merely San Juan with a bellyache
> writing ad posteros (2)

Pound is writing at the deepest point of his own depression, and he thinks of St John's dark night of the soul, which sounds a lot deeper; but Pound thinks that perhaps St John was overwriting it. From the way he equates 'dark night' with 'bellyache', and from the way he elsewhere uses this term 'bellyache'—

> And Plotinus, his bellyache
> A great perversion
> from Plotinus his bellyache (3)

—we may take it that Pound has come to specific conclusions about St John's spiritual experiences. They belong with the 'idiotic asceticism' that is attacked in the Cavalcanti essay (4) and almost takes on the role of the forces of darkness, 'The canker corrupting all things, Fafnir the worm.' (5) They are for Pound a form of spiritual self-flagellation, with the assumption that by how much the saint causes himself gratuitous suffering in this world, by so much precisely will he be raised in the Kingdom of Heaven.

24. Pound however considers that such things may have nothing to do with one's internal programmes; they are in the hands of Dante's 'Fortuna', who throughout the later Cantos 'beata si gode', smiles as she occasions the humbling of the mighty (1). The things that bring Pound low are concrete:

Ugolino, the tower there on the tree line

Berlin dysentery phosphorus

la vieille de Candide (2)

They are the gibbets round the camp, and horrifying death omnipresent as in the tower of the Inferno where Ugolino and his sons die of hunger; the carpet-bombing of Berlin, the disease that accompanies war, and napalm's close ancestor the phosphorus-bomb. And the figure that sums up the message of all these horrors is the old hag at the end of Voltaire's Candide, the wreck of a being who once embodied optimism. The effect on Pound is the loss of the thing he has always most valued in himself: his belief that things can be changed for the better, and that this optimism is the most valuable asset of the American race. 'If Henry James didn't think of himself as the Babe Ruth among novelists it was possibly because he was born first and left his native habitat before the King of Swat emerged.' (3) When Pound loses this belief, he is

left with acceptance of the way things are. The poet who most made beauty out of the unbearable way things are is François Villon, and found shares his compassion:

pouvrette et anciemne oncques lettre ne lus

I don't know how humanity stands it

with a painted paradise at the end of it

without a painted paradise at the end of it (4)

25. He begins to question the 'shell' that he had considered as one of the most important gifts of Confucianism (1):

I have been hard as youth sixty years (2)

—and his own capacity for pity:

J'ai eu pitié des autres

probablement pas assez, and at moments that suited my own convenience (3)

And the questioning of the bases of his action, brings it home to him that the process is not an adjunct to his own mind:

Le paradis n'est pas artificiel

l'enfer non plus. (4)

Paradise is outside him, is fragmented, in perceptions like 'Ladre the night cat' and 'the smell of mint'. (5)

26. What saves Pound at this juncture is perception of things around him, of nature:

'A lizard uphold me' (1), and

When the mind swings by a grass-blade

an ant's forefoot shall save you

the clover leaf smells and tastes as its flower (2)

The kind of perception is specified by the last line: it is John Heydon's kind, the recognition that there are 'signatures' in nature, that 'oak

leaf [is] never plane leaf' (3) since the entity has an individual essence which is visible clearly to those who are aware and which is the unmistakable stamp of its divine origin. This awareness of 'the intelligence working in nature' (4) is intimately associated with what Pound had to discuss with Santayana before the war; he decided that there was a coherent tradition of this awareness, and that the greatest observers of the process belonged to it:

to Menolus, Dante, and Agassiz

for Gestalt need (5)

27. Walter Baumann has demonstrated with great clarity John Heydon's place in this kind of 'Gestalt' philosophy (1). If we examine closely the following passage we shall find Heydon working in the conspiracy with Santayana and Scotus Erigena against 'the enormous organized cowardice.'

Do not Hindoos

lust after vacuity?

With the Gardasee at our disposition.

'O World!'

said Mr Peddoes.

'Something there,'

ad/ Santayana.

Responsus:

Not stanis/

at least not in our immediate vicinage.

a hand without face cards,

the enormous organized cowardice.

And there is something decent in the universe

if I can feel all this, dicto millenino

At the age of whatever.

I suppose St Hilary looked at an oak-leaf.

(vino-loaf? San Denys,

(spelled Dionisio)

Dionisio et Eleutherio.

Dionisio et Eleuthorio

'tho brace of 'em

that Calvin never blacked out

on l'Isle.) (2)

28. First this passage restates that Pound was saved by nature: John Heydon is in St Hilary's oak-leaf (1), and the Canto ends with Odysseus' rescue by Leucothea:

Then Leucothea had pity,

'mortal once

Who now is a sea-god: ... (2)

The forces that work against his 'salvation' line up quite clearly. First of all there is the 'Bhud-rot' (3), which for Pound resolves itself into facile abnegation (4); he uses Buddhist parallels throughout when he defines the useless and stupid side of mediaevalism in Cavalcanti (5). Thomas Lovell Beddoes' luxurious morbidity, like the attitudes Pound parodied in Mr Housman's Messiah, is obviously a Western reflection of this. The 'hand without face cards' is the refusal to recognize personal responsibility, the hiding behind one's accomplices, that is typical of groups (Pound thinks) like Jews and capitalists; and also perhaps the scientific determinism that refuses to differentiate between forces and reduces the world to 'a sub-species of porridge bowl.' (6). The world, being bad, is rejected en masse by the ascetics and self-mortifiers, to which class Pound assigns Protestants in general; here they are represented by Calvin.

29. 'Hindoos' wish to deny and suppress the world that is before

them; they refuse the god that is presented to them, requiring one on their own conditions, 'a parasitical relationship with the Unknown' (1). This 'With the Gardasea at our disposition'--Lake Garda which Pound found to be as it were evidence of the god's presence, because of its remarkable beauty (2). Santayana's conclusion, that something resembling an intelligence operated in nature, is the 'Responsus' or confutation of all this: the world is not a pudding, is not in <u>stasis</u>, but <u>kinesis</u>. It changes.

> Elder Lightfoot is cert'nly
>
> not
>
> downhearted,
>
> He observes a design in the Process. (4)

30. I have said that Scotus Erigena is in Pound's front line 'as against thickness and fatness'. This is not obvious; it lies in the remark that St Denys is here 'spelled Dionisio'. St Denys, patron saint of France, founder of the Abbaye Royale, the apostle of the Gauls and first Bishop of Paris (1), was supposed in the time of Erigena to have been one and the same person as Dionysius the Areopagite. When therefore the Emperor of the East, Michael the Stammerer, wished to pay a compliment to the nominal Emperor of the West, Louis the Debonair, he presented him with a manuscript of the Areopagite, supposed honour and glory of France. The manuscript was a copy (still existing) of the famous <u>Celestial Hierarchy</u> (2), a work of profound Neoplatonic inspiration, which I have mentioned, and Scotus Erigena's translation of this work 'laid the foundations of Western Mysticism' (3).

31. St Hilary 'looked at an oak leaf'; by doing so he was transported, as Baumann says, to Dodona, where were 'the guardian of the Oracles of Zeus, observed and listened to at one of the oldest and

most famous oak-tree sanctuaries.' (1) It was at Dodona that the Apollonian Sibyl expressed this remarkable synthesis of Greek religion:

> Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus will be: great is Zeus!
> The Earth brings forth fruits for you: therefore
> venerate the Earth as your mother! (2)

But Pound says 'vine-leaf'—and this immediately suggests wine and its god, Dionysos. His function is ecstatic, and it is this function of Dionysos and his counterpart Liber Eleutherius that 'Calvin never blacked out in the Ile-de-France (3). The proofs for Pound are men like Rémy de Gourmont and Jean Cocteau; and, in the period when the works of 'St Denys' conquered Europe, the writings of Scotus Erigena.

Other links in the chain of awareness

32. Following the chain of religious awareness traced by Pound, we have so far reached the ninth century. There is the suggestion that Scotus Erigena drew his religious awareness from Provence, as well as from his Greek culture; and Pound does not seem to be saying that Erigena single-handedly revived a dead semi-esoteric cult. The suggestion is rather that the cult survived from Hellenic and Roman periods in Provence through the Dark Ages, and the time of Scotus Erigena, right to the eleventh century:

> ...remember how Provençal song is never wholly disjunct from pagan rites of May Day. Provence was less disturbed than the rest of Europe by invasion from the North in the darker ages; if paganism survived anywhere it would have been, unofficially, in the Langue d'Oc. (1)

I shall refer later to these possibilities that 'Civilization... had hung on in Provence...' (2) By the eleventh century, according to Pound, we have the revival of non-ascetic mysticism in Richard of St

Victor and St Anselm of Canterbury (3); but chiefly and most significantly, the rise of troubadour song in Provence, following the rule in Aquitaine of William IX, whom we have seen in Canto VI playing the 'symbolic' role of refertilising Fisher King (4).

33. It does not come within the scope of this study to trace the manifestations of this 'cult' beyond the troubadours, but the main ones should be mentioned. Following the death of the Provençal culture at the hands of quasi-religious persecution, there is the transference to Italy and the Duecento poets, which I have discussed in some detail (1). Pound then sees the sputtering torch as being passed to men like Varchi, the cultural fertiliserm of the Italian later Renaissance, who, as we have seen, also kept alive the interest in Provençal verse and prose (2). In the thirteenth century in England there is Bishop Grosseteste, Chancellor of Oxford, who like Scotus Erigena was learned in Greek and like contemporary Italians interested himself deeply in Platonic doctrine.

34. In the early fourteenth century we have the celebrated and much-disputed case of the condemnation of the Templars. The Order of the Knights Templars, originally founded as a permanent crusading order in the Holy Land (1), had gone from strength to strength until its increasing wealth (it had become an international bank, including kings among its clients (2)) had drawn avaricious attention. Philip the Fair of France eventually succeeded in having the Order abolished by the Pope, and in France he proceeded as if it had been condemned. The burning of Jacques de Molay took place in 1314 (3). Several things are here suggested by Pound; first, that Molay was directing anti-usurious financial dealings which aroused the wrath of the usurers:

Was De Molay making loans without interest? (4)

—and secondly, that he and his Order, which seems to have had connections with the mediaeval church-builders and with the later Freemasons, preserved something of the Greek architects' knowledge of the 'golden section':

Builders had kept the proportion,

did Jacques de Molay

know these proportions? (5)

Again, Pound links the Hall of Justice in Poitiers (6), a town with which Jacques de Molay had connections, to a tower at San Ku in China. There one can stand at the summer solstice without casting a shadow, so that 'the imaginary line from the gnomon to the sun forms the cosmic axis' (7); we shall see a similar importance given to relations with the sun at the heretic centre of Montségur (8). All these things are brought together, along with Scotus Erigena and the implicit assertion of a millenial cult, in Canto XC:

And from the San Ku

to the room in Poitiers where one can stand

casting no shadow,

That is Sagetrieb,

that is tradition.

Builders had kept the proportion,

did Jacques de Molay

know these proportions?

and was Erigena ours? (9)

35. Pound's overall vision of this 'conspiracy of intelligence,' or awareness, is summed up as far as its artistic remains are concerned

in the Guide to Kulchur chapter 'Europe or the Getting' (1). Some of the chief names are put together in the chapter 'Royalty and All That', from which I quote the list as far as the Italian Renaissance:

> Civilization went on. I reiterate that the cultural level is the determinant. Civilization had been in Italy. It had hung on in Provence and the Exarchate after Romulus Augustulus.
>
> A conspiracy of intelligence outlasted the hash of the political map. Avicenna, Scotus Erigena in Provence, Grossetesta in Lincoln, the Sorbonne, fat faced Frankie Petrarch, Cenisio, the splendour of the XVth century, Valla, the over-boomed Pico, the florentine collectors and conservers... even if more Serendipity hunters. In politics this enlightenment mattered. Varchi wanted the facts. (2)

36. It is obviously quite impossible for me to prove here the plausibility of this great millenial theory in its so widely-spread manifestations. I do not myself feel in any way committed to upholding the truth of the detail. Pound's method may be compared to that of the late Sir J.G. Frazer, who conducted all his anthropological research from his desk, and who spread his net so wide as almost to guarantee a sufficiency of suitable finds; whose relation and proportion to the culture they came from, Frazer was not at pains to discover. Yet I would suggest that the value of Pound's work is of the same broad kind as that of Frazer's; for no-one would now suggest that the close relation of religion and of man's culture to sympathetic magic was not an important discovery, though Frazer's details are not now much respected.

37. But it seems to me that such broadly-based cultural discoveries can sometimes rest on sound local instances; and that the local instance may sometimes bear out the value of Pound's approach, which starts from a keen assessment of the temper and value of a culture, and moves to historical data. In the case of the heresy of Provence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which as we have seen Pound associates with the troubadours (1), there is a wide gap between the general view of historians, who regard it as a dualist, ascetic phenomenon, and that of Pound, who says that it was certainly not ascetic. Pound's starting-point for this assertion is the art of the troubadours; and if we are able to throw any light on the validity of this principal conclusion of non-asceticism it will tell us a great deal about the value of Pound's method.

SECTION THREE, CHAPTER THREE: THE PROVENÇAL HERETICS

Their ancoticism, disputed by Pound

1. I have discussed and shall discuss elsewhere exactly what Pound lets us know of his beliefs about the heresies in Provence (1). Generally they are that a very special state of the human psyche was a necessary precondition to the 'renaissance' that took place in Provence at the beginning of the eleventh century; that this state of the psyche manifested itself in something that the 'authorities' identified with Manichaeism, and which has been called Albigensianism; and that the significance of the heretic centre of Montségur has to do with that of Eleusis.

2. This is why I shall treat the whole question as if Pound had said: 'The troubadours were Albigensians or Cathars; the significance of Catharism is Eleusinian.' But the fact that he does <u>not</u> say this must never be forgotten. Otherwise we shall forget that Pound is not talking of a dogma, or of a religion that is to any great extent systematized, national, least of all established; possibly not even conscious, certainly not in the minds of the people, who were only aware perhaps that they want to dance for 'la Regine Avrillouse' (1), the Queen of April. Even in the artist

> The crux of the matter might seem to rest on a very narrow base; it might seem to be a matter of taste or opinion, of scarcely more than a personal predilection to ascribe or not to ascribe to one passage in the canzon "Doutz brais e critz", a visionary significance... (2)

If therefore Pound makes the juxtaposition of troubadours and Catharism, he is not proposing the miraculous camouflageing for 200 years of a fully-fledged Greek mystery cult. He is very well aware, on the contrary,

of the fragmentary nature of genuine religious feeling; statistics and endowments are nothing. What is proposed in Psychology and Troubadours (3) is a state of mind with some few visible manifestations.

3. But the state of mind is precise enough, though Pound chooses not to present it with the traditional paraphernalia of precision in prose. The putative existence of Eleusis in Provence, even if it were not elaborate or loudly-trumpeted, it is in fundamental contradiction to the general opinion of what went on there. Pound's 'Eleusis' I have tried to define elsewhere, but, apart from its manifestations in the Hellenic mysteries, it could be described for the moment as reverence for 'the intelligence working in nature' (1). The gods are manifest (2). As in Gilson's formulation of Scotus Erigena, 'the world would cease to be if God ceased to radiate' (3). Now as we have seen from Pound's remarks (4), the authorities, who at the relevant time comprised organs both of Church and State, held the Cathars to be Manichaeans. This view has persisted; it has always prevailed among Catholic historians, and though certain respected scholars have questioned the proposed filiation, it remains the general view. Popular 'short histories' are usually a good guide to what is thought authoritative in scholarly matters, and they choose without exception the neo-manichaean theory (5), as does in fact the 'Annotated Index to the Cantos' (6).

4. Manichaeism, the religion founded by Manes (216-277 A.C.), has a complicated theology, but this fundamental point has always been insisted upon in relation to the Cathars: it is a dualism; in Manichaeism, Evil is not permitted by the 'King of the Paradise of Lights', but exists despite him. All matter is a creation of Evil, and only to the extent that man can free himself from matter can he be saved. It

is obvious that this belief is in complete opposition to Eleusis. Manes requires rejection of the world; the goddess of Eleusis requires reverence for it. To admit that Manichaeism was of any importance in Provence would contradict all Pound's beliefs about the parallelism, or inseparability, of religion, economics and art. The 'bellyache' involved in Manichaean asceticism would be quite incompatible with the 'Mediterranean sanity' (1) of the troubadours;

> Though the servants of Amor went pale and wept and suffered heat and cold, they came on nothing so apparently morbid as the "dark night". (2)

The first pages of Pound's extremely important essay Cavalcanti are concerned mainly with showing this. With Manes, only the 'Father of Greatness' radiates light, though each human soul contains a spark trapped in mud; with Pound, and with the troubadours, 'all things that are, are lights' (3).

5. Since this fundamental contradiction exists between the generally-accepted view of the Provençal heresies and Pound's view; since the point is fundamental to Pound's propaganda; and since the material supporting Pound's view is not easily available to the English reader, some detailed exposition is necessary. There is a difficulty inherent in this kind of historiography, which I should make clear at the outset. Where one is of the opinion that a factitious structure has been based on shaky data, and that what should replace it is not another equally elaborate and monolithic structure (since the data are not adequate for any such edifice) but merely a number of intelligent guesses, one is forced either to set out in full form the series of unjustified deductions that form the structure, or to limit oneself to the indisputable. In the former case one will lend authority to

what is spurious; in the latter one will be unjust to the opposition. All this would be avoidable if the reader knew what had been written on the subject; but the purpose of this study is at least partly to help those baffled by the extent of Pound's material. What I shall do therefore is to set out what is indisputable together with what has been erected alongside it, so that at least the reader will see the apparent coherence; but I cannot be the person to argue the opposing case fairly, and the reader must refer to its expositions (which I shall mention) when in doubt. I shall then try to show what is wrong with the theory that the Cathars were neo-manichaeists.

Events held to be connected with the Provençal heresy

6. For reasons which I shall explain later, what I have called the 'indisputable' facts may be reduced to two elements: the persecution of heretics and the Albigensian Crusade (1). The other elements of what immediately follows will be taken mainly from the account of Jean Guiraud in his Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen Age, which is very comprehensive and has the support of those who believe that the 'Cathars' were neo-manichaeans, as far as the main points are concerned (2).

7. It is now widely agreed that the 'Cathar' religion began as late as the middle of the 12th century (1). Runciman similarly puts the 'heretic domination' as dating from the Cathar Council of Saint-Félix-de-Caraman in 1167 (2); but he, like Guiraud and others, begins his history of the Cathars with manifestations like the burning of certain canons by Robert the Pious in 1022 (3). Intermittently during the next 150 years there occurred throughout Europe burnings, persecutions and condemnations, as various sects came to light. The canons

condemned by Robert the Pious represented, according to Adémar of Chabannes, a recrudescence of the old Manichaean beliefs (4). Adémar also relates that

> In about 1015 the Bishop Gérard of Limoges had essayed a determined drive against "Manichaean" heretics. In 1022 several were discovered and put to death at Toulouse. In 1023 the Duke of Aquitaine, William V, summoned a council of the bishops of his duchy to Charroux to discuss plans for the crushing of the heresy. (5)

8. The name 'Cathar' appears for the first time applied to a heretic community in Italy in 1030 (1), but is not applied with any consistency to the heretic manifestations in the various parts of Europe until much later. Around 1100 a certain Tancholm was denying the authority of the Church and 'permitting himself the worst excesses with the women he had won to his doctrines' in the Low Countries and Germany (2). A Council held in Toulouse in 1119 under the presidency of Pope Calixtus II denounced, among other things, heresies that denied the Sacraments of the Church (3). Around the same period two important heresiarchs, Henri de Lausanne and his teacher Pierre de Bruys were spreading heretical doctrines throughout Europe and especially in Languedoc and Provence. They were mainly concerned with attacking the Church as a spiritual authority. Peter the Venerable, the reformer of Cluny, wrote a treatise against them, and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, the great preacher, was called in to win back the region of Toulouse to the faith, to little or no effect (4).

9. Sects continued to arise in this sporadic manner, and the Church grew more anxious. A peasant named Clementius taught, around

1125 in the North of France, that the Virgin Mary was a phantom; that the sacraments were invalid; that (according to Guibert de Nogent, to whom we owe information about him) all sexual practices were permissible, including the burning of resultant children; and other things which, Guibert says, permit us to recognise Manichaean doctrines as St Augustine described them (1). The Church negligently permitted the people to drag Clementius out of prison and burn him _extempore_. A 'false hermit' named Henry was so popular in Le Mans for a time that the people refused to allow the town's bishop to enter on his return from Rome; Henry's doctrines were mainly anticlerical (2). A Breton called Eudo de l'Etoile was condemned to perpetual prison by the Council of Rheims in 1148 for proclaiming himself as the One who was come to judge the living and the dead. He changed his name (Eude/Odon) to 'Eon', supposedly to make a pun with '_eum_ qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos per ignem', but Guiraud conjectures that it was really to proclaim himself one of the 'eons', or divine manifestations that emanate from God, in Manichaean theology. He points out that Eude called two of his disciples 'Judgment' and 'Wisdom', which are names of Manichaean eons (3).

10. The accusation of Manichaeism was by now being made against all heretics who were discovered. Archbishop Samson of Rheims warned in 1157 against the danger of Manichaeist sects which condemned marriage and lived in promiscuity. Guiraud sees in their _majores_ and _sequaces_ equivalents of the _Perfecti_ and _Credentes_ into whom the Cathars were divided (1). Louis VII of France wrote to Pope Alexander III in 1162, warning him of the existence in Flanders of 'depraved men, disciples of the worst of errors, the heresy of the Manichaeans, that are called _Populicani_' (2). Eckbert, abbot of Schönau, wrote sometime between 1159 and 1167 his _Sermones contra Catharos_ in which he described rites

which according to Guiraud 'were at all points, especially that of the initiation of the Perfecti, similar to those we shall describe in the France of the late 12th century.' (3) Henry II Plantagenet presided over a Council at Oxford in 1160 where a group of Germans, denying the authority of the Church and its sacraments, were branded, whipped and left to die in the cold (4). In 1167 the Abbot of Vézelay arrested a number of heretics called Deonarii or Poplicani, who were subjected to strenuous and lengthy attempts to make them confess their doctrines. These do not appear to have succeeded, though it is said that the heretics denied the authority of the Church and its sacraments; in any case they were condemned, some to be whipped, others burned (5).

11. At Tours in 1163 a council under the presidency of Alexander III denounced a heresy which had spread from the South of France to many other countries, and whose main features were an asceticism and a denial of the Church's validity (1). The bishops of the South of France thereupon called an assembly at Lombers, where they proceeded to condemn the heretics who had presented themselves; but the 'heretics' denied that the condemnation was valid, and the assembly would have turned into a public discussion, but the Bishop of Albi refused to answer, and confirmed the condemnation. The heretics were never arrested (2). By then, it is said, the heretics had a full organization: in 1167 a heretic Council was held at Saint-Félix-de-Caraman, at which a 'heretic pope' called Nicetas/Niquinta presided over an assembly of delegates from the Albi region, the County of Toulouse, the Val d'Aran, Gascony, France and Lombardy. Nicetas is said to have consecrated some bishops and marked out two dioceses (3).

12. From this point to the Albigensian Crusade is merely a story

of increasing heresy, and increasing Church activity, particularly aimed at getting the barons of Languedoc to repress the heresy themselves. Innocent III and his predecessors in the Holy See delegated full powers to a series of legates in Languedoc, giving them the impossible task of persuading the Counts of Toulouse and their vassals to enforce the provisions of the Constitution known as Ad Abolendam (1). This instrument, promulgated in 1184, codified the extremely strict measures whereby the aristocracy of all countries was supposed to support the clergy and papacy in repressing heresies (2). Innocent III's accession to the Holy See in 1198 gave more consistent support to the legates in their work, for he was a man of great determination, but the legates were hardly more successful, and the local clergy remained as it had always been, unconcerned (3). Innocent, perhaps like all men whose apparently limitless energy comes from idealism, was not as ruthless as his subordinates. As well as showing an apparently endless patience with the broken promises of Raymond VI of Toulouse, he persuaded his legates to take time off from their persecutions to engage in controversy with the heretics. Under the presidency of King Peter III of Aragon a grand conference was held in 1204 at Carcassonne, complete with bipartite jury. It appears that the heretics

> proclaimed their doctrines boldly, stating that the universe was the work of the Principle of Evil, which was also the origin of the Law of Moses, that Jesus Christ was only a man born of a man and a woman, and that the Virgin Mary, by contrast, was not born in a fleshly manner of fleshly parents. Finally, they denied the Sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist, as well as the resurrection of the flesh...(4)

13. In 1205 there occurred an event of considerable importance for the later history of Europe. Dominic de Guzman, a Spaniard accompanying his bishop Diego de Osma, was persuaded by Innocent III to abandon his project of preaching near the Black Sea and to attempt instead to convert the Cathars. Having decided that the only way to combat the Cathar preachers, whose self-denial was in exemplary contrast to the self-indulgence of the Church's priests, was by setting an equal example, Diego and Dominic abandoned their possessions and set out on foot to convert Languedoc. They did not succeed, but Dominic was to found the Order of Preachers, or Dominicans, to whom was later given the duty of runningthe Inquisition.

14. Meanwhile the situation in Languedoc continued much as before. Innocent however was losing patience. In the face of the obstinacy of Raymond VI of Toulouse, the papal legate Peter of Castelnau then tried a manoeuvre which throws a strange light on the alleged 'anarchism' of the heretics: he formed a league for the repression of heresy among Raymond's vassals in Provence, with the intention of turning the league against Raymond should he refuse to join in its activities. When this failed the Count was excommunicated (1). During an interview with Peter of Castelnau which followed this, Raymond is said to have lost his temper, and it is possible that he ordered the legate's assassination, which took place on the 15th January 1208 (2).

15. It is said that when he was informed of the murder of his legate, Innocent III remained for two days without speaking (1). Certainly it caused a change in his feelings; in the place of the patience he had formerly urged, he called for a crusade. His principal hope, Philippe-Auguste of France, was not interested. To the demands of

the renowned lawyer that Innocent was, he replied that he was not legally able to deprive his vassal Raymond of his fief until the latter was declared a heretic (2). But Arnaud-Amalric, Abbot of Citeaux, was already preaching the Crusade, and an army of Crusaders from the North, led by the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens and Rouen, the Bishops of Autun, Clermont, Nevers, the Duke of Burgundy and the Counts of Nevers, Bar and Saint-Pol, under Arnaud-Amalric's leadership, crossed the Rhône in July 1209.

The Albigensian Crusade

16. The story of this war, which Pound called 'a sordid robbery cloaking itself in religious pretence' (1) and which is not in good odour even among Catholic historians (excepting perhaps Guiraud), is not relevant to my subject. It does however furnish us with some demonstrable patterns of behaviour in a society about which many contradictory, and relevant, assertions have been made. It should tell us something about the alleged 'nationalism' of the Languedoc barons, and perhaps their supposed greed as well. But it is not only for these reasons that I want to sketch what happened; I wish to give some idea of the situation out of which grew the Inquisition, whose evidence is important on the beliefs of the Cathars (4).

17. The first notable event in this Crusade was the taking of Béziers. An unsupported sally by the defenders, in the first few days of the seige, allowed the Crusaders to stream in through the open city gates. According to William of Tudela's account

> They killed them all, not being able to do worse.
>
> And they killed all those who had taken refuge in the cathedral,

Cross, altar nor crucifix could save them;
And the mad beggarly camp-followers killed the clergy
And women and children; I think none escaped. (1)

It was on this occasion, when the carnage was so horrible that Cathars and Catholics 'could not be distinguished', that the legate Arnaud-Amalric is supposed to have offered the famous solution: Coedite eos, novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus ('kill them all, God will know his own') (2).

10. This was a miraculous beginning for a Crusade, and must have undermined the faith of other towns in their city walls. There followed a disaster of equal magnitude at Carcassonne. After brief but bitter fighting, Raymond-Roger de Trencavel, Viscount of Carcassonne, Béziers, Albi and Razès, was obliged to seek terms because his water had run out. What then happened is not clear: William of Tudela says that

On all sides knights and sergeants stared at him
(According to a certain mass-priest)
For he constituted himself a hostage of his own free will;
And he acted like a fool, in my opinion,
When he put himself in prison. (1)

He then died, some said from dysentery, others from treachery (3); in any case the townsfolk had to surrender unconditionally, and the fief of Raymond VI's principal vassal was vacant.

19. With the dubious legality that characterised their dealings, the Crusaders offered Carcassonne to the Duke of Burgundy and to the Counts of Nevers and Saint-Pol, and, when these refused, to Simon de Montfort. This was a happy choice, for the man was a fanatic. He had the tenacity necessary to pursue a relentless, sordid and undramatic war

in a hostile country for the next eight years, with no apparent benefit to himself, ending as far as he was concerned when his head was removed by a missile. Languedoc then was covered with the feudal castles which were of such durability as to have survived, for the most part, until now; his task was to reduce them one by one to submission, and to install the adventurers who accompanied him as successors to the dispossessed heretics. Simon set about his unenviable task, after many towns had surrendered without a fight, by laying seige to such impregnable eyries as Minerve, which took six weeks to surrender, and Termes, which took four months. The heretics of Minerve who would not be converted were burned; at Termes, all escaped; at Lavaur, the mistress of the place was thrown into a well and covered with stones, while her 80 knights were hanged. Here the barons of the South finally began to show their hand, when an army led by Roger-Bernard of Foix routed six thousand German Crusaders. Roger-Bernard and Raymond of Toulouse then laid seige to Simon at Castelnaudary, and there was a battle, at which both sides claimed victory. Peter II of Aragon entered the field at this point, apparently because he was afraid of the consequences if Simon was allowed to get away with the theft of Languedoc; Simon's ambitions even disturbed the Pope, who suspended the Crusade, while Arnaud-Amalric took the unprecedented step (for a Churchman) of assuming the title 'Duke of Narbonne' (1). But Simon's generalship at the battle of Muret turned it into a massacre, during which Peter of Aragon was killed. The Crusaders entered Toulouse in 1215.

20. Raymond VI and his young son retired to England. When Innocent III died in 1216, the young Raymond VII landed at Marseilles amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and proceeded to reconquer Languedoc. Simon de Montfort met his gory end before Toulouse in 1217, from a machine said

to have been operated by women. This is how the anonymous author of the second part of the Chanson de la Croisade felt about it:

> It says on his epitaph, for those who can read, that he is a saint, that he is a martyr, that he will rise again... And me, I have heard that it will be like this: if, for killing men and shedding blood, for losing souls, for agreeing to murder, for believing false counsel, for starting fires, destroying barons, shaming Parage (courtly splendour), taking lands by violence, letting pride triumph, kindling evil and stifling good, killing women and cutting the throats of children one can win Jesus Christ in this world, Simon shall wear a crown and shine in Heaven! (1)

Simon's son was not equal to the task, and finally offered his father's conquests to Philippe-Auguste. In 1223 Roger-Bernard of Foix, Raymond VI of Toulouse and Philippe-Auguste of France all died, and the following year Amaury, son of Simon de Montfort, quit Carcassonne en route for Paris with his father sewn up in a cowhide.

21. The business, however, was not finished for Languedoc. Blanche of Castille, the ambitious wife of Philippe-Auguste's heir to the throne, made sure that the prize was not lost for France. Her husband, Louis VIII, led south a new Crusade in 1226, and despite the prolonged resistance of Avignon, the South submitted. Judicious use of the King's hated seneschal brought Raymond of Toulouse to his knees, and the result was the Treaty of Paris of 1229. Raymond was forced in effect to agree to the end of his house: his only heir, a daughter, was to marry Louis IX's brother, so that Languedoc would pass to France. In the meanwhile he was to ratify his losses in the war and to persecute heretics with all

his power. Certain chateaux still hold out against the King, and various nobles attempted single-handed risings, but essentially it was all over.

22. The effects of this war are generally agreed to have been disastrous for the South of France. Lacking statistics, it is difficult to put precise indices on the catastrophe. If the artistic production is the determinant, as it is for Pound, then Provençal civilization died with the Albigensian Crusade: after it, the only great Provençal poetry was written by Sordello, the Mantuan. Toulouse, a great metropolis while London was a Northern market town, lost its political and cultural importance. Even in jurisprudence, a field where the Toulousains were renowned, Paris was soon to enforce the suppression of the Provençal language (1). The good bourgeois of Toulouse were to set up a corporation for the production of poetry, but as Pound remarked of it, there is a provincialism of time as well as of place (2), and it infallibly damned the gay savoir. Eight years of continuous war aimed at reducing to submission a whole population, using the only method possible, namely, the successive seige and destruction of every town and chateau that resisted, accompanied by the burning of crops wherever necessary and the burning of heretics wherever possible (3), and followed by a series of disastrous uprisings, had reduced Languedoc from a civilization to a backwater.

The Inquisition

23. A large part of our information concerning the Cathars comes, as we shall see, from the Inquisition, or its members acting individually as propagandists, or the organisms that were later to make up the Inquisition. This institution did not spring forth fully-armed from the Pope's

head; I shall trace the important stages of its growth because they help to understand the reason for its nature and because some of the information about the Cathars emanates from early states of its existence. Description of the Inquisition is only relevant here as an explanation of the nature of the information it produced. The institution is of course very famous, and of so proverbial a kind that one imagines perhaps that one was born knowing its basic nature; but it is not so; it still has very effective apologists, whose work consists largely of blurring distinctions:

> Let us take note first al all that the Holy Office was a tribunal and that, like any other tribunal, it had its defendants and its judges, its legislation and its procedure...(Guiraud) (1)
>
> Persecution involves the co-operation of the State. The Church by itself has only spiritual arms; and threats of excommunication mean nothing to a wilful schismatic. But the State can bring all its physical force to bear on him. It is the State, not the Church, that persecutes, and the State that should be blamed for the cruelties of persecution. (Runciman) (2)

I hope the following material will clear up these confusions.

24. The persecution of heretics was not invented by the Inquisition. Most of the early burning, whippings etc. which I have related were carried out by the 'ordinary', that is, by the ecclesiastic in charge of the district, normally a bishop or archbishop. This procedure had the important disadvantage that the ordinary had local connections. The

torpid state of the local hierarchy, moreover, especially in Languedoc, with its secure wealth and scandalous materialism, meant that it had more inertia than a Pope acting from a great distance could overcome. An extreme case is Bishop Bérenger of Narbonne: his behaviour was shocking to the last degree, but it took the Pope nine years to get him dismissed. (1) Under these circumstances the Popes increasingly had recourse to legates, whom they could appoint and dismiss at will, and in whom they invested all the powers that the hierarchy normally disposed of.

25. But the methods of these earlier heretic-hunters differed only from those of the Inquisition in organization, persistence and effectiveness. The basic, arbitrary trait was always there; it was the ordinary's, the legate's or the inquisitor's task to follow up all suspicions of heresy, and to judge and sentence according to his own conscience, not as to whether the suspect was outwardly religious, but as to whether, within his soul, he truly believed everything that the Church professed (1). The one might sometimes be deduced from the other: 'since insubmission shows a doubtful faith, the Poor Men of Lyons thereby are heretics.' (2) Methods varied: when the Bishop of Soissons was in doubt as to the guilt of the peasant Clementius (c.1125) he submitted him to God's judgement: trial by water. When a number of supposed heretics were arrested at Vézelay in 1167,

> they started up red herrings. Separated from each other, they were kept incommunicado until they could be convinced of heresy by the bishops and those temporarily authorised. During their captivity, which lasted more than sixty days, they appeared several times before their judges who tried to make them specify their beliefs, now with threats, now by cajoling. Since the judges were

not successful, a tribunal composed of the two Archbishops of Lyons and Narbonne, the bishop of Nevers and several abbots and "many other extremely experienced persons", pronounced that they would only confess the divine essence but denied all validity to the sacraments of the Church... (3)

Of these heretics, one was whipped and seven burned. The essential proceedings are already there. Things cannot have been very different during the activity of the papal legates, for Guiraud says that the Ad abolendam Constitution of 1184 merely defined more closely what had been practised for a long time, namely the inquisition by bishops (4); and, furthermore, that the Treaty of Meaux (/Paris) of 1229, and the Council of Toulouse that immediately followed it, also merely codified existing practices (5). The changes were only in the authorities that carried them out: gradually the responsibility was shifted from the bishops to the papal legates, and finally to the Order that St Dominic had established. Immediately after the Council of Toulouse of 1229 an inquisition was begun against the seigneurs of Mort, violently denounced by the Archbishop of Narbonne (6). Lea remarks that 'of the one hundred and eight witnesses examined scarce one was able to speak of his own knowledge as to any act of the accused', but the accused were condemned (7). It was soon after this, on 20th April 1233, that Gregory IX gave its definitive form to the Inquisition by entrusting it to the care of the Dominican Order, thus endowing it with that autonomy and permanence which made it a fully-fledged secret police.

26. The Inquisition is of importance for this study from the early thirteenth to the early fourteenth century; during this period it produced the bulk of its information on the Cathars. I shall base the

following brief account of its workings on H.C. Lea's <u>History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages</u> of 1887, which for this purpose remains unsuperseded (1).

27. When an Inquisitor intended to visit a town he would send advance notice to the authorities that he was coming. Almost the whole of the secular machinery of administration, as well as that of the Church, was in fact at his disposal (1). The authorities would then publish the news, often offering a week of grace during which anyone who would confess his heresy would receive mercy, and commanding all, on pain of excommunication, to tell the Inquisitor of any suspicions they might have concerning others (2). This was an effective device, since all witnesses were protected by secrecy (3), and denunciation of heretics was taken as proof of good intentions (4), so that the only way to protect oneself from denunciations either genuine or false was to denounce all one's enemies first (5). The inquisitor proceeded, in secret, to attempt to extract a confession from the suspected heretic (6). Bernart Gui, who conducted the Inquisition in Toulouse, described his motivation in this:

> On the one side, his conscience pained him if he punished one who was neither confessed nor convicted; but he suffered still more, knowing by constant experience the falsity and cunning and malice of these men, if he allowed them to escape through their vulpine astuteness, to the damage of the faith. In such case they were strengthened and multiplied, and rendered keener than ever, while the laity were scandalized at seeing the inefficiency of the Inquisition, baffled in its undertakings, and its most learned men played with and defied by rude and illiterate

> persons, for they believed the inquisitors to have all the proofs and arguments of the faith so ready at hand that no heretic could elude them or prevent their converting him.(7).

20. The Inquisitor was judge, prosecutor and jury. In this he was limited by a requirement to have the sentence passed by an assembly including the prisoner's bishop, but the bishops frequently delegated their powers to the Inquisitor (1). A similar device was employed with regard to the ban on torture: Alexander IV in 1256 authorized inquisitors and their assistants to absolve each other from this sin and mutually to grant dispensations for irregularities (2). The Inquisitor thus had total power over the defendant. He was not restricted by the required presence of a notary during the examination, for the usual safeguards on evidence did not apply, as Bernart Gui notes:

> The accused are not to be condemned unless they confess or are convicted by witnesses, though not according to the ordinary laws, as in other crimes, but according to the private laws or privileges conceded to the inquisitors by the Holy See, for there is much that is peculiar to the Inquisition.(3).

The early evolution of the procedures concerning witnesses may be seen in this account by Guiraud of the trial at the Council of Toulouse (1229):

> Others, but few in number, said they wanted to defend themselves according to a regular procedure, and accordingly asked for the names of the witnesses who had spoken against them, either to embarrass the judges who would not want to expose the witnesses to reprisals, and have names withheld; or to obtain them and then publish them

> and thus point out to the heretic party its accusers. Cardinal de Saint-Ange undid their schemes by giving them the names, not of those who had witnessed against them, but of all those who had been cited by the Council for the whole inquisition. (4)

No restrictions whatsoever as to character applied in the admission of witnesses (5). In one case the evidence of a ten-year-old was recorded against sixty-six persons. In this situation Lea is right in concluding that:

> All the safeguards which human experience had shown to be necessary in judicial proceedings of the most trivial character were deliberately cast aside in these cases, where life and reputation and property through three generations were involved. (6)

29. The sentences of the Inquisition were principally penance (including life imprisonment) and death. A standard penance was pilgrimage to one or more of the recognised places, such as St James of Compostella, Rome, St Thomas of Canterbury or the Three Kings of Cologne (1). In 1322, for example, Bernart Gui sentenced three prisoners (who some years previously had seen Waldensian teachers in their fathers' houses without knowing who they were) to perform seventeen of the minor pilgrimages, from Bordeaux to Vienne (2). In some cases the prisoner had to wear a cross for life, which might effectively prevent him from obtaining employment (3). All sentences to prison were for solitary confinement with no access (4), either in 'murus largus' (spacious accomodation) or 'murus strictus' (close confinement), most often for life (5). In 'murus largus' prisoners were sometimes allowed to take exercise in the corridors. In some cases the Inquisition kept its

accused under these conditions for years without trial; Clement V, who tried to correct the worst abuses of the system, took nine years to persuade the Inquisitors to try some ten citizens of Albi who had already been in prison for eight years when he started (6). It had been better for them had Clement kept silent; three at least were burned, after retracting their confessions. Retractions, of course, were generally regarded as perjury (7); similarly notaries who drew up retractions and advocates who tried to excuse defendants were held to be fautors of heresy (8).

30. It is not necessary to describe the burning of heretics, except in so far as the ceremonies throw light on the people who conducted them. A staging was erected in the centre of the church, to which all inhabitants had been summoned; the notary would read out the confessions and sentences would be pronounced. For sentences to burning the assembly adjourned to a public square, so that the church might not be stained with the implication of blood. The execution took place the day after, so as to afford time for conversion (1). The expenses are recorded in the case of four heretics who went to hell at Carcassonne on the 24th April 1323:

For large wood	55 sols	6 deniers
For vine-branches	21 sols	3 deniers
For straw	2 sols	6 deniers
For four stakes	10 sols	9 deniers
For ropes to tie the convicts	4 sols	7 deniers
For the executioners, each 20 sols	80 sols	
In all	8 livres	14 sols	7 deniers

As Lea remarks, that makes about two livres a head (2).

31. Since the question of the responsibility for these deaths is

still, apparently, raised, perhaps I should settle it as conclusively as I can. The Inquisition never explicitly condemned anyone to death; it handed persons over to the secular authorities merely as condemned heretics. In the famous phrase, they were 'relaxed to the secular arm'. It was, however, expected of the authorities that they should then burn the heretics; the Church itself had imposed on them the laws ensuring this, and 'intervened authoritatively to annul any secular statutes which should interfere with the prompt and effective application of the penalties.' (1) Under these circumstances it is a determined casuist who claims that the Church was not effectively sentencing to the stake; Guiraud does not make the attempt, using baldly the phrase 'condemned to death' (2). Nor did St Thomas Aquinas, while various Inquisitors also let the pretence drop from time to time. In this, I note, they were falling into error. Pope Boniface VIII had explicitly instructed Inquisitors not to mention the penalties, while at the same time proceeding against magistrates who failed to carry them out (3).

The supposed beliefs and practices of the Cathars

32. On the basis of depositions before the Inquisition, of treatises written by Churchmen (normally Inquisitors), of accounts by contemporary witnesses outside the Church, and of various sources concerning Eastern religions, the following picture has been built up.

33. The ultimate origin of Catharism, it is said, lies in the religion of Manes, whose dualism I have already mentioned. This was already the view of contemporary Catholic writers, though they did not try to trace an unbroken tradition from the third century A.D. to their own time. That task was first undertaken by Ricchini, who republished the work of the Catholic controversialist Moneta in 1743;

> No-one who has diligently compared the dogma, customs and discipline of the two sects doubts that the Cathars, or new Manichaeans of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, were a sprout and offshoot of the heresy of the Manichees, which, emerging from the foul ponds of the Persians and Gnostics in the third century of the Church under the leadership of Manes the Persian, spread long and wide; nor that these Cathars, adding new errors, exceeded by far their parents and precursors in iniquity and blasphemies... It seems to me, indeed, studying the matter more deeply, that this new sect of Manichees [i.e. the Cathars] was brought down from the first Manichees by a hidden but scarcely if ever broken succession. (1)

Though at times it seemed destroyed, it lay like a spark amid ashes, 'in Ecclesiae perniciem nox eruptura'. Ricchini thus traces Manichaeism from Rome, whence it was ejected in A.D. 523, and Africa:

> Hurled from its native Asia, it reached Africa in the fourth century, where St Augustine himself, the Eagle of human souls, wallowed wretchedly in its mud for nine years, as he witnesses, Contra Faustum 2.19 and Confessiones 4.1.

From Africa, Ricchini says, the heresy found its way to Armenia around A.D. 653 where

> Under the Emperor [of Constantinople] Nicephorus [I]... Sergius restored the heresy of the Paulicians... And finally I suspect that Manichaeism was probably carried from Armenia into Bulgaria in the tenth century.

34. The theory is thus worked out by 1743, and it remains for Tocco only to amplify it, which he does in 1884 (1). With an increase in

available knowledge about the Eastern sects, and the discovery of what are held to be Cathar texts, Sir Steven Runciman is able to give a fairly detailed account of this line of descent in his Medieval Manichee of 1947. He begins with Gnostics, whose distinguishing doctrine was that 'the visible world was created not by God but by the Demiurge' (2), and who were flourishing throughout the Roman Empire by the middle of the second century A.D. The Gnostics, Runciman thinks, were not at all influenced by Zoroastrian thought. Zoroastrianism, of course, had proposed a dualist (Principle of Good versus Principle of Evil) solution to the problem of Evil since the sixth century B.C. (3) It was in the bosom of a Zoroastrian civilization that the next link in Runciman's chain, Manichaeism, arose (4), but strangely enough Runciman regards Manes not only as essentially a Gnostic but even as a heterodox Christian (5). For Manes,

> From all eternity the two realms of Light and Darkness existed side by side. In the former dwelt the Eternal God, the Lord of Greatness with His light, His power and His wisdom, in His five dwellings of Sense, Reason, Thought, Imagination and Intention. In the latter dwelt the Lord of the Dark with his disorderly anarchical restless brood. Evil began when the denizens of the Dark, impelled by curiosity or some vague unregulated desire, began to invade the realm of Light. (6)

Through the creation of the universe is a very complicated allegorical story, the spiritual history of Man is the process of rescuing for the Kingdom of Light the sparks which are trapped in him. Asceticism, the denial of the world of matter which was created by the Archons of Darkness, is the chief means to this salvation (7).

35. Runciman then follows the spread of certain Manichaean sects

into Armenia. In the eight century A.D. there arose in this country the sect known as the Paulicians, whose 'doctrines must remain largely a matter of conjecture' but are held to have many similarities with those of the Cathars (1). The information about these doctrines stems from the Greek authorities (?), and is to the effect that the Paulicians believed, like the Manichaeans, in the existence of a Heavenly Being and of a Demiurge or Creator who made the material world. They thought that Christ acquired His body in Heaven, merely passing through Mary as through a pipe; she did not remain a virgin after his birth but had other children by Joseph. The Paulicians, as we shall find with most of the heretical sects of Western Europe later on, also denied all the doctrines that the Catholic Church had acquired over and above the teaching of Christ (3).

36. Noting the activity of Paulician missionaries in Bulgaria, Runciman suggests a link with the new doctrine of Bogomilism that arose in that country in the tenth century (1). His account of its doctrines shows a faith similar in most points to Manichaeism, though the cosmogony is related in a different way (2). With Bogomil missionaries active, later on, in Herzegovina and Bosnia (3), and a convenient local desire for independence both from the Catholic kings of Hungary and from the Orthodox Emperors, a similar doctrine arose there at some time around 1100 (4). This doctrine, called Patarinism, lasted right through until the Turks invaded in 1463 (5). Finally, because 'probably missionaries from the Balkans were definitely operating in and from Italy' (6), the dualist doctrine reached the Italian peninsular. Since 'it was in Italy that the first explicitly Cathar Church appeared' (he refers to the heretic community at Monteforte in 1030), and from other indications, it seems certain that from Italy the Cathars received their dualism (7).

37. The 'neo-manichaeism' that the Cathars are said to have come by in this manner is based on a response to the problem of Evil. If God is good, why does he permit the existence in this world of evils which seem in no way to contribute to an overall, even less an individual, justice? The answer is the frequently-quoted statement by Peire Garcias before the Inquisition: 'God is very good and in this world nothing is good, therefore He made nothing of what is in this world.' (1) Who then made the World? It is said that there were two schools among the Cathars, those who held that the creator of the world was an evil God of equal status with the good God, and those who held that he was a lesser God and called him Satan (2). This latter personage was believed to have envied God his glory (3) and therefore to have seduced a number of angels and to have waged war with them against the Most High (4). Many Cathars are said to have believed that human souls are the spirits of these fallen angels, imprisoned by Satan in bodies (5). A doctrine of metempsychosis then ensured that souls would be imprisoned in flesh until such time as they had completed their penitence on this earth (6); any procreation of children of course was a weakness which merely lengthened the time of purgatory for another soul (7). As well as these fundamental doctrines the Cathars are said to have held that the God of the Old Testament (a lying work) was a devil (8), that Christ did not truly participate in the Divinity (9), that the Virgin Mary was one of the emanations of God (10), and that Christ was adopted, not begotten, by God (11).

38. There is less agreement about Cathar ethics than about Cathar theology. The divergences however are not of vital importance; they come in general from Cathar students like Fernand Niel and Rene Nelli, who recognise the prejudices in the usual approach and the even more

violent prejudices in the mediaeval sources used; they usually consist therefore in pointing out that the Cathars were probably men, not dogs (1). The main body of the theory is universally accepted. Its points are chiefly these: (2)

39. The purpose of human life was the reunification of the souls imprisoned in human bodies with the spiritual world, that is to say the end of life in this world. If it were possible, Cathars would have liked the race to commit suicide. Human weakness being what it is, they contented themselves with individual efforts in this direction, in a manner known as the endura, a fast to the death. For similar reasons they abstained from meat and other foods stemming from animals. Complete and perpetual chastity was aspired to, as shortening the life of the race. Nonetheless the Cathars as a whole were extremely debauched, because they considered sexual promiscuity as much less heinous than marriage: it created less offspring, made the sinful bond less permanent and did not involve the sanctification of human ties in the family. With this latter tendency towards anarchism they also manifested others: they condemned punishment, wars and oaths.

40. It is believed that Cathar rites were limited mainly to the Consolamentum or initiation, which took place in normal circumstances after a spiritual preparation lasting a year (1), or, in cases where the believer was near death, as a kind of absolution (2). The believer, or Credens, was by this initiation received into the class of Cathar priests, known as bons hommes, or Perfecti ('perfect ones') (3). These Perfecti became wandering preachers, usually travelling in twos, and of a high reputation for the purity of their lives (4). The liturgy, ceremonial and hierarchy involved in the Cathar church were very simple,

and no fixed place was thought necessary for its activities.

41. That, briefly, is the structure of 'knowledge' about the Cathars which has been erected. Its contradiction of Pound's whole view of Provence could not be more profound. Pound's suggestion throughout is that some form of ecstatic cult, in close contact with nature, was operative in that civilisation; of those cults he says that 'their general object appears to be to stimulate a sort of confidence in the life-force' (1). If 'history' (as embodied in the works of these Cathar historians) is right, Pound is wrong; it is time to consider whether 'history' can be wrong.

42. Pound is out of line, of course, and the obvious thing to do in these circumstances is to question his view rather than the accepted one. But his intuition tells him that (a) the approach to life of the Provençal troubadours (which he grasps intuitively from their poetry) and (b) the alleged asceticism are two 'facts, possibly small, but gristly and resilient' (1) that are fundamentally incompatible. I hope to show that this incompatibility is in fact a major stumbling-block to the neo-manichaeist view of Catharism. Pound's critique of this established view is also based on a second perception. He says that Catharism is something 'which the police called "Manichaean" knowing nothing either of Manes or of anything else.' (2) He is pointing out that most of our information on the subject comes from the Inquisition and organisms closely allied to it; that these cannot be expected to be more intelligent than any other repressive institution; and that therefore we should question the source material that has always been accepted.

A Critique of Hypotheses concerning the Cathars

43. Before one can re-examine the data of any hypothesis it is

necessary to avoid begging the question. One must avoid approaching each piece of evidence with the latent assumption that the hypothesis is proven. Otherwise the same conclusion will infallibly be reached, whatever the nature of the evidence; any historical incident will have some aspect, though it may be marginal, that will fit into a pattern, if we approach it with that pattern as a basic assumption. In the case of the Cathars the assumption is one of chronology: that all manifestations of heresy between c. 1000 A.D. and c. 1300 A.D. in Western Europe belong to the body of heretic doctrine expounded by the Catholic controversialists in the last fifty years of this period.

44. This barrier to thought was breached by Raffaelo Morghen some twenty years ago in his Medioevo cristiano. On grounds of methodology he questioned the wisdom of assuming a priori the existence of a quasi-monolithic body of doctrine, hierarchy, etc., irrespective of the dating of sources. He also began the work of re-examining the sources without the prejudice of this assumption, though the scope of his book did not permit detailed investigation; but realising that the so-called 'rise of the Cathar church' must be studied in the historians contemporary with it, he began with Adémar of Chabannes (1), who discovered 'Manichaeans' in the heretics of Aquitaine c. 1018-1028. Like the rest of Adémar's 'Manichaeans', these unfortunates seem to have professed a bundle of assorted doctrines so individual that there is no single thread running continuously through all of them. At the end of his survey Morghen notes that the heretics of Goslar (1051) were called 'Manichaean' because they refused to kill a chicken.

45. The detailed survey of sources thus demanded has been begun by J.B. Russell. The change in approach is evident:

> In 1012 Henry II "refuted the madness of the heretics" at Mainz. These heretics have been supposed Catharists on the assumption that Catharism was widespread at the time, but this is precisely what is questionable. (1)

In the following fifty years he finds nothing resembling Catharism. Typical of the evidence he thus re-examines is this:

> Certainly it was in Italy that the first explicitly Cathar Church appeared.
>
> In 1030 there was at Monteforte an organized heretic community, to which the epithet Cathar was applied. (Runciman). (2)

Examination of their doctrines tells Russell that:

> The heretics of Monteforte explicitly affirmed the Old Testament and the humanity of Christ, which automatically precludes them from being Catharists. (3)

A systematic examination of all the European heresies before 1167 thus brings him to the conclusion that 'there is no external evidence supporting a connection between these dissenters and Catharism'. (4)

46. Why then were they called Cathars? They were not, except for those at Trier, 1152-1156 (1); but they were called Manichaeans, which amounts doctrinally (as far as historians until Morghen were concerned) to the same thing, and certainly demands an explanation. Pound has remarked that

> The study of terms of abuse has been neglected. For centuries if you disliked a man you called him a Manichaean, as in some circles to-day you call him a Bolshevic to damage his earning capacity. (2)

This fact is not in dispute; but why pick on 'Manichaean' (3), a term

applied to a long-dead religion? The idea of heresy was fairly new to the period and there was no living tradition of knowledge about these strange creatures, heretics; but there were the famous books of St Augustine confuting the Manichaean doctrines he had once believed, back in the fourth century A.D. Morghen pointed out that the early chroniclers of the new heresies were continually obliged to refer to Augustine for 'information' on their subjects; Etienne de Bourbon and Eckbert of Schönau (and, I would add, Guibert of Nogent) did so explicitly (4). The same process is evident when St Bernard and others in the same period call various heretics (whom later historians have hauled into the Cathar net) 'Arians', without the slightest doctrinal justification; they had as much in common with all the other heretics as with Arians; but the great preacher was able thus to use for his own purposes the emotive connotations that adhered to the famous struggle in the fourth-century Church (5). The term 'Cathar' is usually consigned to the depths of the sect's supposed past (6), but Russell explains it as a similarly retrospective <u>topos</u> on the part of the Catholic writers: it is borrowed from a canon of the celebrated Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) which condemned Arianism (7). He shows that the Middle Ages were familiar with this canon, and that one supposed source for Cathar activities in the ninth century is actually a quotation from it.

47. The terminology is thus derivative and of no particular significance; but why did the Middle Ages treat all the heretical sects as one single unit? The 'Middle Ages' in this case of course means the Church; and it had powerful psychological reasons for doing so. Morghen has remarked that the Catholic authorities habitually regarded all manifestations of heterodoxy as

"heresy", considered an the immutable and eternal trap set up by the devil for the Church of God, coexisting with the Church herself and articulated in its most diverse manifestations right from its origin: a new Hydra... this is the mental position of the thirteenth-century controversialists, who from the data of the interrogations of heretics, but above all in the path of the antimanichaean works of St. Augustine, laboriously reconstructed the doctrinal edifice of the mediaeval heresies... (1)

In the case of Moneta, one of the most authoritative of these later controversialists, Morhgen notes the most striking historical simplicism parallel with a complex theological thought: precisely the combination with which to erect these monoliths in the air. The Church, as we shall see later on, was at this time in the grip of reaction, with all the psychological results that that state involves; it had need of monoliths against which to unite itself. The use of all the sinister foreign names, in full knowledge that they can have no effect on the reader (even more ignorant than Moneta himself) other than to evoke the spectre of an International Conspiracy, is strongly reminiscent of the popular Kremlinology of the Reader's Digest in the fifties:

> The congregation of Catharn is not the Church of God, nor did it take its origin from the same source, but rather from the Pagans, or the Jews, or the Christian apostates. For there was a certain pagan, Pythagoras by name, who said that the souls of men entered into other bodies, that is to say of men or cattle, to which error many pagans agreed, and were called Pythagoreans, whom the Cathars...imitate; in this error were also

certain other traitors, namely Zardon and Arphaxat, from whom all the Cathars, right through until this error, are derived, who said that the giver of the Law of Moses was the Prince of Darkness. There were also among the Jews the Sadducees, who denied the resurrection of their bodies; all the Cathars take their origin from them. There was a certain other person, Manes by name, who posited two principles and two creations and two natures, from whom certain people are called Manichaeans, and certain of the Cathars took their principles from these... There was also a certain person, Tatianus by name, after whom certain Tatians are called... whom the Cathars imitate. Likewise the Valentianians, after Valentinus, who said that Christ received nothing from the Virgin. (2)

48. Russell, as I have mentioned, sets himself the task of examining all supposed evidence of Catharism up to the year 1167. He concludes that 'there is no firm evidence that Eastern dualism penetrated the West before the 1140's' (1). Why does he choose the year 1167 to stop? The answer is that 'by the time of the council of Saint Félix of Caraman in 1167 it is beyond dispute that Eastern dualism was active in the Occident...' (2) It is in fact accepted by all historians (except perhaps Borchen) that there took place in Saint-Félix at that date a Cathar council, at which the 'Antipope' Niquinta ordained several bishops and marked out several dioceses.

49. We may accept this as proven for the moment, but observe a strange inconsistency in Russell's methodology at this point. Earlier

'Cathars' he has shown not to be Cathars, because their doctrines did not accord sufficiently with Cathar doctrine. Like Morghen, he points instead to the vast movement of dissatisfaction with the state of the Church, as the cause of these widely-differing sects (1). But confronted with the apparently-undeniable evidence that Eastern-connected Cathars were operating in 1167, he changes his approach to material completely: what before would have been rejected as hopelessly slender grounds for identification, he now takes as read. Examining in detail six cases which occurred a little before Saint-Félix, he concludes that Catharism was, in general, present.

50. In the case of the heretics fought by Evervinus in the 1140's at Cologne, the evidence is narrowed to four points: (1)

that the heretics claimed an ancient descent, 'in Greece and other lands';

that they were vegetarians;

that they baptized by the laying on of hands;

that they were divided into "elect" and "listeners",

as the Cathars were divided into Perfecti and Credentes.

One could merely refer all these 'connections' to Russell's own previous arguments; or one could deal with them, perhaps as follows. No-one has yet traced the existence of an important dualist sect in Greece; this item is therefore sufficiently vague to stem either from the self-aggrandisement of the heretics themselves or from the officious pedantry of the Catholics who fought them. Vegetarianism (as Russell shows) is quite adequately accounted for by reformist tendencies within the Church and outside it, which we shall return to later (2). The imposition of hands was part of the common fund of ritual on which all nascent sects drew; even at this period it was in use by the Church

for the reconciliation of heretics, where it was regarded by St Augustine 'and the mediaeval tradition' as an initiation (3). Finally, the division into 'elect' and 'listeners' (or, as one might say, into 'priesthood' and 'believers') is a feature that few religions have been able to forgo.

51. Similarly with the case of the anti-'Cathar' sermons of Eckbert of Schönau (1). First of all Russell explains apparent inconsistencies by positing development within the sect, and the existence of an 'inner circle' and an 'outer circle'. This device is also used with great freedom by Jean Guiraud and Father Dondaine (2); it permits the writer to reconcile obviously-harmless beliefs with those held to have some connection with the hydra he is pursuing. In the case of Eckbert the explanation is probably much more simple: at least part of the doctrines he ascribed to the heretics came from his own knowledge of Augustine's works on Manichaeans. Thus he identifies a feast called Mallosa with the Bema that Augustine had known among his Manichaeans; Russell notes that 'This identification was probably the product of Eckbert's imagination'. But Russell is obliged to add a new twist to the 'Inner circle' idea, so flagrant are the contradictions: he suggests that the 'inner circle' rationalized in this way the doctrines which the weaker brethren would be unable to stomach in their poisonous purity. This speculation goes back to one of the oldest myths in Cathar historiography: Dondaine puts it thus:

> The Cathar doctors were very careful not to unveil completely those of their doctrinal errors which were most opposed to Catholic faith; the success of their preaching in Christian circles was at this price. This dissimulation is one of the saddest stains on mediaeval neo-manichaeism. (4)

It is also one of the most convenient myths for the historian lacking an explanation; but, as Morghen points out, it is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the readiness of the heretics to enter into public debates, where the argument was often fierce (4). Certainly Russell's pile of hypotheses seems to me inadequate in the face of the contradictions: these heretics used the Book of Moses, which was detested by the Cathars; they rejected baptism on quite un-Cathar grounds; and they had a rite called 'making the body of Christ' which was incompatible with Cathar views on the Saviour.

52. Of the four other cases of 'Catharism' (1), Russell finds one unfounded. The other three, however, he supports: those of Jonas of Cambrai (1164-67), the Piphili of Rheims (c.1157) and the persons tried by Henry II at Oxford in 1166. The evidence adduced in all cases is the date (around the time of the Saint-Félix council) and the name (catti / Piphili / Publicani). In the case of the unfortunates of Oxford, they also came from Germany, where, as we have seen, Catharism is supposed to have been present. When one considers Russell's attitude toward such evidence at earlier periods, it is clear that the council at Saint-Félix-de-Caraman has a wonderful effect on the historian.

53. It is clear in fact that the new approach, while rejecting the old idea of a monolithic Cathar Church that lasted 300 years, will only remove 160 years from this period, and say that it sprang up in full regalia at Saint-Félix-de-Caraman. Christine Thouzellier, for example, accepts that the heretics before about 1140 had nothing to do with the Cathars, but that the Cathars were present in strength by 1177; Saint-Félix is for her the turning-point (1). But the critical attitude towards sources (in Morghen and others) that has convinced her that the

earlier supposed 'Catharism' was only a series of disconnected sects, if applied to the later sources she refers to, would show them to be equally shaky. The assertions of Raymond V of Toulouse and of the Catholic heresiologists are taken as read, in the face of a complete refusal by heretics to say anything dualist, with the exception of one final recantation at Le Puy in 1181. In thirty years of Catharism's 'fullest development', this evidence of dualism is not striking (2). When Alexander III sent Peter of Saint-Chrysogone to find heretics in Languedoc in 1178, the legate, acting with the full support of the pope, of Raymond V and of numerous barons, found one single heretic, from whom he failed to obtain a confession of dualism (3).

The 'heretic council' at Saint-Felix-de-Caraman

54. What then is the council at Saint-Félix-de-Caraman that seems to make Cathars of all heretics? It is a document published in 1660 by one Guillaume Besse, copied from a manuscript of 1232, now lost, giving the

> CHARTER OF NIQUINTA, Antipope of the Albigensian Heretics, containing the Ordinations of the Bishops of his sect, made by him in Languedoc, communicated to me by the late M. Canoneuve, Prebend of the Chapter of the Church of St.-Etienne de Toulouse, in the year 1652. (1)

In a Latin which Dondaine calls 'à demi barbare' (2), the Charter relates how 'Papa Niquinta' came to Saint-Félix where a 'magno multitudo hominum et mulierum Eccl. Tolosanae' had congregated to receive from him the consolamentum. There followed consultations in which various men were elected bishops by their districts, and then 'Dominus Papa Niquinta' gave these men the consolamentum and ordained them. In his sermon he

spoke of the seven Churches of Asia, mentioning the 'Eccl. Romane, et Drogonetine et Melenguiae, et Bulgariae, et Dalmatiae', saying that they were thus established to eliminate administrative discord, and he laid down the demarcations of the Languedoc churches for the same purpose. The postscript to the Charter says that one 'Dominus Petrus Isarn' and one 'Petrus Pollanus' transcribed it in 1252.

55. Father Dondaine has established beyond reasonable doubt that Guillaume Besse did indeed transcribe this piece from a thirteenth-century source. Casseneuve was Prebend at St-Etienne in 1652 (1); the heretics were famed for their bad latin; Bernard Raymond and Raymond de Daimac (two of the new bishops) are corroborated as heretics by Roger de Hoveden and Guillaume de Puylaurens (2); Sicard Cellerier (another bishop) is corroborated by an anonymous Catholic polemist and by Puylaurens (3); Petrus Isarn is in the Inquisition Registers, though he was burned in 1226, and Petrus Pollanus is there also (4). Dondaine is undoubtedly right in saying that a seventeenth-century forger, even if he had to hand the texts of Puylaurens, Hoveden and Vignier, would be hard put to it to avoid committing one glaring error (5).

56. Father Dondaine however does not mention the possibility that Besse's document is the work of a thirteenth-century Catholic. Two considerations point to this: first, the unlikely nature of the document's contents; second, the nature of the information we possess concerning the Cathar heresy. None of the corroborations adduced to disprove a seventeenth-century forgery is relevant here, since the names of famous heretics were commonplaces, which any thirteenth-century Catholic heresiologist would remember. The author would naturally couch his piece in bad Latin, since, as Father Dondaine shows, the Cathars were

considered in Catholic circles to be invincibly ignorant (1).

57. H.C. Puech, Christine Thouzellier, J.B. Russell, Raffaello Morghen and Arno Borst among recent historians have accepted that there is no evidence of Cathars in Languedoc before the 1140's (1). That they accept their existence in the latter half of the century seems to me a result of viewing otherwise-negligible evidence in the light of the revelations of Saint-Félix-de-Caraman. There is in fact no solid evidence of 'Catharism' at any time before the end of the Albigensian Crusade. What should be one of the pillars of our knowledge, the information in the Inquisition Registers of Languedoc, is entirely defective in this respect: Jean Guiraud, who cites the Registers more abundantly than anyone, and who is a strong supporter of the 'monolithic Catharism' theory, is unable to quote more than two witnesses in the whole of this period who say anything definite about dualism (2). The confusion of doctrines among the other witnesses is indeed remarkable. The position of the Saint-Félix document is thus quite solitary from a chronological point of view.

58. Father Dondaine of course incorporates the document very ably into the body of Cathar doctrines and organisation. This body, however, is itself known from the work of a number of Catholic polemicists working at precisely the same period as that from which this document appears to emanate. To make the two sets of information cohere doctrinally is not, therefore, of significance with regard to a supposed council taking place in 1167.

59. At this point I must paint what I conceive to be the picture during this later period. First, since at every point where Catharism is under discussion I seem to deny its existence, while at the same time

making comparisons with this phantom, I had better define it: Catharism is that coherent body of doctrine and organization which the Inquisition and the Catholic controversialists described in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. I do not at this point wish to say what relation this corpus had to reality; I only wish to describe the circumstances of its birth, so as to account for my suggestion that the Saint-Félix document probably shared those circumstances, both of time and authorship.

60. What had previously been a trickle of vague hints about Cathar beliefs became, around the end of the Albigensian Crusade (1229), a veritable flood of information. By far the most important sources of this information are the Dominicans Moneta of Cremona and Raynier Sacchoni. Moneta was a Master of Arts at the University of Bologna, when he was profoundly moved by the sermon of one of St Dominic's colleagues and abandoned his post to join the order. Father Gorce says of Moneta: 'In his book he reasons with that magistria which made him, in his youth, the glory of the University of Bologna' (1); we have seen this magistria at work above, and have noted in particular its extreme tendency to theologise deeply at the expense of any relation to historical reality (2). That Manichaeism, for instance, was quite out of the question as a historical antecedent, even at this time of Catharism's supposed full flowering, we shall show later on. Moneta's book was probably based on the type of information available in Inquisition circles at his time (he was a Dominican); certainly, as its title indicates, it was intended for Inquisition use: ad fidei catholice corroborationem et eradicationem heretice pravitatis. Raynier Sacchoni's Summa de Catharis et Leonistis was published at about the same time, and is the principal source of information on the hierarchy of the

Cathar churches and their various sects (3). Sacchoni himself claimed to have held rank in the Cathar church and to have 'conversed with them for seventeen years' before he joined the Dominicans to become an Inquisitor (4). The zeal of this convert who called his former brethren 'apes' (5) no doubt made him a fearsome inquisitor, but it hardly makes him a reliable reporter on the Cathars. On Sacchoni, above all, our knowledge of Catharism is founded.

61. Father Dondaine protests that to reject Sacchoni's testimony is to question his sincerity (1). Sincerity is hardly to the point in the matter of historical evidence; some very strange people have written sincerely. In so far as Sacchoni was an Inquisitor, I think it more relevant to investigate his pathology. For this task I am not qualified; but I am aware that ideologists whose zeal extends to the extermination of opponents often, as a corollary to their condition, fear conspiracies. To communicate this fear to the uninterested majority (which is necessary because of the 'conspiracy' itself and because of the guilt-reactions set up within the exterminator) they may behave irrationally. There are many cases of this in history; one might cite Joseph McCarthy as a good example. And it is quite probable that, had persons of his mentality remained in power in America, the information-structure they set up concerning the American Left would have been exceedingly difficult to untangle.

62. The case of the Cathars is of vastly greater difficulty because time has completed the task which the Inquisition, quite consciously, set itself: to obliterate the doctrines of the heretics. But we may still attempt to criticise the structure that the Inquisition has left us, and in this the first source of suspicion is the remarkable degree

to which the thirteenth-century Catholic polemicists depend on each other for corroboration. The number of 'sources' for their information need only have been very restricted; the same items recur again and again, spiced with unidentifiable names: 'Melenguine', 'Bugunthia'. The whole story of the Eastern Cathar churches and of the Cathar 'schisms' over which scholars wrangle so much is to be found only in the pages of these thirteenth-century Catholic controversialists (1). The task of a full examination of these sources, using modern methods of critical analysis, with the purpose of tracing individual items of information to their earliest visible points, is a large one; but the following table may be useful. In it I have given all significant corroboration for the existence of the three 'heresiarchs from the East': Niquinta/Nicetas, Petracus and Nazarius. Some of the sources may be superfluous; the difficult dating of treatises in this period means that some cases where one treatise gave rise to another are not evident. It is noteworthy that the only two 'Cathar texts' which contain strong evidence of dualism (the Interrogatio Johannis and the Liber de Duobus Principiis) are closely involved in this structure (2): thus the sub-sect that gave rise to them may have given rise also to all the information the Catholic polemicists disposed of. Altogether, it will be observed that the Catholic treatises on heretics are somewhat lacking in outside support.

63. The second column of my table lists the documents where the existence of the 'heresiarchs' is corroborated, with the specific reading in brackets; the third column lists the documents which corroborate the validity of those sources, giving in brackets the item of information by which this validity is corroborated. It will be seen that corroboration comes from an extraordinarily-limited area. My suggestion is that the polemicists in this area took their information from a small selection of the sects then proliferating, and assimilated it into a 'unified' structure.

(as 'Uiquinta') in 'Acts of the heretic Council of Saint-Felix' published by Dossa in 1660 from an original 'of 1232', now lost (1)

(Bernard Raymond, N. de Baumiac, Sicard Cellerier, Petrus Pollanus, Petrus Isarn)—notorious heretics, knowledge of whom therefore is no indication of an independent source (3).

(Haro de Lombardie) Vignier, Recueil, 1601 (see below) (4).

Nicetas/ Uiquinta:

(as 'Nicetas') in a document published by Vignier in 1601 from an original 'of 1023' (1), now lost (2).

(Caratus) A fragment of a 13th-century Catholic treatise on heretics (5).

(Caratus) Liber Supra Stella, a 13th-century Catholic treatise on heretics (6).

(Caratus ('Carantosus')) Liber de Duobus Principiis, a 'Cathar text' (7) and ? source for Sacchoni, who alone knew of it (8).

(Caloianus as 'Cenolanus') Brevis Summula, a 13th-century Catholic treatise on heretics (9).

(Cathar schisms) Sacchoni's Summa, Brevis Summula, Liber Supra Stella, all 13th-century Catholic treatises on heretics (10).

Petracus: < in a document published by Vignier in 1601 (see above).

in Sacchoni, Summa de Catharis, a 13th-century Catholic treatise on heretics (see above) (11).

(Concorezzo) Sacchoni, Summa de Catharis, a 13th-century Catholic treatise on heretics (see above) (13).

(Concorezzo as 'Corezium') Document published by Vignier, 1601 (see above) (14).

Nazarius:

in notes added to the Lyons version of the Interrogatio Johannis, a 'Cathar text' from the Inquisition archives at Carcassonne (Doat coll.); the notes are not in the Vienna version (12).

(Concorezzo ('Concorenses') Liber Supra Stella, a 13th-century Catholic treatise on heretics (see above) (15).

(Concorezzo) Ps.-Nonacurulus, Manifestatio, a late 12th-century Catholic treatise on heretics (16).

(Concorezzo) Summa Auctoritatis, a 13th-century Catholic treatise on heretics (17).

(Concorezzo) Summa contra Hereticos, a 13th-century Catholic treatise on heretics (18).

64. Except in the case of the 'Acts of the Council of Saint-Félix-de-Caraman' there is probably no question of forgery; only collective myth-making. We have seen how the Catholic polemicists, and even some modern historians, indisputably project their myth back into periods they knew nothing of. Moneta, who is the clearest thirteenth-century writer on origins, weaves a fabric which has no connection with reality. St Bernard and others call their contemporaries 'Arians'; they know what Arians were, but (since no-one has yet found a trace of Arianism in the period (1)) they obviously know nothing about contemporary heretics. To each polemicist his own myth: Alain de Lille relates a story that the Cathari are so called quia, ut dicitur, osculantur posteriora cati, in cujus specie, ut dicunt, apparet eis Lucifer ('because, it is said, they kiss the rears of a cat, under the appearance of which, they say, Lucifer shows himself to them' (2)). Among the innumerable sects alive in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there must have been some dualism. During this period there was considerable papal activity against dualists in the Balkans (3). What more natural for a Church in reaction than to connect this vile proliferation, Heresy, with a universal and eternal Root shrouded in the darkness of the East?

The heresies as reformism rather than Manichaeism

65. For there is another, and entirely adequate, explanation for what coherence the mediaeval heresies possess. Raffaello Morghen, while suggesting that the myth-making process was at work, outlines this explanation most clearly. Having reviewed the early sources for 'Catharism', and having concluded that they contain no evidence, not only for Manichaeism, but even for a notable current of dualism, he attempts to discern the overall tendencies that were present. He concludes that at the end of the twelfth century (that is, on the eve of the Albigensian

Crusade) after 200 years of vigorous expansion, the heresies consisted on the one hand of 'a movement of thought which propounds dualist doctrines inspired by deep ascetic tendencies', and on the other of strong practical demands for reform inspired by the 'myth of the apostolic Church'.

> Between the two great currents, the affinity of attitudes and the sharing of origins, interest and enemies created relationships and connections which explain to us clearly the size of the phenomenon and its chaotic and disorderly flowering. But the ideals of the moral renewal of the individual and the Church nonetheless formed their common and fundamental substratum. (1)

66. The Church itself was in grave need of this renewal. In an age when each man still looked to Christianity for his salvation, the appalling gap between the message of the religion and the life-styles of those who preached it naturally aroused the most profound anxiety; in all the heresies between 1000 and 1300 there is no more continuous current than the denial of the validity of sacraments administered by a corrupt clergy. Gordon Leff has argued that it was the Church's very struggle for its liberties that made it eventually appear 'as one more privileged body—a collector of taxes as well as the keeper of men's souls.' (1) The self-protective measures hastened the process of establishment, so that success within the Church became more a matter of administrative skill than of piety. The development of Canon law brought the enshrinement of dogma and petty authority to a new pitch, and the process of centralizing the great corporation on the foundations of this autonomous legal system was completed by the papacy of Innocent III, who was its greatest exponent (2). Whereas at an earlier

age a new flourishing of individual piety could be absorbed into the Church by the establishment of a new monastic order, the Church became at this period incapable of tolerating radicalism (3). The older orders by this time had become enclaves of wealth and privilege (4); the two new orders, Franciscan and Dominican, which were to be 'the dominant religious and intellectual force of the thirteenth century' (5), quickly lost the appeal of their poverty as the Church came to lean on them for administrative and especially inquisitorial work (6). The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 decreed that no more orders should be founded (7). The state of shock that the Church was in by this time may be seen from its handling of the pietism of Peter Valden. The contrast between the idealism of his followers and the wealth of the clergy was too great for the latter to tolerate, and when the idealists were outlawed their fervour soon turned to heresy (8). By the end of the twelfth century the Church was in the grip of what Donald Schon has called 'dynamic conservatism' (9), a state where the corporate desire to remain the same exceeds inertia and reaches the point of 'reaction', characterised by a tendency to overkill and a disregard for the long-term consequences for the life of the institution itself.

67. Simultaneously with the need to find spirituality in some new framework, in or outside the Church, there arose an individualism which tried to answer theological problems from within the believer's own mind. Morghen has identified the two extremes of this tendency: there is on the highest intellectual level an assertion that authority is not the ultimate, from Scotus Erigena through Bérenger de Tours to Abelard (1); and at the other extreme, among the uneducated, there is 'una candida e pericolosa consequenziarietà' (2) which bases its critique of Christianity on the discovery that it 'don't make sense'. Eckbert

of Schönau, for instance, quotes the demand: "How can it be that those who live so irrationally (irrationabiliter) distribute the body of the Lord in church?" (3) This 'naïve rationalism' (4) fed itself principally on Scriptural texts, which were as it were a 'fundamental justification' with which to confute the teachings of priests; Sacchoni remarked that the existence of translations of the Gospels into the vulgar tongues was a major reason for the diffusion of Peter Valdes' doctrines (5). In fact the reliance on the texts of the New Testament is so great that all the heretic doctrines are conceptualized in terms of New Testament phraseology. The failure to notice this fact is, Morghen notes, one of the remarkable features of Cathar historiography; so uninterested are historians, that the documents where the heretics use the New Testament are in many cases still unpublished (6), and it is necessary to use Moneta as a guide.

68. Given this heavy reliance on the New Testament, it is not hard to find the reasons for the tendencies to asceticism among heretics. Did not Christ speak of Mammon? Certainly Peter Valdes had no need of anything outside the New Testament to inspire his poverty; he is said to have consulted the theologians, who told him 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast...' (1) He did so, and the appeal of his message was immediate:

> From its beginnings, that is to say around 1179-80, in Italy as in France, the preacher and in message take an immediate hold on the masses from which the faithful have sprung forth in numbers, spontaneously, towards him: it is in this initial and indigenous movement that we must seek the first partisans of the man from Lyons...

> Coming from the Church herself, taken with the ideal of poverty and renunciation, they attach themselves to Valdes with the more fervour because he has just been shown affection by the Pope... (2)

The validity of accepted views

69. To sum up, we have inherited from as far back as the Middle Ages a picture of a unified Provençal heresy which has these prominent characteristics:-

70. The heresy was born with Manes, was transmitted from the East via the Balkans, and took root in Europe, either in Italy in about 1000 A.D., or in Provence around the year 1167. It was finally destroyed by the Inquisition by about 1300. It offered two types of dualism, both maintaining that the world, including the flesh, had been created and continued evil, and that it was therefore to be renounced by asceticism and by hastening the end of life. But the conclusion of my study is that little of this picture seems genuinely plausible.

71. There is no discernible connection with Manichaeism. As an antecedent, Manichaeism is out of the question; 'A Manichaeism in which the very memory of the founder has disappeared and in which the essential mythological and cosmogonic features... are completely lost, is no longer Manichaeism.' (1) The heretics never in fact mentioned Manes, not even Sacchoni the 'convert'. Morghen notes that there is a profound distinction between the cosmogonic and metaphysical dualism of Manes, and the anthropological and ethic dualism of the Christian heresies (2); it is thus meaningless, even for those who hold the latter to have some connection with the Balkans, to continue describing them as 'neo-

manichaean.' The movement across Europe from the Balkans is not supported by the chronology of heretic manifestations (3); in particular the generally-accepted gap of fifty years after 1051 argues against such a spread. 'Many of the fundamental doctrines and practices of the dualists are not found at all before 1160' (4); the Cathar Church at the least retreats to the last 140 of its supposed 300 years. Our evidence for this late period, and especially for the relations with the Balkans, stems from thirteenth-century Catholic inquisitorial circles, whom there is every reason to disbelieve. And finally, the asceticism of many of the sects that are held to form this homogeneous heresy does not differentiate them from the contemporary Church to any large extent:

> ...this dualism they perceived was not Manichaeism or any form of Eastern dualism at all. It was the dualism inherent in Christianity itself, magnified and distorted. As a man looks into a fun-house mirror and fails to recognize his own image, so eleventh-century Christians failed to recognize their own images in the Reformists. (5)

72. Indeed, one can perceive a contemporary, and an age-old, struggle within the Church, between a current of pure asceticism, and one which held that the world was a beautiful manifestation of the Lord's power. In the earliest days of the Church, popes had to restrain some of the faithful from destroying all images, and especially the monuments left from Roman times, as distractions from pure devotion. Churches like the one at St Trophime in Arles, which Pound exalts in the usury-Cantos, are an example of the opposite tendency: they are both beautiful and modelled on Roman (pagan) forms. The asceticism of the medieval Church, which found its highest expression in the Rules of St Benedict and the various subsequent reformers of monasteries, hardly

needs underlining! St Bernard, who condemned the heretics of Uvervinus for their 'dualist' asceticism, lived on bread and water, with boiled vegetables twice a week (1). It is difficult to distinguish the ascet-icism of Luther and Calvin from these attacks by St Bernard on the splendour of the churches that depended on the Cluniac monasteries:

> I say naught of the vast height of your churches, their immoderate length, their superfluous breadth, the costly polishings, the curious carvings and paintings which attract the worshipper's gaze and hinder his attention, and seem to me in some sort a revival of the ancient Jewish rites. Let this pass, however: say that this is done for God's honour. But I, as a monk, ask of my brother monks... "Tell me, ye poor (if, indeed, ye be poor), what doeth this gold in your sanctuary?" And indeed the bishops have an excuse which monks have not; for we know that they, being debtors to the wise and the unwise, and unable to excite the devotion of carnal folk by spiritual things, do so by bodily ornaments... (2)

Suggestions from Pound for a more genuine picture of Provençal heresies

73. The main body of my argument concerning the Provençal heretics has necessarily been negative. My chief aim has been to point out the extent of our ignorance; to show that we do not know enough about these heretics to establish doctrinal filiations with earlier ages. All this has little obvious relation to the basis of Pound's argument. Pound starts with what he perceives of the quality, or atmosphere, of the Provençal culture, and deduces from this that the underlying ethos cannot have been ascetic (1). My argument would merely confirm the

validity of Pound's conclusions, by offering an entirely different set of evidence; but so far it cannot validate his starting-point.

74. However, what I would suggest as the true picture of what happened in Provence has much to do with Pound's perception. I have referred elsewhere to the work of Norman Cohn (1), whose Pursuit of the Millenium sets out to establish the doctrines of all those mediaeval European movements that saw themselves as engaged in the final millenial struggle against Antichrist; and to relate those doctrines, if possible, to contemporary social conditions. For the doctrines, he finds that such sects typically used Jewish apocalypse-material, and later refashionings, as scenarios in which to cast themselves as the elect in an imminent apocalypse. Basing their ideals on the evangelical poverty that the Church had always preached (2) and under the influence of leaders who were usually formed within the poorer fringes of the Church's system, they came to regard poverty as the distinguishing mark of true holiness, and by consequence saw the entire system of Church/State authority as damned by its wealth. The imminence of the apocalypse, in which each successive group of starvelings regarded themselves as the heroes, justified and made necessary the destruction of all the structures of Sin; while currents of egalitarian and Free-Spirit thought often sanctified the appropriation of all riches for the heretics.

75. For the social context, it is Cohn's firm conclusion that these movements did not arise where the predominant pattern of mediaeval agricultural life remained stable (1). Though extremely hard, this pattern of life carried with it a certain interdependence between lord and serf, as well as a great complexity of family and social ties (2).

Pound would agree here: 'Feudal dues have been overstressed and the feudal duties (noblesse oblige) have been overshadowed' (3). When there grew up, together with mediaeval capitalism in areas like north-east France, the Low Countries and the Rhine valley, urban proletariats which were at the mercy of the state of the market, and which could develop no social structure capable of supporting the unfortunate (4); and when the peasants in some areas no longer needed the protection of their lords, who were nonetheless still able to exploit a controlled labour-market (5); then the necessary conditions of what Cohn calls 'disorientation' (6) were present. It seems to me important that he uses a subjective, psychological term; for it appears from his study that only such inner states of anxiety can generate the explosive force necessary for these proletarian, revolutionary, anarchist, and often suicidal, movements.

76. Cohn deliberately stays clear of the Provençal heresies, referring to the superabundant literature that has been devoted to them (1). It is interesting nonetheless that he uses a large part of that 'chain of heresy' that has often been seen as homogenous with the heresies which the Inquisition hunted in Provence: he draws into his picture, and with ample justification, the cases of Eon 'de Stella' (2), Tanchelm of Antwerp (3) and Henry of Le Mans (4). I have referred to these cases amply (5); we have seen how they do not bear sufficient doctrinal resemblance to be called manifestations of the same dogma; but Cohn is able to show that they all belong to the same general social movement and express the same recurrent need in mediaeval society.

77. Such a treatment of these heresies, in view of the kind of information that is available, is much more realistic than the tracing

of doctrinal descent. It confirms the analysis of Morghen, which I have quoted (1), relating the particular sects to a general childishly-rationalist, egalitarian, evangelically-inspired movement for reform; a movement paralleled, as Christine Thouzellier has shown (2), by strenuous efforts at reform within the Church itself.

78. But my conjecture is that this type of heretical movement did not predominate in Provence. Certainly it existed there; though, as I have said, the evidence taken before the Inquisition in Provence is not coherent doctrinally (1), it nonetheless tends towards a picture of proletarian asceticism (2). This was perhaps the only tendency the Church was able to recognise. It had seen these tendencies elsewhere, in the sects I have mentioned in northern France (3); it was able to relate them to Augustinian heresiology (4); and traits more indicative of the predominant religious atmosphere in Provence may simply not have been very striking.

79. For there are indications that the main Provençal heresies do not belong with the type of proletarian reformism I have been describing. I have asserted that real knowledge of the 'Provençal way of life' is hard to come by (1); yet the general opinion has always been that it was prosperous. It was so, certainly, in northern European urbanised areas, which nonetheless saw proletarian risings when markets turned bad. But I have seen no evidence to suggest powerful disaffection between Provençal urban proletariat and merchant-class; or between Provençal peasant and lord. When there was dispute between commune and lord in Provence, it was generally where the lord had merely-inherited rights which bore no relation to the needs of the new urban community (2); it was purely a conflict between wealthy merchants and a form of parasite.

We have seen that conditions had sometimes become extremely difficult for landholding knights (3); but the dissatisfaction was for a loss of prestige that rarely involved poverty, and in any case such a class does not figure in the pattern that Cohn traces among millenarian movements across Europe.

80. There is evidence, on the other hand, that in the Provençal heresy or heresies there was no abyss between the needs of the proletariat and those of other classes; all classes, on the contrary, holding together with a fierce loyalty in defence of the land and of the elect. In the northern movements, if the population took over a town it was to despoil the wealthy, and if they defended the town, it was to save themselves alive from the forces of Church and State (1); there was no desire to keep out the foreigner, or to save personal property and lands, since in general the sectarians possessed none. By contrast we find that in Provence a whole city, like Toulouse and many others, would take to arms to defend the elect and to keep off the foreign domination, and this not excepting the merchant-class, who provided much of the wealth necessary to the struggle (2).

81. Simon de Montfort found it necessary to negotiate with, to take as hostages, and finally to expel, as heretics and fautors of heretics, certain of the most prominent citizens of Toulouse (1). Noblemen, and more especially noblewomen, were known as heretics (2). Peasants and noblemen demonstrated a kind of solidarity that is precisely the opposite of the tendencies found in demonstrably-ascetic sects: typically, when a country castle fell to the invading army, the knights who had been directing the fighting surrendered, while the heretics they had been sheltering went out to be burned (3). By and large, if

the noblemen had delivered up the heretics in the first place, Languedoc and their castles would have been unmolested. The heretics do not seem to have been of one class more than another; thus the knightly class, when it might have saved life and property by negotiation, sinked both in order to save an elect representing all strata of society. In Provence, the serfs took on no such independent role as in the northern heresies.

82. My conclusion here will only seem valid if the typology established by historians like Cohn, Morghen and Thouzellier is accepted. Unless it is agreed that mediaeval European heretical movements, of the kind that preached poverty and asceticism and based their doctrines on half-ignorant mixtures of apocalypse and all other scraps they could lay their hands on, in other words of the kind that predominated, generally arose among the 'disorientated poor', then the Provençal divergence from this pattern will not seem remarkable. But, again, the question here is fundamentally one of asceticism, of a state of mind that sees suffering as a good in itself; and it seems to me that what we know of ascetic movements is incompatible both with what we know of Provençal society and with the reaction of that society to the Albigensian Crusade.

83. There are also further indications in the art of Provence, which was Pound's starting-point in this question. We may usefully follow his thought.

Our dynasty came in because of a great sensibility (1) ——Pound has always connected the ability to rule with perception in the matter of art. 'C'est toujours le beau monde qui gouverne' (?); the suggestion is that this is because the 'beau monde' has superior means of communication (3), of which art is one. Certainly we find

that the ruling dynasty in Aquitaine, like many others in Provence proper and in Languedoc, was endowed with the finest cultural perception. In 1910 Pound was saying that

> The poetry, as a whole, is the poetry of a democratic aristocracy, which swept into itself, or drew about it, every man with wit or a voice. (4)

This state of society seems exceptional, though it is possible that it is a precondition to all great cultural periods; it was the talent of Italian Renaissance nobles, for example, to use the talents of much humbler men. In any case, the picture seems to hold for Provence. The diverse origins of the troubadours have often been noted. The <u>vidas</u> and <u>razos</u> seem to be unassailable on this point, and the only advantage a nobleman had over a peasant was that he could guarantee himself an initial audience, while the peasant had somehow to convince some patron that he was worth 'putting in harness' (5). The cultural state seems to parallel exactly the relations among the classes manifested during the Crusade.

84. Again, the people of Provence seem to have been aware that they had built something worth defending. Naturally, they had possessions, in great abundance, to defend; the chroniclers speak of great booty when the towns fall (1); this is already an indication of a non-ascetic culture. There is no evidence of nationalism in mediaeval Provence; as Cledat said in 1879,

> Cette idée n'existe pas, on n'en trouve trace dans aucune chronique, et les faits la contredisent. (2)

Nonetheless there was a powerful disgust among many men of Provence for the invading army, simply on the grounds that it was foreign; we have seen the troubadours' 'biographers' refer simply to a disinheritance

of the Count of Toulouse by 'the Church and the French'(3).We thus see a whole culture defending itself, not as the citadel of Purity against the hordes of Sin, but simply as a superior mode of existence.

85. Such things accord ill with an ascetic undercurrent in a culture; and we find, furthermore, that the whole response of the South to the northern invasion implies defence of an established and 'catholic' cultural state. Instead of letting the elect simply go underground like good ascetics, though this is eventually forced upon them, a united people defends itself, its land, its property and its religious elect as if they all formed one living and beloved unit.

86. The nature of the doctrines underlying such a culture are not easy to guess at. It is not necessary to presuppose that they differed root-and-branch from those of the Catholic Church, since, for example, some of the finest pieces of Romanesque architecture were built for the Church in Provence at this time (1), which demonstrates that strong religious feeling compatible with Catholicism was present. It seems in fact more likely that the heresy should have had fundamental similarities in feeling to the Catholic faith of the period (which after all embraced very diverse saints), since this would explain why the Inquisition detected none of it. All that would be visible to the inquiring outsider would be the emptiness of the churches, and the disaffection of the people towards the Church. If, for random example, this 'heresy' elevated an elect who conformed to the doctrines of St Francis' successors the Fraticelli, who were eventually condemned by the Church (2), it would bear such a resemblance and yet dissimilarity to Catholicism. Pound's thinking may be useful here again: he believes that Christianity is valuable only in so far as it has been Hellenised, as we have seen (3).

Many Fathers of the Church, from Augustine onwards, have seemed at times more influenced by Plato than by the Bible. When God, in the learned mediaeval mysticism of men like Albertus Magnus and Richard of St Victor, bears more characteristics of the Platonic 'One' than of the Hebrew Yahweh, then the dogma may be said to have changed; yet the human value of the religion perhaps remains the same. Thus an explicit change of Gods could have taken place in Provence, without necessarily turning the inhabitants into devil-worshippers or 'kissers of cats.' (4)

87. Thus I have tried to show that Pound's conclusions about the nature of the Provençal civilization seem to be borne out by other historical evidence, of a negative kind; and that the validity of his starting-point, perception of the nature of Provençal culture, seems to be supported both in itself and in its implications by more positive indications. Pound's assertion of 'origins' for this cultural state is more difficult to support. We have seen that he posits Greece as the ultimate origin, with Byzantium as an intermediate point; and suggests that what he calls 'civilization' may have been better protected from the ravages of Huns in Provence than elsewhere (1).

88. There is positive evidence in support of these claims. That it can ever establish a chain of historical 'causation' is extremely doubtful. Perhaps all that may safely be said is that Provençal visual art does show strong and undeniable links with that of Byzantium (1); that the Graeco-Roman presence goes back to 600 B.C., and is attested by abundant archaeological remains (2); and that Roman civilization did indeed remain undisturbed in Provence longer than elsewhere, though that only takes us as far as about A.D. 536 (3). The first church known in France, and one which we find Pound associating with Montségur

in the Cantos, was built at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges in Languedoc in the fourth century (4), that is, well before the final decline of Roman civilization in this area; and there seems to have been an especially-learned tradition, harking back to classical learning, in the southern French Church of this epoch (5).

The problem of Montségur

89. The importance of these points is difficult to assess, and the gaps in time that they leave are large. But there is one more archaeological 'fact' to take into account, one which is bound up with the Albigensian Crusade and yet which seems difficult to limit in its significance to that late period. It is the 'castle' of Montségur, which stands like a huge and anonymous stone coffin on the top of a cone-shaped hill in the lower Pyrénées. Its dramatic appearance has always led the observers to conclude that it was another of Languedoc's impregnable châteaux. Since the seige which finally took it was a long one, the conclusion seemed justified; but as we shall see, things now seem otherwise.

90. Mediaeval Provence was not well-endowed with chroniclers, and though chronicles were written on the Albigennian Crusade, none of them touches on Montségur (1). The dramatic interest of the war was over by 1219, when the Chanson de la Croisade stops, and the anticlimactic and long-delayed surrender of yet another château of no strategic importance was not a thing to catch the attention of Guillaume de Puylaurens. Were it not for the Inquisition Registers from Carcassonne, the role of Montségur would remain unknown.

91. According to these Registers, in 1204

[Ramon de Perella] admits that at the instance and request of Raymond de Mirepoix, Raymond Blanque and other heretics, he rebuilt the castle of Montségur which was previously in ruins. Following this he lodged and received in the said castle the above-named heretics and many others. He 'adored' them and often listened to their sermons... (1)

From about that time the place began to be frequented by Cathars; and around the year 1222 the famous 'Cathar bishop' Guilhabert de Castres and his companion asked Ramon de Perolla

> to receive the said heretics in the castle of Montségur in order that the church of the heretics might have its domicile and head in the said castle and might send out and spread from thence its preachers. (2)

Montségur was thus recognised, at least by the Inquisition at the time of those depositions (1244), as having been the heretic centre.

92. The place became more important to the Cathars as a place of refuge than it had been previously when, in 1229, Raymond VII of Toulouse signed the Treaty of Meaux. By this he not only guaranteed the extinction of his house, but promised to put into effect the whole inquisitorial apparatus that the Church had been evolving over the years. Raymond was himself obliged to persecute heretics, or at least to appear to, and he even made a token attempt to capture Montségur in order to satisfy the Church that he was doing his best (1). It is possible that his delaying tactics might have saved the last refugees of the Cathars; but in 1242 a group of Inquisitors at Avignonet was suddenly massacred, apparently by knights from Montségur, and apparently on Raymond's orders. This was probably connected with the coalition that Raymond had devised

with John Lackland's widow and Henry III of England, and which simultaneously attempted an invasion of Saint Louis' France; when that collapsed, the Inquisition was free to take its revenge on Montségur. The seige lasted from an unfixable date in 1243 until the 1st or 2nd March, 1244, and when the 'chatonu' fell some 210 heretics refused to repent and were burned. (2)

93. The information in the Registers of the Inquisition is fairly plentiful, but it tells us nothing about the function of Montségur except that it was a centre of communication for the heretics: the comings and goings, even during the seige, seem to have been extremely frequent. We might therefore, like Runciman, conclude that

> The Cathars certainly gave Montségur, as their one physical place of refuge, high-sounding titles--as, for instance, Mount Tabor, but such names should never be taken literally. The castle had no spiritual significance to them. (1)

Though Montségur itself was never called 'Mount Tabor', and though some interesting pagan rites are attached to the nearby mountain which was called the 'Massif de Tabe' (2), the general conclusion seems to be correct, and is in no way disturbed even if we believe that the 'Cathars' practised a rite descended from the Greeks. Nothing connects any particular rite with Montségur. But the researches of Fernand Niel since the last war have shown both that Montségur was indeed the 'serpent's nest' of the heresies, and what kind of a nest it was; and Pound seems somehow to have pre-empted these conclusions by several years.

94. Niel observed, for example, that though 'Montségur is continually

referred to throughout Cathar depositions' (Runciman), it was by no means their 'one physical place of refuge' (1). Throughout this period, the castles of Aguilar, Fenouillet, Peyrepertuse and Quéribus at least were held by nobles who were openly heretic; the reduction of the last three occupied the forces of Saint Louis for fifteen years after Montségur had capitulated (2). Why, then, so much concern for Montségur among the heretics?

95. Documentary evidence is entirely lacking; but after concerning himself, as an alpinist, with the problems of the Montségur seige (1), Viel proceeded to archaeological aspects, and there he discovered inconsistencies. He perceived that the castle is in fact militarily useless, and that it owed its long survival in the 1243-44 seige to human factors rather than to its construction or siting. He concluded that Montségur was not built as a defensive fortress at all, for the following principal reasons: (2)

That in 1204, when the chateau was rebuilt, the heretics were not yet in need of a refuge, and had no reason to expect such a need.

That Montsegur, while undoubtedly the work of master craftsmen (to the extent that the finish resembles more that of a cathedral than that of a castle (3)) has no defensive or stylistic features in common with any other castle of Languedoc or Roussillon.

That, uniquely among mediaeval castles, it possesses not one but two main gates, each of which is of unprecedented width and entirely devoid of defensive structures.

That no stone or permanent buildings capable of resisting fire were provided inside the main wall.

That the castle does not cover all the high ground available, thus leaving standing-ground for attackers, and unnecessarily incorporates in its wall a rock which would act as a ladder to within 3 metres of the parapet.

That no permanent communication, defensible or otherwise, was provided between the 'keep' and the main enclosure, while what appear to be archery-slits in the keep, covering the yard, are placed so as to cover nothing.

That the 'keep', isolated as it is, could provide living room for no more than three or four persons, because of its size.

That archaeological evidence indicates the absence of any water-tank in the original construction.

That, finally, and almost uniquely, no structural use was made of previous buildings on the same site.

I have been able to verify most of those findings from personal observation.

96. Given that Montségur was a centre for the activities of some kind of non-Catholic religion, and that it was not built as a fortress, one would expect it to be a temple; and this expectation has been confirmed by Niel in a somewhat unexpected manner. In his many books and articles published since 1954, he has demonstrated that lines between the various points of the 'castle' are aligned accurately with the sun at sunrise, not only at the solstices and equinoxes, but at all the Zodiac dates between them (1). Four parallel lines between major points in the castle's construction (corners, mid-points of walls) align with sunrise at the winter solstice alone. Other points align

exactly with the points of the compass; one of the walls incorporates a bend of six degrees to make this possible. There is no trace of any apparatus designed to let people observe the sunrises along these alignments, and it seems probable that, had there been, the Inquisition would have heard of the proceedings. It seems more likely that the occupants of the place were merely aware of Montségur's relationship with the sun, though in the 'keep' itself a few people could observe the sunrise at the summer solstice. The complexity of the whole structure, and the fact that its shape is not dictated by the terrain but rather goes against it, rule out all possibility that the alignments are either accidental or a passing whim of the builders.

97. These facts are at the least puzzling, in the complete absence of any documentary clues (1). Niel has found no sun-worship among the Cathars:

> On the contrary, sometimes it seems as if the Cathars held the sun and the moon to be a creation of the devil. We would need, for example, to find a text implying an obligation for them to pray facing the sun at dawn. As far as we know, nothing of this kind has been found. (2)

Niel himself answers the problem by referring to the theology of Manes (3), which of course has a strong element of sun-cult. He is obliged to note that the name of Manes is mentioned by no document in connection with the Cathars, and though he suggests it might have been forgotten, we would point out again with Morghen that in a cult whose basis is cosmogonic and metaphysical, the religion can hardly outlive its chief deity (4).

98. In my opinion the extremely concrete archaeological demon-

strations of Miel point to an almost total ignorance of the real nature of the Cathar religion, not only among its persecutors, but also among modern scholars, including Miel and myself. The building is there; it was the centre of intense non-Catholic religious activity; its construction is laboriously and ingeniously shaped to involve it with the life of the sun. No theory so far propounded about the Cathars will account for these facts. Miel's guess about Manes is probably less accurate than Pound's guess about Hellenic religion for the reason that, as Pound says of their Italian counterparts, the people of Provence were not 'openly famed as ascetics' (1). This gentle irony of Pound's seems to lie at the heart of the matter.

Ezra Pound's use of Montsegur

99. Miel first published his findings about the sun at Montségur in 1954 (1); eight years earlier Pound had published the following:

And the sun high over horizon hidden in cloud bank
lit saffron the cloud ridge
...
that they suddenly stand in my room here
between me and the olive tree
or nel olivo ed al triedro?
and answered: the sun in his great periplum
leads in his fleet here
sotto lo nostro scoglio
under our craggy cliffs
alevel their mast-tops
...
Cunizza qua al triedro,
...

and in Mt Segur there is wind space and rain space
no more an altar to Mithras (2)

100. We have seen that four parallel alignments in the castle of Montségur give the sighting for sunrise at the winter solstice. Not only is the sun Christ for Christians, as I have remarked earlier (1); it is also Mithras for his worshippers; the winter solstice was Mithras' brithday before it was Christ's. Pound not only relates Mithras to Montségur in this passage (2); he specifically says that 'the sun in his great periplum / leads in his fleet here'. 'Periplum', or the Odyssean voyage-by-coast-map, in opposition to the 'Aquinas-map' which is abstractly imposed and has no relation to the relative significance of things encountered, is of course one of the major shapes of the Cantos (3). Here it is related to the life of the sun: for mankind, the sun also exists in a series of encounters, not as an abstract course plotted on a drawing-board. And we find the sun 'leading in his fleet' elsewhere in the Cantos, again under 'craggy cliffs':

to the solitude of Mt Taishan
femina, femina, that wd/ not be dragged into paradise by the hair,
under the grey cliff in periplum
the sun dragging her stars (4)

101. Montségur is probably the most important temple in the Cantos. The arrival of the sun at the two solstices is a major event; at the winter solstice, Mithras' birthday, the castle is in 'overall' alignment with sunrise; at the summer solstice, sunrise is pinpointed by the 'archery slits' in the 'keep' (1). Now in Egyptian mythology Anubis

presided at the two solstitial points, and two jackals, living images of the god, were supposed to guard the tropics along which the sun rises towards the north or descends towards the south. Thus Anubis guards Montségur:

To another the rain fell as of silver.

La Luna Regina.

Not gold as in Ecbatan

O Anubis, guard this portal

as the cellula, Mont Segur (2)

Anubis in the syncretism of the late Roman Empire was equated with Hermes; Montségur is closely associated in the Cantos with a certain 'castellaro' (Italian castellaro, ruined castle (3)), as in the passage from LXXVI which I quoted at length:

and in Mt Segur there is wind space and rain space

no more an altar to Mithras

from il triedro to the Castellaro

—and this 'castellaro' is itself associated with Hermes:

Zarathustra, now desuete

to Jupiter and to Hermes where now is the castellaro (4)

102. It is perhaps worth mentioning another possibility, which I have touched on earlier in connection with 'Mount Tabor'. Montségur is on an outcrop of the Pic de St Barthélemy, sometimes known as the Massif de Tabe, or Tabor. Runciman, as we have seen, suggested that the Cathars may have called it so after the Mount of the Transfiguration (1). But Miel has discovered (2) that on the top of the St Barthélemy there is what local tradition claims to be a ruined chapel, and that in the sixteenth century there was an already-ancient custom of going to this chapel on the evening of the 23rd August, and staying there

for a riotous night until it was time to watch the sun rise. The 24th August is St Bartholomew's Day, from which the peak probably got its later name; the custom probably antedates the naming. On this mountain there is also a lake, and a tradition that whoever throws a stone into the lake will be in danger of being struck by lightning. Peter III of Aragon tried the experiment, and reportedly was much frightened by the consequences; the events are described by Pierre Olhaggaray, historiographer to Henri IV of France. Hiel has discovered that several other mountains in western Europe, all connected with Tabor and Bartholomew, have the same traditions. Since thunder and lightning are Jupiter's weapons it is obviously possible that the St Barthélemy is behind Pound's reference to a 'castellaro'.

103. At Montségur there is 'no more an altar to Mithras'; but the sun still strikes the opposite slit when it pierces the north-eastern 'archery slits' at dawn on the summer solstice. The size of the tiny 'keep' then becomes almost a symbol for Pound of the 'mustard seed' that can move a civilization (1):

> here one man can hold the whole pass
> over this mountain, at Mont Segur the chief's cell
> you can enter it sideways only (2)

Montségur concentrates into itself in the Cantos the religious awareness of a whole people; and the fact that it is not a great cathedral, that only a handful of people at a time could witness the important sunrise, is proof for Pound that the 'mustard seed' (3), the tiny but persistent force that is in 'direction of the will' (4), can change a civilization.

104. The sun comes to port at the 'craggy cliffs' of Montségur,

and is there welcomed by a religious symbolism connected both with the 'Cathars' and with Rome:

> where now is wheat field, and a milestone
> an altar to Terminus, with arms crossed
> back of the stone (1)

Terminus, as his name might suggest, presided over boundaries; his name is also a reminder that 'things have beginnings and ends'; that, if the sun's periplum is a cycle, it also starts and stops somewhere. He was represented with a human head, without feet or arms, to show that he never moved wherever he was. In this he resembles closely the 'Cathar tombstones' described by René Nelli, consisting of a small pillar with a Maltese cross on the top inscribed in a circle; Nelli in fact takes their symbolism to be both anthropomorphic and solar. Prehistoric cultures figured the sun as a cross inside a circle (2); thus the symbolism of the eucalyptus is combined with the Maltese cross in these lines:

> or the odour of eucalyptus or sea wrack
> cat-faced, croce di Malta, figura del sol (3)

105. At Rome the temple to the god Terminus was on the Tarpeian Rock, and we find another periplum coming to port at these cliffs:

> but this air brought her ashore a la marina
> with the great shell borne on the seawaves
> nautilis biancastra

By no means an orderly Dantesean rising

but as the winds veer

...

Io son' la luna'. Cunizza

> as the winds veer in periplum

and from under the Rupe Tarpeia (1)

Rome is the 'celestial city'; she is ANON, as Pound says in A Visiting Card (2); She is another figuration of Wagadu, of Dioce, the city that is temple and 'medium mundi' (3). Montségur is equated with her in this passage by the presence of Cunizza who, as we shall see, is the goddess of Pound's Mithraic temple (4). Montségur is always etymologized by Pound: 'Mt Segur', and in this he follows the notarion of the thirteenth century who invariably Latinized it to Mons securus (5). Montségur is thus a 'safe citadel', oin fonte Burg as in Luther's hymn, a place from which the 'mustard seed' that is 'this persistent awareness' (6), the semina motuum of Pound's Confucius (7), may be spread to do its work:

And from this Mount were blown

seed (3)

106. It is this role of 'celestial city' which is most prominent in Pound's earlier use of Montségur. The late Cantos, as Hugh Kenner has said, 'contain the concession that the High City may not be built on earth: only "in the mind, indestructible."' (1) But in Canto XXIII the end of Montsegur is a cataclysm like the fall of Troy:

And went after it all to Mount Segur,

after the end of all things,

And they hadn't even left the stair,

And Simone was dead by that time,

And they called us the Manichaeans

Whatever the hellsarse that is.

And that was when Troy was down, all right,

superbo Ilion... (2)

The end of such a focal point, such a Vortex or 'point of maximum

energy', in the end of a civilization in the mind as well as in the Middle Ages. It is like the fall of Mount Ki-chan:

The Lady Pao Sse brought earthquakes. TCHEOU falleth,

folly, folly, false fire no true alarm

Mount Ki-chan is broken.

Ki-chan is crumbled in the 10th moon of the 6th year of yeou Ouang

Sun darkened, the rivers were frozen... (3)

That is why Montségur is always a desolation in the early Cantos, 'the stair there still broken', 'now decuote', 'and they have broken my house' (4).

107. But Montségur is still there, and not much the worse for weather; how is it broken? The answer must be that the rite has come to an end. The rite of Montségur for Pound, is connected with Venus. This might seem in contradiction with the obvious fact that Diana is present:

la scalza: "Io son' la luna

and they have broken my house"

the huntress in broken plaster keeps watch no longer (1)

But in the rite of Eleusis the mother and the maid are as one, and throughout the Cantos the goddess is simultaneously the many goddesses of Greece (2). Diana laments that 'they have broken my house' because her virginity has been tampered with; this does not happen when, in the person of Venus, she accomplishes the life-giving rite; it happens when the rite is profaned:

... we should consider carefully the history of the

various cults or religions of orgy and of ecstasy,

from the simpler Bacchanalia to the more complicated rites of Isis or Dionysus--sudden rise and equally sudden decline. The corruptions of their priesthoods follow, probably, the admission thereto of one neophyte who was not properly "sacerdos". (Spirit of Romance) (3)

When the initiated, the bearers of the secret, are burned en masse, as at Montségur, the rite cannot possibly survive.

108. Montségur was the 'medium mundi', the focal point of the world's energies. Joyce called Jerusalem the 'grey sunken c--- o' the world', and he did so because it no longer seemed to him able to concentrate energy. Montségur in its time was able to do so, and in so far as Pound makes it live again it still has this ability; and it functions like Jerusalem. In the Cantos Montségur is in a strict sense the mons veneris or pubic triangle of the world. Mons veneris means 'Mount of Venus'; the person or semi-deity most associated with Montségur in the Cantos is Cunizza, beloved of Sordello, and she shines in Dante's third heaven, the heaven of Venus. She is so much the 'Queen of heaven' in that sphere that she becomes in the reader's mind identified with Venus. She was of bad reputation, as we have seen in my chapter on Sordello, but in this she exactly parallels Venus; she also shares Venus' major virtue, which is charity (1). Pound constantly refers his reader to Cunizza's statement in Dante: 'And I shine here because the light of this star (i.e. Venus) overcame me.' (2) Her remarks, as he says in the Spirit of Romance, are 'matter for a philosophical treatise as long as the Paradiso.' (3) And Montségur is literally Cunizza's 'mount' (oliva) and 'triangle' (triedro) (4); the passage from LXXVI must be quoted again:

that they suddenly stand in my room here
between me and the olive tree
or nel olivo od al triedro?
and answered: the sun in his great periplum
leads in his fleet here
...
Cuniza qua al triedro,
e la scalza, and she who said: I still have the mould,
and the rain fell all the night long at Ussel
cette rauvaisch venge blew over Tolosa
and in Mt Segur there is wind space and rain space
no more an altar to Mithras (5)

This rain at Ussel is a desolating one; it symbolizes the ruin of a civilization. But there is also the 'golden rain' that is the semen of the sun, as in the 'celestial city' of

Ecbatan, upon the gilded tower in Ecbatan
Lay the God's bride, lay over, waiting the golden rain. (6)

Thus at Montségur before the desolation:

To another the rain fell as of silver.
La Luna Regina.
Not gold as in Ecbatan
O Anubis, guard this portal
as the cellula, Mont Segur. (7)

109. The rite is accomplished between the sacred prostitute and the priest: 'in coitu inluminatio' (1). Pound asks himself: 'in heaven have I to make?' and the answer is: 'but all the vair and fair women / and there is also the more northern (not nordic) / tradition...' (2) Woman is the key to Pound's Paradiso; but this, he is saying, is a

Mediterranean answer, in particular the answer of Provence (William IX's 'joi e deport / e vair e gris e acmbeli' (3)), of the Italic peninsula, and of Greece.

Conclusions

110. My conclusions on this complex question of Pound, the troubadours and the heretics are, briefly, these: that a careful study of the historical evidence, by implication, supports the validity of Pound's apparently-subjective method, since it bears out his main conclusion: the Provençal civilization is unlikely to have been Manichaean or ascetically-orientated. Thus whoever may have been the 'best scholars' who, Pound claimed, 'do not believe there were any Manichaeans left in Europe at the time of the Albigensian Crusade' (1), and whatever Pound's reasons for considering them the 'best scholars', his reasons for accepting this conclusion seem to be validated. These reasons stem from Pound's feeling of the temper of Provençal poetry; and, as we have seen, the external features of this poetry—its democratic hierarchy (2), and yet at the same time its aristocratic, 'cultivated' aims (3)—tally with this feeling. Thus it seems permissible to sum up Pound's argument in his own words, with perhaps less than the usual scepticism:

> It is equally discernible upon study that some non-Christian and inextinguishable source of beauty persisted throughout the Middle Ages maintaining song in Provence, maintaining an enthusiasm, maintaining the grace of the Kalenda Maya.
>
> And this force was the strongest counter force to the cult of Atys and asceticism. A great deal of obscurity has been made to encircle it. There are a few clear pages in Davidsohn's Firenze ai Tempi di

Dante. The usual accusation against the Albigeois is that they were Manichaeans. This I believe after long search to be pure bunkumb. The slanderers feared the truth. I mean they feared not only the force of a doctrine but they feared giving it even the publicity which a true bill against it would have required.

The best scholars do not believe there were any Manichaeans left in Europe at the time of the Albigensian Crusade. If there were any in Provence they have at any rate left no trace in troubadour art.

On the other hand the cult of Eleusis will explain not only general phenomena but particular beauties in Arnaut Daniel or in Guido Cavalcanti. (4)

APPENDIX ONE

SOURCES FOR CANTO VI

1. My aim here is solely to identify Pound's sources and, where possible, to give texts. I do not attempt to place the sources in any historical, literary or Poundian context; this is often done elsewhere in my study, and references will generally be found in 2.7. Nor do I necessarily give the whole of a text, beyond those parts from which Pound directly quotes or translates. Precision rather than amplitude of reference is aimed at in this Appendix. Line-numbering follows the text of Canto VI given at 2.7.0; this numbering should not be confused with the Appendix paragraph numbers.

2. 3: Richard Comtes de Poitou I pp.424-0 describes how Guilhem IX, wanting large sums of money with which to crusade, turned to William Rufus. The King of England had just lent ten thousand marks to his brothers for the same purpose, on the security of Normandy, which he did not intend to return; and the idea attracted him in regard to Guilhem IX's Aquitaine. However, William Rufus was killed suddenly, and so we find Guilhem IX handing over the county of Toulouse to Bertrand of Saint-Gilles, in exchange, this historian concludes, for the money he needed. There is no proof of this bargain, but Alfred Richard points out that Guilhem needed the money; that he undertook no other steps to obtain it; and that he had no other valid reason for handing over the county of Toulouse to Bertrand.

5-6: : Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. V ll.79-84:

Tant las fotei con auzirets:
Cen e quatre vint e ueit vetz,
Q'a pauc no• i rompei mos corretz
E mos arnes;
E no•us puesc dir lo malaves,
Tan gran m'en pres.

3. 9: Cf. Richard Comtes de Poitou 2 p.59.

10: Boutiere et Schutz Biographien p.01:

Lo coms de Peitieus si fo uns dels majors cortes del mon... Et ac un fill, que no por

moiller la duquesa de Normandia, don ac una
filla que fo moiller del rei Carle d'Englaterra,
mairo del rei Jove e d'En Richart e del conte
Jaufre de Bretaingna.

4. 13: Cf. Canto I p.7:

Thus with stretched sail, we went over sea till
/day's end.

14: Cf. Canto XCIV p.673:

Acre, again,
with an Eleanor

13-22: Cf. Setton Crusades I pp.463-512.

15: Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XVIII, c.6. l.37:

Arnautz tramot sa chanson d'ongl'e d'onele

16-17: Eleanor's uncle, Raymond of Antioch, 'commanded' and met them in Antioch, met in Acre; cf. Setton Crusades I pp.503-4, Kelly Eleanor pp.52, 67, 69, Richard Comtes de Poitou 2 pp.92-4.

19: See esp. Pacaut Louis VII pp.59-60 and note for the contemporary sources for the Queen's unfaithfulness and the suspicions about her conduct with Raymond. Pound's source may well have been Richard Comtes de Poitou 2 p.93 note.

20-22: The supposed relations with Saladin seem to have

their only source in the Recits d'un Menestrel de Reims, on whose unhistoricity and late date ('between 1260 and 1270') cf. Chaytor Script p.84. The following passage could also be the source for Pound's epic raideur of tone:

> Et avint qu'il li prist talent d'aler outre mer et volentiers nesist comole de délivrer la sainte tière des mains al Sarasins et se croisa et esmeut grant gent avoec lui. Et atournèrent lor nonée et montèrent sur mer à une S. Johan et nagièrent par mer et i furent un mois et arrivèrent à Sur... Quant Salhédin vit et pierçut sa noléche et sa nichèté, si li manda par pluisours fois bataille. Mais li rois ne s'en vot onkes meller. Et quant la roine Elienor vit la défauté que li rois avoit en lui, et olle oï parler de la bonté et des sens et de la prouèche Salhédin si li manda salus, par un druchemant, et bien seeust que s'il pooit tant faire qu'il l'on peust mener, olle le prendroit à seigneur et relinquiroit sa loy.

(La Chronique de Reims ed. L. Paris, Paris 1837, pp.4-5; cf. Récits d'un ménestrel de Rheims ed. N. de Wailly, Paris (Soc. de l'Histoire de France) 1876, pp.1 ff.) The details of circumstance appear to be Pound's invention.

5. 23-8: Richard Comtes de Poitou 2 pp.106-110, Ramsay Foundations 2 pp.444-5. These historians speak only of two other

suitors following the divorce from Louis. I have not been able to trace the Old French quotation, and in view of its peculiarities it must be Pound's invention in the style of the Chronique quoted above. If so, it should read 'Et quand li rois Loeys l'ol, si en fu moult courecïés.' (Cf. La Chronique de Reims ed. Louis Paris, Paris 1837, e.g. pp.6, 95.) The earliest citation of foucher in O. Bloch and W. von Wartburg Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue française, Paris 1932, is for 1442, while the Chronique was compiled 'between 1260 and 1270' (Chaytor Script p.84). It is possible that Pound made a similar mis-invention at 2.4.120.

6. 29-32: This passage appears at first sight to consist of extracts translated from an original document. However, no such document is cited by Eyton Itinerary p.41, by Ramsay Empire p.17, by Richard Comtes 2 p.124, or by Pacaut Louis VII p.102. Those historians only cite the chroniclers, none of whom quotes from a document at this point. Ralph Diceto (Radulphi de Diceto Opera Historica ed. W. Stubbs, London 1876, Vol.I pp.302-4) and Robert of Torigni (Chronicle ed. R. Howlett, in Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, London 1889, Vol.IV p.196) do not even give as much information as Ramsay Empire p.17, which could well be Pound's source:

> ...as a material guarantee, Louis placed the border fortresses of Gisors, Mésnières (Eure), and Neufchâtel-en-Bray (Seine Inf.) in the hands of three Templars, as trustees and stakeholders for both parties.

L. Delisle Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Paris 1916, gives no

not such as Pound would appear to be quoting from for the year 1158, though (pp.194-5) he gives the oath of allegiance that Henry made to Louis at one of their meetings in that year. It seems to me that Pound probably concocted this 'source' by putting together Ramsay and the document which formed the source of the next passage in Canto VI.

7. 53-56: M. Bouquet Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, Paris 1870, XVII pp.32-3 (inserting lines from this and preceding parts of Canto VI):

An. 1191 In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis

/In the name/ Trinity holy indivisible.../, amen.

PHILIPPUS, Dei gratia Francorum Rex. Noverint universi praesentes pariter et [illegible] futuri, quod pax firma facta est inter nos et amicum nostrum [illegible] et fratrem Richardum /Richard our brother/, illustrem Regem Anglicae, et ipse pacem firmavit nobis sacramento, in hunc modum:

1. Praedicto Regi bona corde et bona voluntate concedimus, quod amodo libere quemlibet volucrit ducat [illegible] uxorem, non obstante illa conventione inter nos et ipsum facta de sorore [illegible] nostra Adelaïde, quam debebat ducere in uxorem /Hood not wed Alix.../ /Hood not wed Alix once his father's ward and.../ But whom he choose.../.

2. Praeterea [illegible] quitavimus ei et haeredibus suis masculis ex ea et uxore sua [illegible] desponsata nascituris, et viventibus post decessum Regis Angliae et terram tenentibus /for all his life

and life of all his heirs], Gisortium et Nielphum, et [illegible] Novum-Castellum de Sancto-Dionysio, et Vulcassium Normannum [Nauphal, Vexin]/[Gisors, and Vexin, Neufchastel] cum pertinentiis suis.

5. Et ipse nobis concessit quod, si cum nori contingerit sine masculo haerede [but if no issue] ex eo et uxore sua desponsata, tam cito Gisortium et Nielphu et Novum-Castellum et Vulcassium Normannum cum pertinentiis suis ad nos et haeredes nostros masculos ex nobis et uxore desponsata revenient [Gisors shall revert...].

The name of the girl is variously given as Aelis (Richard Comten 2 p.146), Alix (Pacaut Louis VII p.200), Alais (Bertran Mieler ed. Appel p.141) and Adelais (Eyton Itinerary p.119). At all events she is the second daughter of Louis VII and Constance of Castille (Richard Comtes 2 p.146), and is not to be confused with the second daughter of Louis tout court, namely Aelith/Aaliz/Alix (Richard Comtes 2 p.94 and note), who is also Eleanor's daughter, and therefore uterine sister to Richard I, to whom she is supposed to be betrothed. Both Edwards and Vasse Annotated Index (s.v. Alix) and Pacaut Louis VII p.200) give her simply as 'second daughter of Louis & VII'. Richard Comtes 1 p.402 note observes that 'on sait qu'il était d'un usage fréquent à cette époque que les femmes fussent desiguées par [illegible] plusieurs noms...'

351 'once his father's ward and...' gives more particular information than the 'whom he was intended to marry' of the source; Round's intention is to point out the reason for breaking off the betrothal, which was that Richard's father Henry II slept with the betrothed when she was his ward. Richard Comtes 2 p.271 notes

that Fulippo-Augusto's own companions in arms 'reconnurent que los faits allégués étaient exacts'.

8. 37: Cf. above, source for line 10. dorna Jauziosda: c.f. Bornart Chansons ed. Lazar no. 4 ll.53-4:

Dona dorna Jauziosda,
cor se·l vostr' amairel

Cf. also Canto XCIII p.657, which uses the same song.

38: For the date of Eleanor's birth (1122) cf. Walker Eleanor p.264.

40: Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no. 5 ll. 41-2:

N'Audiartz, si be·m vol mal,
Vuolh que·n do de sas faisos...

Cf. 'Audiartz de Malamort' in Boutière et Schutz Biographies n. ed. pp.170, 171, 172, 180, 314, 315. For the connection see 2.7.16 and 2.4.88-90.

41-53: Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.24-5:

E·l vescons de Ventadorn si avia noiller, joven e gentil e gain. E si s'abelli d'Na Bornart e de sons chansos e s'enamora de lui et el de la dompna, si qu'el fetz sas chansos e sos vers d'ella, de l'amor qu'el avia ad ella e de la valor de loin. Lonc temps duret lor amors ans que·l vescons ni l'autra gens s'en apercebes. E quant lo vescons s'en apercoup, si s'estranjet de lui, e la noiller fetz serar e gardar. E la dompna si fetz dar conjat N'Ebles Bornart, qu'el se partis e se loingnes d'aquella encontrada.

Et el s'en parti e si s'en anet a la duchesa de Normandia, qu'era joves e de gran valor e s'entendia

en prota et en honor et en bandig de launor. E plasion li fort las chansos e'l vers d'En Bernart, et ella lo rescup e l'acuilli mout fort. Long temps estet en sa cort, et enamoret se d'ella et ella de lui, e fetz mantas bonas chansos d'ella...

41-2: Cf. note to line 40.

43: Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no. 31 ll.1-2:

Can vei la lauzeta mover
de joi sas alas contral rai,

que s'oblid' e.s laissa chazer...

53: Cavalcanti Rime ed. Arnone no. XIV ll.1-2:

Chi è questa che vien, ch'ogn'om la mira,
e fa tremar di claritate l'aere...

Cf. however Canto LXXIV pp.472:

in reply to l'aer tremare

—and 476:

e 'fa di clarità l'aer tremare'

as in the manuscript of the Capitolare

9. H 54-9: Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.321:

Lo Gordelo si fo de Sirior de Mantoana, fills d'un paubre cavallier que avia nom sior El Cort. E deletavas en cansons aprendre et en trobars e briguet com los bons homes de cort, et apres tot so qu'el pot; e fon cobles e sirventes.

E vene s'en a la cort del comte de San Bonifaci; e'l coms l'onret molt. E s'enamorat de la moiller del comte, a forma de solatz, et ella de lui. Et avene si que'l coms estet mal con los

fraires d'olla, o ai o'ostramlot d'olla. E aior Ecollio o aior Albrics, li fraire d'olla, ai la foiront envoler al conte a aior Cordel; et o'on vono ostar con lor; et ostot lough sanon con lor en gran benenance.

E pois o'en anot en Proance, en il rocoup grans honors de tota los bos homes, e del conte e de la contesse, que li doron un bon castel o noillier pentil.

55: Cf. Fanoyn p.97, for the spelling.

60: Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.322:

Et entendet no en na dompna Conissa, nor de sor Aicolin o de sor Albric de Romans, q'era noiller del conte de Saint Donifaci, ab cui el estava.

10. 61-5: F. Zamboni, Gli Fanolini, Dante e gli scrittori, Firenze 1902, pp.303-5, quotes the following document, #7 no. 2120 from the 'ospital di Treviso'. He notes (p.301) that it is a 15th-century copy, and full of errors. I put in parentheses Pound's borrowings in Canto VI and in Canto XLIX.

Hoc Exemplum Valus Exempli Cuiusdam Instrumenti

Ivius tenoris hoc est exemplum cuiusdam Instrumenti tenor quar / talis est Anno domini millesimo ducentesimo sexagesimo quinto Indictione octava Die mercurj primo Intrante Aprilli Inflorentia In dorno domini Chavalcantis do de Cavalchantis [In the house of the Cavalcanti / anno 1265'—Canto XXIX p.147] testibus ad hoc rogatis et [illegible] Specialiter convocatis ellicet dominus Nisi pichinus do farinatis do Florentia dnus Elinus et dnus Lipus ejus frator filijs q dni farinati do farinatis do florentia [...witness/ Piero do Farinatis/ and Don Elinus and Don Lipus/ sons of Farinato de' Farinati'—Canto VI pp.26-7]

Fuoius do eodoa loco dnus Guitus et dnus Portaldus do
cologna do [illegible] alemania Jacobinus q [illegible]di do
Verona petrus Aralus do cogia philipus do Imolla Et allyo
ibique Domina Cunisa filia quondam domini .....col do
romano pro honore omipotentis dei et pro remissione enimo
patris sui predicti [']Cunizza for God's love, for
remitting the soul of her father'—Canto XXIX p.146 et
fratrum [illegible] suorum dominorum Eccolini et albrici do
romano et matris suo quondam domino Adeleyto suarumque
enimarumque parentum atque suo et Intuytu pietatis dimisit
edque relaxavit omnes homines edque mulieres quo quondam
fuerunt domini the Eccelli eius patris predicti ['All sorts
of Eccelin my father da Romano'—Canto XXIX p.147 et
fratrum suorum dominorum Eccollini et Aubrici predicti do
romana [cf. 'Romagna et sorrow'—Canto VI p.26 secundum
quod ad eam pertinet do ratione p t illos qui stoterunt
cum domino Aubrico In castro et turin Sancti Zenonis
['Save [illegible] who were in at Castra San Zeno...'—Canto XXIX
p.146; 'Save those who were with Alberic at Castra San
Zeno'—Canto XXIX p.147 qui do eo fecerunt felonian in
dicto castro et turin illos dimixit centum Diabollis do
Inferno In anima et corpore ['—May hell take the traitors
of Zeno'—Canto XXIX p.146; 'And let them go also/ The
devils of hell in their body'—Canto XXIX p.147 et omnes
alios cum omnibus suis heredibus [illegible] qui eos modo habent et
decetero ex eis existent omnimt liberans et liberas et
ab omni vinculo ['Liberans et vinculo ab omni liberatos'—
Canto XXIX p.146 et conditione servitutis absoluto eos
dimisit Sicut illi qui in quadrivio in quarta cum Traditi
facti sunt libori ['As who with four hands at the cross

roads/ ...are given their freedom' Canto XXIX p.146/ vel sicut illi qui per manum regis vel sacerdotis circa sacratum sanctum Altare Ducti et facti sunt liberi /'By king's hand or sacerdos'/ are given their freedom' Canto XXIX p.146/ vel sicut de libero patre et de libera matre nati vel geniti fuissent Sicut quilibet civis romani apertis portis est in quamcunque parte habitare suo ambulare voluerint personae potestate habeat et vitam semper integram et incorruptam Deducant liberas personas liberos arbitrios vendendi Emendi testandi testificandi /'free of person, free of will/ 'free to buy, witness, sell, testato.'' Canto VI p.27/ judicium existendi possideant et perpetua libertate consistant et nullum servitio eius servitutis de cetero ei neque suis heredibus faciant nisi soli Deo cui omnia subyecta sunt peculium quoque quod nunc habent et de cetero quirent Irrevocabiliter eis donavit et cedit et omne jus patronatus eis remisit et relaxavit ita ut ab hac die in antea tam ipsi quam heredes qui de cetero ex eis exient tam de peculio suo quam de pecunia quicquid volucrint faciant sine omni sua suorumque heredum contraditione vel repititione vel alterius persone et non liceat ei aliquo tempore nolle quod modo vult sed quod per ipsam semel factum est vel scriptum semper inviolatum servetur quam libertatem pro se et suis heredibus..... /sic/ 61: cf. perhaps 'in quodam sabato sancto' in the source for lines 68-9.

11. 68-69: Chabaneau Biographies p.100, quoting Rolandini Chronica lib. V cap. 3 from L. Muratori, Scriptores rerum italicarum, VIII, 173 (quoted also in Cordello Poesie ed. de Lollis, Appendix):

[Ecelinus tertius] ocxto genuit dominam Cunizam, vitae cujus series talis fuit. Primo namque data est in uxorem comiti Ricardo de Sancto Bonifacio; sed tempore procedente, mandato Ecelini sui patris, Sordellus de ipsius familia dominam ipsam latenter a marito subtraxit, cum qua in patris curia permanente, dictum fuit ipsum Sordellum concubuisse. Et ipso expulso ab Ecelino, miles quidam, nomine Bonius de Tarvisio, dominam ipsam amavit, eandemque a patris curia separavit occulto, & ipsa nimium amorata in eum, cum ipso mundi partes plurimas circuivit, multa habendo solatia, & maximas faciendo expensas. Demum ambo reversi sunt ad Albericum de Romano, fratrem ipsius domine, regentem & dominantem in Tarvisio, contra voluntatem Ecelini, ejus fratris, ut dicebatur, & apparebat; & illic stabat idem Bonius cum dicta domina Cuniza, tamen vivente adhuc uxore ipsius Bonii & in Tarvisio permanente. Occisus est demum Bonius gladio in quodam sabato sancto, cum Ecelinus civitatem Tarvisii do dominio fratris velle videretur eripere. Hanc autem domina Cuniza cum post omnia haec declinasset ad fratrem suum Ecelinum, ipse maritavit eam domino Aymerio, vel Rainerio, de Dragantio, viro nobili. Sed postea, cum guerra exarsit in Marchia, Ecelinus ipsum cognatum suum, cum ceteris nobilibus de Dragonzo & aliunde per Marchiam fecit occidi. Adhuc iterum ipsa Cuniza, post mortem fratris sui Ecelini, maritata est in Verona.

Chabaneau ibid. notes that 'Ecelini sui patris' should read '...fratris'. Boni notes, Sordello Poesie ed. Boni pp.XXVIII, XXX, that Chabaneau's parenthesis should read '[Ecelinus secundus]', and that his footnote on the other Ezzelino is accordingly wrong. For a translation of this passage see Section 2 Chapter 6 paragraph 25.

12. 70-73: Sordello Ipoesie ed. Boni no. III 11.1-8:

Atretan dei ben chantar finarien
d'invern com d'estiu, segon raison,
per o'ab lo freitz volli far gaia canson
que n'on pascor de chantar cor ni pren,
quar la rosa sembla lei de cui chan,
naltresi on la neus del sieu semblan:
por qu'en andon dei por s'amor chantar,
tant fort mi fan la rosa e.l neus membrar.

For a translation see Section 2 Chapter 6 paragraph 54 note 3; cf. also 2.6.56.

13. 74: Boutière et Schutz Biographien p.93:

Elias Cairels si fo de Sarlat, d'un borc de Peiregorc, et era laboraire d'aur o d'argent o desoingnaire d'armas. E fetz co joglars o anet gran temps per lo mon. Mal cantava e mal trobava e mal violava e peicha parlava, e ben escrivia notz e sons. En Romania estet lonc temps, e quant el s'en parti, si s'en tornet a Sarlat, e lai el morie.

APPENDIX TWO

PROVENÇAL SOURCES IN POUND'S CHIEF PROSE PIECES CONCERNING THE TROUBADOURS

1. The primary object of this Appendix is to identify literary sources (Provençal prose and verse) so that those interested may make their own comparison between Pound's use and the originals. The secondary object is to identify immediate sources; that is, exact editions used by Pound in the case of the literary sources, and where possible, books which provided him with other information. My general rule of limitation has been to give sources here only where the author of the source wrote in Provençal or was consciously writing about Provençal matters (the application of this to matter in Dante, for instance, will be obvious).

2. Though the first aim is to identify texts so that students may get at them, in most cases this aim is not furthered by citing the most up-to-date edition. (Some poems, for example by Bertran de Born, are simply not in print; where the student has been able to obtain an edition of a troubadour, he will quickly find the poem in question from its title.) I therefore cited the exact edition used by Pound, when I can identify it, and only that edition; otherwise I say 'e.g. ed. ... no. ...'

<u>'Il Miglior Fabbro' (delivered as a lecture to the Poets' Club on Dec. 20th 1909) and 'Provença', both first published in The Spirit of Romance (1910) (Spirit pp. 22-30, 39-63)</u>

3. The following remarks may be made on sources for 'Il Miglior Fabbro' and 'Provença':

4. For <u>Dante ...and Arnaut</u> was clearly used; cf. Section 2

Chapter 5 paragraph 28.

5. Chaytor Troubadours of Dante would seem an obvious source for a lot of the material, but there are contra-indications. Pound does not actually mention this book until 1938 (Kulchur p. 107). On Spirit p. 45 he erroneously reads the Dante as 'who never gave comfort to the young king'; Chaytor p.132 has this correct. On p.53 Pound says that he has 'not come upon' any stanzas except the first of Aimeric de Belenoi's Nuls hom non pot, but Chaytor p.62 has the whole poem. Nonetheless it is possible that Pound used this book intermittently in the British Museum, where he studied frequently.

6. Sordello Poesie ed. de Lollis (1896) appears to be an only possible source on pp.25, 56, but the material could come from a troubadour popularization.

7. Arnaut Daniel Opere ed. Canello is the only likely source for a lot of material here, since Lavaud's edition was not published until 1910 and since Pound certainly later made extensive use of Canello.

8. Mönch von Montaudon Gedichte is a possible source for the Peire d'Alvergne on p.37, whose text Pound must clearly have seen.

9. Appel Chrestomathie in the 1st or 2nd edition is a known source for Pound (Stock: Life p.70, Letters to Iris Barry 2 May 1916), and one clearly used with great frequency here.

10. Parnell Lives was certainly used to the exclusion of original

sources on pp.27, 55; in those two chapters it could be seen as the source of all the non-lyric information (apart from Dante), were it not for quotations from the original text on p.55, which are not in Farnell. Ruthven Guide s.v. Na Audiart has noticed rhymes borrowed from Farnell; there are also verbal reminiscences in Foire Vidal Old ('the fool par excellence' Farnell p.80, 'the loba (she-wolf) of Tenautier' p.85, 'And in the mountains of Cabaret he made men hunt him forsooth with dogs, and with mastiffs, ...he was brought as one dead to the dwelling of the She-Wolf of Tenautier' p.86). Thus found here, Bertran 'set the strife' p.45, as in Farnell p.90. Similarly, the order of troubadours treated in 'Provença' is taken from Farnell, with interpolations from Dante (De Vulgari Eloquentia) and Appel. Pound of course acknowledges this source on p.62.

11. Bartsch-Koschwitz Chrestomathie is suggested as a source on pp.44, 60 not because there are any positive indications but because the songs in question were only otherwise available in Raynouard Choix and Mahn Werke or similar encyclopaedic works. It is however quite possible that Pound, using the British Museum, sought out from such works the poems that Dante and others indicated.

12. Bertran Werke ed. Stimming 1st ed. is suggested as the most convenient source for the large quantity of Bertran material here in Pound's time; it also happens to have the 'Maent' spelling for Bertran's supposed lady, though Farnell is a likely source for this (cf. Spirit p.62, etc.).

13. Chabaneau Biographies is unlikely to have been used at the

time of this book. Pound p.45 has the nicknames of the Plantagenets wrong; Chabaneau p.17 had them right (as did even Farnell p.120). 'Maent' (see above) is correctly 'Maout' in Chabaneau passim. And the readings quoted by Pound from the vida of Almeric de Peguilhan do not match those of Chabaneau.

14. To sum up, Pound used Appel's Chrestomathie and Farnell's Lives extensively, and it seems likely that he also used Canello's edition of Arnaut, Stimming's edition of Bertran, and possibly Chaytor's Troubadours of Dante. But in all cases where he could have used these latter three sources, he might equally well have simply gone to the Museum and copied out the rest he wanted from Mahn's Werke or Raynouard's Choix. I see no indication that Pound used any other source of information. He had of course his classes at Hamilton and Pennsylvania with W.P. Shepard, the noted Provençal scholar, and with Hugo Rennert (cf. e.g. Stock Life pp.16, 23, 103). Under these circumstances Pound was probably not over-modest, as far as sources of information were concerned, when he described the origins of The Spirit of Romance thus:

> ...Sullivan ...persuaded the London Polytechnic to let me give a course of lectures there... These were a very raw summary of things in Rennert's Seminar at the University of Pennsylvania; out of their condensation, this volume. (Spirit p.9.)

'Il Miglior Fabbro' (Spirit pp.11-30)

	Page	
15.	22	The footnote in later editions confuses the remarks about the essay 'Arnaut Daniel' with the note about Ker's article on the opposite page, to which the HJR

C (several songs) and E (C. de St Lidier's sons). He did not refer to sources he had used earlier, such as Farnell Lives (whose readings never follow Pound's where these are unusual) and Appel Chrestomathie (cf. p.107).

20. It is clear that at this stage Pound did not know enough Provençal to understand the texts properly, since many of his translations are simple howlers (cf. pp. 104, 105, 107). These difficulties would not have helped him with the task of deciphering the MS, so that it is very unlikely that any of his MS readings should be an improvement on those given by editors of the material.

21. Since it is certain that Pound did not use Chabaneau Biographies, and very unlikely that he used any other published source for the vidas and razos, I do not cite editions for the latter; however, they are easily found in Chabaneau, in Favati Le Biographie, and in Boutière et Schutz Biographies and in Boutière et Schutz Biographies, n. ed.

	Page	
22.	94	e.g. vida of Guilhem IX of Aquitaine (Comte de Poitous), e.g. in Chabaneau Biographies p.6. (The vida in fact says he was great-grandfather to Richard Lionheart.) ('of the greatest counts in the world...') vida of Guilhem IX ibid, presumably misreading corton as e.g. 'contes'. Read 'one of the greatest courtly men in the world...'

Contessa de Dia's vida, e.g. Chabaneau Biographies p.77

Page

reference should be attached. There is no article by Pound in the Modern Language Review for January 1909.

23 Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia, II.2; II.6; II.13; II.10.
Dante, Purgatorio 26.97 ff.
For Dante ...and Arnaut

24 (Giraut de Bornelh) Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia I.9; II.2; II.5; II.6.
(Arnaut Daniel) ibid. II.2; Purgatorio 26.140.
Folquet de Marseille, Tant m'abellis l'amoros pensamens, e.g. in ed. Stronski Folquet no.II; cf. Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.56, P-O 155,22.

25 Sordello Tant m'abellin lo terminin novels, e.g. in ed. Lollis Poesie p.203, P-C 437, 35.
F. Petrarca, Il Trionfo d'Amore Cap.IV ll.41-2, e.g. in Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.viii.
Dante, Purgatorio 26.119-120.
Levy Petit Dictionnaire.

26 Arnaut Daniel Sols sui in ed. Canello Opere no. XV, P-C 29, 18.

(Sestina) Arnaut Daniel Lo ferm voler in ed. Canello Opere
27 no. XXV, P-C 29, 14.

27 Arnaut Daniel Sols sui in ed. Canello Opere no. XV, P-C 29, 10.

28 Dante, Inferno 9.112.

page

Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia ii.?

Arnaut Daniel L'aura amara in ed. Canello Opere no. IX,

P-C 29, 13.

29 ibid.

30 ibid.

Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia ii.2

for Dante ...and Arnaut Daniel.

Dante, Purgatorio 26.140, 142-5, 147.

Dante, Al fuoco rio, pour quoi trop ayes. 'The language

'is not Provençal, as noted philologists contended...

but French' (Dante Rime ed. Contini p.233.)

31 Arnaut Daniel L'aura amara in ed. Canello Opere no. IX,

P-C 29, 13

Dante, Convivio ii 'Canzone prima'.

('second canzone to which Dante refers') Dante, De Vulgari

Eloquentia ii.6.

Arnaut Daniel Solh nul in ed. Canello no. XV, P-C 29, 18.

('the third') Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia ii.13.

Arnaut Daniel Sim fos Amors in ed. Canello Opere no. XVII,

P-C 29, 17.

32 ibid.

33 ibid.

('poole himself') Dante, Inferno 9.112.

('il miglior fabbro') Dante, Purgatorio 26.117.

Page

Arnaut Daniel Doutz brain in ed. Canello Opere no. XII, P-C 29,8.

34 Ibid.

35 Dante, Deh, Violetta, che in ombra d'Amore.

Arnaut Daniel Autet e bas in ed. Canello Opere no. VIII, P-C 29,5.

Arnaut Daniel Pois Raimons ibid. no. I, P-C 29,15.

('stanza of spring') Arnaut Daniel Chansson do•ill mot ibid. no. II, P-C 29.6,

Autet e bas ibid. no. VIII, P-C 29,5, Doutz brain e critz ibid. no. XII, P-C 29,8.

('April') Arnaut Daniel Lancan con passant ibid. no. IV, P-C 29,11.

('May or June') Arnaut Daniel Er vei vermeilln ibid. no. XIII, P-C 29,4.

('fruit time') Arnaut Daniel Lancan vei fueill ibid. no. V, P-C 29,12.

('autumn') Arnaut Daniel Can chai la fueilla ibid. no. III, P-C 29,16, En breu brisarn ibid. no. XI, P-C 29,9.

36 ('winter') Arnaut Daniel L'aura amara ibid. no. IX, P-C 29,13.

('L'Oncle') Arnaut Daniel Io fern voler ibid. no. XVIII, P-C 29,14.

para

37 Monge de Montaudo Pos Peire d'Alvernh'a chantat in
e.g. Mönch von Montaudon Gedichte ed. Philippson
p.30, P-C 305,16.
Dante, Purgatorio 26.142
Arnaut Daniel En breu brisarn in ed. Canello Opere
no. XI, P-C 29,9.

38 Arnaut Daniel Can chai la fueilla in ed. Canello Opere
no. III, P-C 29,16.
Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II:7.
Ibid. II.5.

'Proença' (Spirit pp.39-63

para

16. 39 Anon. Quant lo rius or fora in Appel Chrestomathie
2nd ed. no. 45, P-C 461,201.
Anon. A l'entrade del tens clar Ibid. no. 40, P-C 461,12.

40 Ibid.
Anon. Quan lo rossinhols escria in Appel Chrestomathie
2nd ed. no. 54, P-C 461,203.
Uc Catolas Ro*no.

41 Anon. En un vergier sotz fuelha d'albespi in Appel
Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 53, P-C 461,113.
Farnell Lives p.27 (translation of the Bernart de
Ventadorn vida taken verbatim).
Bernart de Ventadorn Quant vey la lauzeta mover in Appel
Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 17, P-C 70,43

page

42 ibid.

c.f. Swinburne The Triumph of Time in Farnell Lives p.52.

Jaufre Rudel Lanquand li jorn son lonc en mai in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 15, P-C 262,2.

43 ibid

44 ibid.

Jaufre Rudel Quan lo rius de la fontana in c.g. Bartsch-Koschwitz Chrestomathie col. 59, P-C 262,5.

Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia 1.10.

('Guillaume of Cabestang') e.g. Farnell Lives pp.41 ff.

Dante, Inferno 28.110-142.

Guillem de Cabestanh Chansons ed. Langfors.

45 Dante, Inferno 28.110-142.

('Rassa') e.g. Bertran de Born Rassa, non ai non in ed. Stirning Werke 1st ed. p.190, P-C 80,36.

('Yea and Nay') e.g. Bertran de Born S'abrils e fuolhas ibid. p.205, P-C 80,30.

('Sailor') e.g. Bertran de Born Rassa, tan croia ibid. p.201, P-C 80,37.

('A Perigord...') Bertran de Born, Un sirventes on motz no falh ibid. p.215, P-C 80,44.

46 ibid.

Bertran de Born Quan vei pels verjers in ed. Stirning Werke ort ed. p.196, P-C 80,35.

Bertran de Born Lo coms m'a mandat ibid. p.169, P-C 80,23.

page

47 Bertran de Born Si tuit li dol ibid. p.212, P-C 80,41.

('My songs have end') Bertran de Born Lion chan fenino

ibid. p.173, P-C 80,26.

('Dompna Soissesubuda') Bertran de Born Dompna, pois

de me ibid. p.147; also e.g. Frnoll Livre pp.92-3,

P-C 80,12.

Bertran de Born Be•m platz lo gais temps in ed. Stirming

Works 1st ed. p.222, P-C 80,8a.

48 ibid.

Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia ii.2.

Sordello e.g. Planher volh en Blacatz in e.g. Chaytor

Troubadours of Dante no. XLII; also in ed. de

Lollis Poesie p.153, P-C 437,24.

Peire Cardenal e.g. Las amairitz, qui encolpar las vol

in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 78 (for Pound's

interpretation cf. Essays p.107, 'Ready for war...'),

P-C 335,30.

(Giraut de Bornelh) Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia ii.2.

Bernart de Ventadorn Quant vey la lauzeta movor in Appel

Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 17, P-C 70,43.

Peire Dremon lo Tort En abril quan voy verdeyar ibid.

no. 21, P-C 331,1.

Peire Vidal Ab l'alen tir vas me l'aire ibid. no. 23,

P-C 364,1.

49 ibid.

Peire d'Alvernhe Rossinhol, el seu repaire, ibid. no. 62,

P-C 324, 23.

para

Bertran de Born Domna pieis de re in ed. Stirling Works
1st ed. p.147, P-C 80,12.

50 Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia i.9; ii.2; ii.5; ii.6.
Giraut de Bornelh Per solatz revelliar e.g. in Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.35, P-C 242,55.
Giraut de Bornelh Ara suisetz e.g. ibid. p.33, P-C 242,17.

51 Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia ii.6.
Giraut de Bornelh Si per ren fobre-Totz e.g. in Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.41, P-C 242,73.
Giraut de Bornelh Reis glorios in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 56; also e.g. in Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.45, P-C 242,64.

52 ibid.
Giraut de Bornelh Ar ai gran joi e.g. in Raynouard Choix 3.304, Mahn Werke 1.104, P-C 242, 13.

53 ('fellow from Limousin') Dante Purgatorio 26.120.
Aimeric de Belenoi Mult hom non pot e.g. in Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.62 (who however has the whole poem), P-C 9,14.
Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia ii.6

54 Aimeric de Belenoi Conhiros com partits d'amor in e.g. Raynouard Choix 5.5, Mahn Werke 3.86, P-C 9,10.

para

Almeric de Pegulhan vida o.c. in Chabaneau Biographien p.75 (which however has convers for Pound's convic).

55 ibid.

('Daude de Pradas') Farnell Lives p.267 (almost verbatim).

Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.6.

Almeric de Pegulhan Sieu l'albres qui por sobrecarcar in o.c. Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.68, P-C 10,50.

56 Folquet de Marsoille Tan m'abellis l'amoros pensamen in o.c. Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.56, P-C 155,22.

Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.6.

Dante Purgatorio 26.140.

Cordello Tant m'abellis lo terminis novels o.c. in ed. de Lollis Poesie p.203, P-C 437,35.

57 ('Ribeyrac') o.c. Farnell Lives p.164

Arnaut de Mareuil Bel m'es quan lo vens m'alena o.c. in Bartsch-Koschwitz Chrestomathie col. 101, P-C 30,17.

Dante Purgatorio 6.58-78.

58 ibid.

Cordello Planher volh en Blacatz o.c. in Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.74, P-C 437,24.

59 ibid.

Guillem d'Autpol Esperanza de totz forn esperans in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 50, P-C 206,1.

page

60 Ibid.

Peire de Corbiac Domna, deln angoln vertz e.g. in Bartsch-Koschwitz Chrestomathie col. 231, R-C 338,1.

61 Ibid.

Hugo de Montaldon L'autrier fuy en paradis in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 93, R-C 305,12.

Peire Cardenal e.g. Li clerc ni fan pastor ibid. no. 76, R-C 335,31.

62 Ibid.

Farnell Lives pp.257-8.

('Maent') e.g. Bertran Works ed. Stimming 1st ed. passim; also Farnell Lives e.g. p.123

('on whom she smiled...') e.g. Farnell Lives pp.119 ff. (Rego to Savaric de Mauleon Gaucelm, tres fecn enamoratz, with that song, R-C 432,2).

Marcabru L'autrier iost' una sebissa in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 64, R-C 293,30.

W.P. Shepard, A Provençal Debat on Youth and Age in Women', Modern Philology, Nov. 1931, which gives the first critical texts of Bertran de Prolonge Ara quan plou et iverna, R-C 80,1, and Gaubert de Poicibot Ara quan l'iverns non laissa, R-C 173,1a.

63 Marcabru L'autrier iost' una sebissa in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 64, R-C 293,30.

Giraut Riquier A Sant Pos de Tomeira ibid. no. 65, R-C 248,15.

'Psychology and Troubadours' (first published in Quest IV.1 (Oct. 1912) and incorporated in editions of The Spirit of Romance from 1952) (Spirit pp.87-100)

17. It is not possible to deduce anything certain about sources for this essay, beyond what has been said for 'Il Miglior Fabbro' and 'Provença'; except that Pound must have used Bartsch's edition of Peire Vidal, since until 1913 it was the only published source for the poem quoted on p.96.

	Page	
18.	88	Dante Purgatorio 26.117.
	89	Arnaut Daniel Doutz brais e critz in Opere ed. Canello no. XII, P-C 29,8.
	90	ibid.
	91	The following troubadours are mentioned by the Provençal prose-writers as being 'clerks', monks, canons or educated by the Church: Daude de Pradas (e.g. Chabaneau Biographies p.49), Aimeric de Belenoi (ibid. p.257), Gaubert de Poicibot (ibid. p.47), Cui d'Ussel (ibid, p.40), Monge de Montaudon (ibid. p.61), Peire Cardenal (ibid. p.62), Peire Rogier (ibid. p.54), Uc Brunenc (ibid. p.36), and Uc de Saint-Circ (ibid. p.51).
		Arnaut Daniel L'aura amara in Opere ed. Canello no. IX, P-C 29,13 (for Pound's interpretation cf. 2.5.74 ff.).
	92	('address to the lady') e.g. Bernart de Ventadorn Quant vey la lauzeta mover in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 17, P-C 70,43.
	96	Peire Vidal Quant hom es en autrui poder in ed. Bartsch

Paro

Lioçor p.45 (no other published source in 1912),

P-O 364.39.

Peire Vidal o.c. Una chanson ai fresha rostanon ibid.

p.74, P-O 364,50.

97 F. Petrarca Il Trionfo d'Amore Cap. IV line 41, o.c.

in Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.8.

99 ('taught in cloister') cf. vida of Arnaut Daniel o.c.

in Chabaneau Biographies p.13 and translated in

Farnell Lives pp.164-5

100 Dante Purgatorio 26.143.

'Troubadours—their Sorts and Conditions' (first published in the Quarterly Review CCXIX.437 (Oct 1913) (Essays pp.94-108))

19. The obvious conclusion here is that Pound did not use Chabaneau Biographies, the collection which one would have expected to provide him with vida and razo material, and that he in fact copied all material, except that referred to in passing, from the MS3 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, as related by Stock Life p.117 (that is, in May 1913). Not only are there wide disagreements with Chabaneau's readings, but Pound's readings are so idiosyncratic that they are unlikely to have been borrowed from another source. The only contra-indication is the mysterious ascription to the Ambrosiana (p.97); while on the other hand there is material that was only available in a Paris MS at the time (pp.105, 106). All his material was contained in Paris MS3 IK (most of the prose and some songs),

<u>para</u>

Bertran de Born <u>Be.m platz lo gais temps de pascor</u>

in e.g. ed. Stimming Werke 1st ed. p.222, P-C 80,8a.

<u>razo</u> to Guillem de Saint Leidier <u>Domna, ieu vos aui</u>

<u>mesatgiern</u> in e.g. Chabaneau <u>Biographies</u> p.59,

P-C 234,7.

95 J.B. Beck, <u>Die Melodien der Troubadours und Trouvères</u>,

Strasburg 1908.

<u>Hestermae Rosae.</u>

Pierre Aubry <u>La Musicologie médiévale</u>, Paris 1900;

<u>Les plus anciens monuments de la musique française</u>,

Paris 1905; <u>La rythmique musicale des troubadours</u>

<u>et des trouvères</u> (tirage à part de <u>La Revue Musicale</u>,

Juin-Juillet 1907) Paris 1097.

('Miquel de la Tour') <u>vida</u> of Peire Cardenal e.g. in

Chabaneau <u>Biographies</u> p.62; 'and here are written

some of his sirventes' is not in Chabaneau,

<u>Biographies</u> p.62, though in all the MSS (cf.

Boutière et Schutz <u>Biographies</u> p.226).

('a poor vavassour') <u>vida</u> of Richart de Berbezill

<u>vida</u> of Amfos d'Aragon.

<u>vida</u> of Peire Vidal.

<u>vida</u> of Raizon de Miraval.

<u>vida</u> of Uc Brunenc.

<u>vida</u> of Gausbert de Poicibot, omitting 'E quan vene

la sera'('and when evening came') before 'And he

went out for desire of woman.'

96 Gausbert de Poicibot <u>Per amor del bel temps gauc</u> (at

<u>page</u>

the time of this essay only published in <u>Revue des langues romanes</u> 25.221), P-C 173,9. In MSS CR (Bibl. Nat.).

('La Tour') cf. sources for previous page.

<u>vida</u> of Peire de Maensac.

Peire de Maensac <u>Longa saison ai estat vas amor</u> in e.g. Raynouard <u>Choix</u> 3.245, Kahn <u>Werke</u> 3.58 (ascribed to Peire only in MSS IKd.), P-C 276.1.

97 ibid.

('<u>marabotin</u>') e.g. Peire Cardenal <u>Senh En Eblon, ventre vuei</u>, P-C 335,53.

Peire de Maensac <u>Longa saison ai estat vas amor</u> (cf. sources for previous page), P-C 276.1.

Dante <u>Purgatorio</u> 6.74; 7.3, 52, 66; 12.46; 19.125.

R. Browning <u>Sordello</u>, London 1840.

<u>vida</u> of Sordello. The <u>vida</u> is faithfully translated here, though with some puzzling quirks. The first is the mention of an MS in the Ambrosiana at Milan; this <u>vida</u> exists only in MSS I, K and p, the latter of which is only a copy of K, and none of which, as far as I am able to determine, was ever in the Ambrosiana (cf. history of IK in Arnaut <u>Canzoni</u> ed. Toja p.152). Yet Pound's translation looks as if it has been made direct from an MS, since the punctuation is entirely his own; and while this may be the result of his independent approach, since he would be aware that the punctuation of editors

page

is entirely their own creation, yet it does not account for his division of the sentences 'And thus he estranged himself from her and from Sier Soiellme and Sier Albrics. Thus her brothers caused her to be stolen from the Count by Sier Sordello...' Sordello Seonie ed. de Lollis p.148 had: '...o si s'estranjet d'ella; e sier Icollis e sier Albrics, li frairs d'ella, si la feiront envolar al conte a Sier Sordel...', and Chabaneau Biographies p.314 had the same division. Pound's division is probably wrong, for if the vida-writer had meant it that way he would probably have written 'e de sier Icollis e de sier Albrics', and 'E si la feiront envolar'. Then there are Pound's strange readings 'Escort' and 'Soellme', which editors do not give for any of the MSS. Possibly Pound took his translation from a late copy in the Ambrosian when he was copying Arnaut Daniel there in 1911; cf. Stock Life p.102, Montanhagol Pegan, etc.

93 vida of Guillem Figueira; conforms to Chabaneau Biographies p.76, except for the final words e de levar los arlotz, which Pound omits, conformably to MS D in the Bibl. Nat.

('Manos') As Pound's note indicates, this is presumably from the vida of Peire Bremon lo Tort; but the reading is his own (editors give Vianen for all four MSS, as does Chabaneau Biographies p.89).

('Cataloigna by Rossillon', ''a poor cavalier'')

Page

(cf. his footnote) vida of Berenguier de Palazol.

('Ademar of Cauvedan') vida of Guillem Ademar; the lacunae in Pound's version do not agree with Chabaneau's Biographies p.63 or with editors' readings of the MSS.

vida of Elias Cairel; Pound's omissions and his reading ?on roravia ('wandering') are his own.

vida of Perdigon.

vida of Peirol.

vida of Corcamon.

vida of Pistoleta.

vida of Guillem Magret; the reading Manes for Vianes (cf. Peire Bremon above), the mention of the capitals the lacunae, and the words 'and the women' are Pound's own.

99 vida of Ademar lo Negre; the line quoted by Pound is not in Chabaneau Biographies, and is only to be found in MSS IK (Bibl. Nat.).

vida of Aimeric de Sarlat.

vida of Peire Guillem.

vida of Daude de Pradas; Pound omits two final words given by Chabaneau that are not in AIK.

('played the viol') e.g. vida of Pons de Capdoill.

('another sang') e.g. vida of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras.

('another spoke') (cf. footnote) vida of Richart de Berbezill.

vida of Jaufre Rudel.

page

('Breboziou's father-in-law') vida of Richart de Berbezill. Chabaneau Biographies p.43, which found obviously did not see, notes that this Jaufre Rudel 'might be a son of the troubadour'; chronology makes it impossible that it should be the troubadour himself (cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.41n). The phrase concerning Jaufre Rudel is only in IK.

vida of Elias Fonsalada; Pound's condensation of it does not conform to any of the MSS.

vida of Gaucelm Faidit; Pound's lacunae are his own.

vida of Savaric de Mauleon; Pound's readings Reios, St Miquel en Letz, Hern, Ihies, Engolling are his own, and 'he was one of the most open-handed men in the world' is a free paraphrase.

Savaric de Mauleon Gaucelm, tres foos enamoratz in e.g. Kahn Werke 2.144, Bartsch-Koschwitz Chrestomathie col. 169; cf. Parnell Lives pp.199 ff; P-C 432,2.

vida of Raimons Jordans, Vescoms de Saint Antoni. Pound's lacunae are his own readings, and the latter part of his version appears to be very confused. I translate Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.201-2 thus:

...and she, for the sadness and great grief that she felt at the news, went off immediately and put herself in a heretic convent [Pound perhaps read something like Fr. cierges 'candles' for the O.Pr. eretges 'heretics']. And as God willed it, the Viscount grew better and was cured of his wound. And no-one would

para

toll him that she had entered the convent. And when he was quite cured, he came to Saint Antoni and they told him that she had entered the convent because of the sadness that she felt when she heard that he was dead. So that, when he heard this, he lost his happiness and laughing and singing and joy, and took to him again laments and weeping and sighs and dismay and grief, and did not ride or come and go among the best people. And thus he was for more than a year in deep distress.

This last sentence, reading perhaps 'et ensinsi estet plus d'un an en gran marrimen' for 'et ensinsi estet plus d'un an en gran marrimen', is presumably the source of Pound's 'thus there was more than one in deep distress'.

100 ibid.

Jojos de Toloza L'autrier el dous temps de pascor in e.g. Appel Provenzalische Inedita p.171. Otherwise at the time only in MS C (Bibl. Nat.). P-C 270,1.

Comz de Foix Man qui a flor ne vol remplar in e.g. Raynouard Choix 5.114,291 and Kahn Werke 3.167. MS I (Bibl. Nat.) only. P-C 182,2.

101 ibid.

102 ('similes of beasts and of stars') vida of Richart de Berbezill.

Richart de Berbezill Atressi com l'olifans in Appel

Pire

Richart de Berbezill Atressi com l'olifans in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 29, P-C 421,2.

Richart de Berbezill ? ? I have not found the 'golf-plaving pelicon' in Richart's works; cf. Rigaut Canzoni ed. Braccini, id. Lirieho ed. Varvaro.

Ciraut Riquier e.g. A Sant Pos de Tomeiras in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 65, P-C 248,15.

Marcabru e.g. L'autrier iost'una nobisa ibid. no. 64, P-C 293,30.

103 Ciraut Riquier A Sant Pos de Tomeiras in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 65, P-C 248,15.

Marcabru L'autrier iost'una nobisa ibid. no. 64, P-C 293,30.

104 vida of Peire Cardenal. Chabaneau Biographies p.62 does not have the 'M3' last line, which Pound gives. 'he had high knowledge of' is a mistranslation of 'el s'azautet de', 'he took a fancy to'. Despite Pound's 'M. Peire Cardenal', he is aware that En is O.Pr. for 'Sir'.

('Vicontesso de Pena') vida of Raimon Jordan, Vescoms de Saint Antoni.

Peire Cardenal Li clerc ni fan pastor in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 76, P-C 335,31.

('Coms raymon') Peire Cardenal Falsedatz e donnezura, P-C 335,25. For comparison with Pound's readings, Peire Cardenal Poésies ed. Lavaud p.60 has:

Car de la mar de Dalona
Entro a Valenna

Page

A [illegible] fons falsa e folona,

Laj'en viltenensa;

Mas vos tenes vil lor,

Que Frances bavedor

Plus que perditz a l'austor

No vos fan temensa.

Cf. Pound 'Agra gent falsae fellona / Lai ab vil temenna', 'Folk would have given in (sold out)', where Lavaud's reading means 'there are plenty of false and wicked people, vilely scorning'. Pound also has an extraordinary mis-translation for 'Que tot lo mon gensa', which means 'that it brightens all the world': '(Your valour is sound enough) to make up for the cowardice of All the rest of the gentry.'

105 Ibid.

('little tailor') vida of Guillem Figueira.

Guillem Figuiera D'un sirventes far, in G.C. Bartsch-Koschwitz Chrestomathie col. 219, R-C 217,2.

('Li postilh') Peire Cardenal Do cels qu'avets el sirventes dir mal, R-C 335,16. At the time of Pound's essay only available in MS C (Nibl. Nat.). Peire Cardenal Foemlen ed. Lavaud p.293 reads this MS:

L'apostoli -lh legat e-lh cardenal

S'acordon tug et an fag establir

Que qui no-s pot de trasnion esdir,

S'aver non a, fassa-lh hom lo senhal...

This means 'The Pope, the legates and the cardinals are in agreement and have fixed it so that whoever cannot free

para

himself from suspicion of treason, if he has no wealth, they brand him...' Found has, for example, read a 'cord' root into 'acordar', and translates 'have twisted such a cord'; his other mistakes are grammatical.

('Li rio ome') Peire Cardenal Tots temps gaire folletat et enjan, P-C 335,57, in Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 77. Found's readings are as Appel's, except for minor variations, and his translation is correct.

106 ibid.

('A tantas vez') I have not been able to identify this.

('He may have enough harness') In Found this would appear to belong with the following item, but I have been quite unable to see it in Lavaud's text, Peire Cardenal Poésies ed. Lavaud p.296.

('Si morts no fos') Peire Cardenal Be deu qu'aventa el sirventes dir mal, P-C 335,16, at the time of Found's essay only in MS C (Bibl. Nat.).

('As a man weeps') Peire Cardenal Ainsi com hom plaing son fill o son paire P-C 335,2. The notable variation from ed. Lavaud Peire Cardenal Poésies p.246 is 'who do their own ill' for 'qui sal son reziut', 'who have remained here'.

107 ibid.

('Ready for war') Peire Cardenal Las armirtz, qui

<u>na/no</u>

<u>encolpar lan vol</u> in a.c. Appel <u>Chrestomathie</u> 2nd ed. no. 70, P-C 335,30. Pound's version is extraordinary. Appel has:

Prop a guerra qui l'a en miech son uol,/ e plus prop l'a qui l'a a son coyssi;/ quan lo marits a la molher fai dol,/ aquilh guerra es pleita que de vezi;/ qu'ieu sai tal un que, s'era part Toleta,/ non a sorre ni molher ni cozi/ quo in dissess "Dompnidieus lo'n trametal"/ ans, quan s'en va, lo plus iratz s'en ri.

This means (cf. <u>Poésies</u> ed. Levaud p.363): 'He who has war in the middle of his lands has it near; but he who has it on his bolster has it even nearer. When a husband inspires dislike in his wife, it is worse than neighbour-war. For I know a man who, if he were beyond Toledo, he has no sister or wife or cousin who would say 'God send him back to me!' But when he goes away, the most miserable laughs.' Pound's version goes thus:

Ready for war, an night is to follow the sun,
Readier for it than is the fool to be cuckold
When he has first plagued his wife!
And war is an ill thing to look upon,
And I know that there is not one can drum into it
But his child, or his cousin or someone akin to him
Prays God that it be given over.

He has read 'nueg' (night) for 'nieg'; translated 'sol' (land) as 'sun'; taken 'de vezi' (of neighbours) as 'a vezer' (to look upon, to see), and so on.

<u>page</u>

('Fai mal sonher') I have not been able to identify this.

('L'una fai drut', 'One turns lecan') Peire Cardenal <u>Las amairitz, qui encolpar los vol</u> (see above). Pound's translation follows Appel accurately, though the lines are reshuffled, except for 'che is a young wench', which follows Lavaud's reading of the MSS (<u>Poésies</u> p.362), and except for the last line, which has 'And the old woman gives the man an elixir' for Appel's 'L'autra es grans et ha un pauc guarnit' (the other is big and has a small man).

('If a rich man steal') Peire Cardenal <u>Las amairitz, qui encolpar los vol</u> (see above). Pound's is a paraphrase which could follow either Appel or the MSS (cf. <u>Poésies</u> ed. Lavaud p.364).

Bertran de Born <u>Bel m'es quan vey chaplar</u> e.g. in ed. Stimming <u>Werke</u> 1st ed. p.137, P-C 80.7; cf. <u>Be·m plats lo gais temps de pascor</u> P-C 335,4.

103 ibid.

Apart from changes of tense and other minor variations, Pound's strophe, borrowing two lines from the next strophe of the original, is correct; cf. <u>Poésies</u> ed. Lavaud p.509.

APPENDIX THREE

SCOTUS ERIGENA (Cf. also 3.2)

1. Erigena's function for Pound is almost single-handedly to synthesize the great and essential duality 'Taught and the not taught. Kung and Eleusis' (1) Eleusis knows the gods in nature; it is the source of energy; likewise, we shall see, Erigena. Erigena supplies the great and damaging deficiencies of Aristotle, who in part is essential for the West:

> Thought hinges on definition of words. Aristotle and Confucius bear witness. I would conclude the compulsory studies of every university student with a comparison, even a brief one, between the two major works of Aristotle (Nichomachean Ethics and Politics), on the one hand, and, on the other, the Four Books of China... (2)

—but whose failure to measure up to Confucius has brought about the West's major disaster:

> "Hence the tendency to think of the End not as the sum of the Goods, but as one Good which is the Best. Man's welfare thus is ultimately found to consist not in the employment of all his faculties in due proportion, but only in the activity of the highest faculty, the 'theoretic' intellect."

That leads you plumb bang down to the "split man" in Mr. Wyndham Lewis' Apes. That is the schismatic tendency. Therein is the schizophronia in its almost invisible embryo. (3)

Before I go any further, I should point out this fundamental fact: Scotus Erigena is not Duns Scotus.

2. Erigena's name is a late compromise established in the seventeenth century: 'John the Irish Irishman'. It is a compound of 'Ioannes' (the only personal name that has come down to us), 'Scottus' (born in Scottia, ancient name of Ireland), and 'Eriugena' (born in Erin, another name for Ireland). One of the few certainties about the philosopher is that he was never called Ioannes Scottus Eriugena in his own time. (1)

3. Much sympathetic labour has been devoted in recent years to clearing the obscurities around him; it is even possible, for all I know, that Pound's wish will be granted:

> Scouts Erigena held that: Authority comes from right reason, I suppose he thought himself a good catholic.
>
> This page can stand in lieu of an Agony Column. I still invite correspondence as to the trial of Erigena and his condemnation centuries after his death.
>
> I can still see a Catholic renaissance or the Church "taken seriously once again" if Rome chose to dig up the records, if Rome chose to say the trial was a mistrial, if Rome chose to say that Scotus was heretical because of some pother about the segments of the trinity but that on "Authority" he was sound, a son faithful etc. (1)

But many baseless stories that have gathered round the Irishman continue to circulate. Of those stories, some are anecdote, some theology; as we have seen, Pound has swallowed his fair share of the anecdotes. But he has done this to give life (at some level of his mind) to a man whose theology he understood perfectly.

Right Reason

4. For Pound's vision of a struggle between the 'little light along the borders' and 'the immense organized cowardice' is in few fields more justified than in the understanding of Scotus Erigena. Erigena's works have always been available to those who took the trouble to look them up; yet few have read them before adding their weight to the stories current through the centuries since the year 1210. The Council of Paris and Honorius III held that Erigena was a rationalist, for example, and this view of him has persisted: one who would erect the product of his own ratiocination as adequate confutation of anything. The basis of this idea is chiefly the statement that Pound paraphrases thus:

'Authority comes from right reason,
never the other way on' (1)

--and that Erigena had stated thus:

Auctoritas siquidem ex uera ratione processit, ratio uero nequaquam ex auctoritate. (2)

Let us consider what this statement means.

5. Erigena was led to some questioning of the value of Authority, as it was then conceived, by the very depth of his learning in the Church Fathers. He observed that the Fathers sometimes contradicted each other. For a clear exposition of the Church's theology, therefore, it was necessary to establish some kind of relative valuation of their wisdom; but on what basis? In a case where one Father contradicts another, given that all the Fathers base themselves ultimately upon Scripture and divine inspiration, how can one establish a priority? Erigena was not prepared to let the matter rest in vague reassurances, which, as Pound remarks above, have the ultimate effect

that no-one 'takes the Church seriously'; if all the Fathers are right, when they don't agree, all are meaningless (1).

6. Eriugena's answer to the problem, that reason has precedence over authorities, is easy to misinterpret. The Council of Paris did so, by lumping his book with Amaury de Bène, whose reliance on reasoning 'in form' seems to have been excessively facile (1). But there is no reason to suppose that what Eriugena meant by 'reason' was classic dialectics, with the prize for human wisdom to the most brilliant QED. Such a view would have been hopelessly in conflict with his complete acceptance of Scripture. But again, 'acceptance of Scripture' is not something that can be understood simply, because Scripture can be accepted in many ways; Eriugena prays:

> O Lord Jesus, I ask of you no other reward, no other blessing, no other joy than that of understanding in a pure manner, without any error due to false speculation, the words inspired by your Holy Spirit... (2)

He is aware that this understanding in some sense involves the understanding of the whole of nature, since the words of Scripture 'are wrapped up in figurative expressions borrowed from the perceptible world' (3); so that Scripture becomes a kind of poem: 'veluti quaedam poetria sanctam Scripturam... conformat'. (4)

7. It is therefore rather meaningless for Dom Cappuyns to say that Eriugena accepts the authority of Scripture and of the living tradition of the Church, translating in these senses Eriugena's terms <u>divina auctoritas</u> and <u>fides catholica</u>. (1) Eriugena emphatically sets aside all trammels on the workings of the human conscience other

than the inspiration that comes from God:

> So do not let any authority frighten you away from the things which the rational deduction from right contemplation teaches you. For true authority does not conflict with right reason, nor right reason with true authority, since there is no doubt but that both flow from the same source, the Wisdom of God. (2)

After all,

> it seems to me that true authority is nothing else but the truth that has been discovered by the power of reason and set down in writing by the Holy Fathers for the use of posterity. (3)

8. One might be surprised to find Pound involved in a question which seems such pure 'mediaevalism'. But Pound, it seems to me, realised that this question was one of the fundamental issues of our time. It was not just a question of reasserting the claims of reason, since reason itself had been erected by post-mediaeval Europe into a god at least as powerful as Authority. We shall find in fact that at every point where Pound puts forward Erigena's synthesis, he attacks not only the blinkers of Authority but also the other easy way out, the 'reason' of Bossuet and Descartes.

> Civilized Christianity has never stood higher than in Erigena's "Authority comes from right reason". That is Xtianity which Leibnitz ed. have accepted. Bossuet was no nearer the human level of decency than the Times leader writers in our day. A tumid rhetorical parasite, hardly better than E.M. Butler.

And, as I said to the Reverends the day before yesterday, "Not that I want to prove Aquinas wrong. I merely think him unsound."

The shallow mind that wants to blur or obliterate the distinction between faith (intuition) and reason.

M. Descartes... as usual.

Mlle X. "Mais moi, M. Descartes, qui ne pense pas?" (1)

9. The process of 'explanation' has traditionally been a syllogism, as Crombie explains, and the starting-point is an assumption:

> The basic doctrine, formulated by Plato and Aristotle and carried to its consequences by Euclid, was that science could be established deductively by starting from certain irreducible postulates, which could not themselves be proved but were grasped by intuition; they could not be overthrown or even modified or limited by any result of scientific investigation. Among these were the laws of logic and the axioms of geometry. In accordance with the doctrine, the Greeks aimed at using a strictly axiomatic method for all scientific problems. When setting out to explain something, their first task was to look for premises from which to deduce it. They began, as explained by Plato, with certain assumptions or 'hypotheses' and 'making these their starting-point, they proceed to travel through the remainder of the subject and arrive

> at last, with perfect unanimity, at that which they have proposed as the subject of investigation'. (1)

10. Pound, in the passage I have quoted, provides a critique of this method. Descartes wished to explain 'why' he existed (or how he know he existed?--the syllogism is always reversible). He looked for an irreducible postulate; found 'I am thinking'; connected it to 'I exist' with a truncated syllogism. Pound points out that the 'irreducible postulate' requires 'proof' at least as much as what Descartes set out to prove. Unless, that is, the definition of 'being' is 'awareness of thinking'; but if it is, we are working inside a pre-defined closed system provided by the language, and the whole exercise has only therapeutic value:

> You may assert in vindication of values registered in idiom itself that the man who "isn't all there" has only a partial existence. But we are by that time playing with language? as valuable as playing tennis to keep oneself limber. (1)

11. On the other hand Pound has attacked the worship of Reason; on the other, he has attacked the Authority that western religion has used as its chief defence against that reason. He also attacks 'The shallow mind that wants to blur or obliterate the distinction between faith (intuition) and reason'--the guilty person in this instance being St Thomas Aquinas (1). He it is who is qualified elsewhere by Pound as 'an empty noise in a bungless barrel', propagator of the 'kind of NON-thought that one would expect of the class dunce' (2). Now Pound's deflating wit is not called forth in this way except against persons who have sinned deeply against the light. Aquinas is frequently set in opposition to Erigena:

'Authority comes from right reason,

never the other way on'

Hence the delay in condemning him

Aquinas head down in a vacuum (3)

--and again in Canto C, where Aquinas' nin is specified:

Until Rémusat: 'Has not', 'Aquinas has not

'bien rendue compte

des connaisances à priori.'

'Want to load' (Cocteau)

all the rest of it cnto you.'

Erigena,

Anselm,

Cherbury,

Rémusat, ... (4)

12. Thomas Aquinas attempted to treat the basic tenets of Catholic Christianism like the irreducible assumptions of the Greek logical system, and on them to build a structure of human knowledge with the aid of the syllogism alone (1). In this he might well appear at first sight to take plenty of cognizance of a priori knowledge, and to separate most excellently faith (intuition) from reason. In appearance his method is exactly like that of Erigena, who, as Crombie says (2), built the whole structure of his ontology with the double process of resolutio (= induction, Greek analysis) and compositio (= deduction, Greek synthesis). The difference is that Aquinas relied insufficiently upon the divine Grace in the building of his structure: he assumed that once the basic assumptions of Faith were established, the philosopher had no longer need of anything but his own skill in ratiocination. Pound's view would be that a man may make a fool of himself if he fails to adjust his categories to the perception of what is in nature. Man's reason, said Scotus Erigena, ust follow the

arduous path of speculation

> until, with the frequent and laborious study of divine Scripture leading, helping and cooperating with him, and with divine Grace moving towards this, returning he reaches the contemplation of truth that he lost by the first fall of man; reaching it delights in it, delighting in it remains in it, and remaining in it is at rest. (3)

Or as Pound puts it, quoting Aristotle, you must proceed by going to your Techne (art), then to seauton (yourself), then back to Techne, and so on (4). The idea is the same in Confucius, who 'collected the Odes to keep his followers from abstract discussion' (5)—the Odes would constantly refocus their minds on nature.

13. This combination of Aristotle and Confucius is in fact for Pound the area of the disease and its cure: 'The sick part of our philosophy is "greek splitting", a term which I will shortly re-explain. The Confucian is totalitarian.' (1) Pound has observed that 'The Confucian will find most terms of Greek philosophy and most Greek aphorisms lacking in some essential; they have three parts of a necessary four, or four parts where five are needed, nice car, no carburetor...' (2) He seems to find it difficult to decide Aristotle's part in this:

> Aquinas head down in a vacuum,
>
> Aristotle which way in a vacuum?
>
> not quite in a vacuum. (3)

The reason is that Aristotle as he has affected the Western world has been harmful in his deficiencies; but his works as he left them may have been adequate: 'The curse of European thought appeared between the Nichomachean notes and the Magna Moralia. Aristotle (as recorded

in the earlier record) began his list of mental processes with ToXno, <u>techno</u>, and the damned college parrots omitted it. This was done almost before the poor bloke was cold in his coffin.' (4)

14. I would point to the effects of 'Greek splitting' by comparing a passage from Found on Aristotle with a passage from a recent philosophical thesis:

> Under 'Specimens of sense' at the beginning, Austin lists (1.11) "what-is-the-meaning-of (the word) 'word'?" and under 'Specimens of nonsense' (1.21) 'What is the-meaning-of-a-word?' 1.11 is a perfectly straightforward specific question capable of a specific answer; but Austin describes 1.21 as a spurious question because it is a case of asking about 'nothing in particular': an illegitimate extension of a legitimate question. The spurious nature of the question is illustrated by consideration of a parallel case. It can properly be asked 'What is the point of doing x?' when x is some specific thing (e.g. Austin cites 'standing on one's head'), but to go on to ask 'What is the point of doing <u>anything</u> - not anything in particular, but just anything?' is to pose an unanswerable pseudo question. (1)

Certainly this fails to account for the fact that the proscribed sentences have meaning, taking meaning as 'functional value'; it simply declines the attempt to describe and distinguish the relative value of certain types of human behaviour. Found puts this type of philosophical activity in its true place:

The "danger" of Aristotle arises partly from his not putting certain statements in the purely lexicographical form. The "danger" for the reader, or class, being largely that of losing time in useless discussion. For example 11.3. Nobody deliberates about things eternal, such as the order of the universe.

IF this is put as statement about the use of the verb (BOULUETAI), it does not lead to useless yatter.

Lorenzo Valla wd, have written. Whatever mental process we indulge in re the eternal etc. we do not use the verb BOULEUOMAI in such cases. We do not...etc. spend time deciding <u>whether</u>, but <u>we observe that</u>. (2)

15. In his essay on Nonnius, Pound says that the answer to "Greek splitting" is mythology, which 'tries to find an expression for reality without over-simplification, and without scission, you can examine a living animal, but at a certain point dissection is incompatible only with death.' (1) 'Mythology' is probably right for the Greek world; Pound has attempted to make it right for ours, by writing the <u>Cantos</u>. The 'immense organized cowardice' has always tried to 'Remove the mythologies before they establish clean values.' (2) For Scotus Erigena 'mythology' was equivalent to 'Scripture', which he saw as a huge divinely-inspired poem, with, necessarily, the organic nature of a poem. For Confucius, the Odes had this function. But if we look for a simple answer to the conflict between the two extremes of Reason and Authority, we shall probably not find it stated explicitly. Pound says the answer is in China (3). Perhaps it is in the word <u>li</u>, which means 'rites'; Soraphin Couvreur defines it as

> Step or action, what is done to serve the spirits and to obtain the benevolence of the heavens... In philosophy, it designates one of the four virtues that Meng Tseu (Bk.VI ch.I.6) says are innate in the heart of all men. It is the virtue he defines as the natural feeling of what is right and of respect. (4)

16. If we follow this idea of li or 'rites' through Pound's works, we shall construct a very interesting idea-complex. Scotus Erigena, Brancusi on Léger and the Hellenic mystery cults of the Albigensians seem to be its chief nodes:

> 1. Wang-I-tse asked about filiality. [Confucius] said: disobey.*
>
> *P[authier] expands the single word wei to mean: s'opposer aux principes de la raison, making the statement equivalent to Gilson's statement of Erigena: Authority comes from right reason— anticipating the "rites" (light and dish of fecundity) a few lines further down. (1)

'Rites' is defined:

> This word li[3] contains something of the idea in the French "il sait vivre"... (2)

Which is paraphrased, perhaps inadequately:

> The proper man studies so that he arrive at proceeding in the process. [Very much: pour savoir vivre. Really learn how to live, up to the hilt.] (3)

But as so often in Pound, the real definition is an event, whose meaning we can get at through the juxtaposition of persons:

> "Il sait vivre", said Brancusi of Léger. This must

> also be said of the catechumens before they pass the third door. It is quite useless for me to refer men to Provence, or to speculate on Erigena in the market place. (4)

17. Perhaps, as a solution to the whole problem, this seems vague and inadequate. To me it seems like a complete justification of the ideogram as a method of communication; neither expressible lump of meaning defines what we want, but the two together create an inexpressible third, and in that area is the answer. What we call 'logical prose' sometimes has this effect, especially when the writer realizes that he is reduced to the illogical expedient of saying 'not this, not that':

> Reason itself demands our reverence for what is above reason: it does not however, demand blind subservience to patristic utterances, or to the bare letter of the Scriptures, any more than it encourages us to put our trust in petty dialectic... To force [Erigena] into a rigid dilemma of reason and authority is likely to be an anachronism only less regrettable than the proposal to enlist him on the side of the Nominalists or the Realists. A mind like his refuses to be imprisoned in any such antithesis. What he believes in is the illumination of the mind with a heavenly radiance, as easily dimmed by ratio in one way as by auctoritas in another. (1)

The divine universe

18. Ezra Pound's mind, 'as Ixion, unstill, over turning',

came to rest at Pisa with the help of nature. The 'ant's forefoot' was a manifestation; like everything else in nature, it partook of divinity (1). In Erigena's formulation, 'all things that are, are lights' (2):

> omnia, quae sunt, lumina sunt, or whatever (3)

The point is fundamental to Pound's view of the world; perhaps it is worth finding out why he chooses Erigena's commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite, who begins his work by quoting St James on the 'Father of lights' (4). Erigena comments:

> This is the threefold light and the threefold goodness, three substances in one essence, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God, one goodness, one light diffused into all things that are, so that they may subsist in essence, radiating light in all things that are, so that all things may be turned towards love and consideration of its beauty, overshadowing all things that are, so that all things may enjoy the fullness of its perfection, and in it all things are one. Thus all lights descend from the Father of Lights.
>
> But perhaps someone will say: How are all things, that are, lights? (Quomodo omnia, quae sunt, lumina sunt?)... (5)

The 'someone' suggests that only intellectual and rational things should be talked of in this way; to which Erigena replies that since the Father created all things in his Wisdom, which equals light, all things are lights. This argument is perhaps a little too grammatical for our tastes, but St Anselm also got there, as Pound says, 'by sheer grammar' (6). The point is the getting there; that is, to a universe which is Neoplatonic, which is 'one stupendous yet graded

theophania.' (7) God is light, and his creations are lights, because the act of creation is merely 'theophany', 'god-showing'. According to Erigena, when God is said to create things he merely manifests a part of himself (8); he cannot be creating in the usual sense of the word, because creating (in Erigena's physics) involves movement, and to say that God has anywhere to move <u>to</u> is to say that he lacks something (9). If creation is self-manifestation, then, as Gilson says, 'This conception of the creative act entails a correlative notion of the nature of created things. A manifestation of the divine light, the world would cease to be if God ceased to radiate.' (10) This I find a beautiful conception.

19. It does not imply, as theologians hasten to add, that God is no more than his creatures.

> The traditional accusation against the <u>De Divisione Naturae</u> — surely one of the most remarkable books in the world— is that of Pantheism... Now in the <u>De Divisione Naturae</u> there is a rich abundance of statements that seem to point in that direction... Yet... The universe, as he conceived it, is one stupendous yet graded theophania. God is in <u>omnibus</u> and <u>supra omnia</u>, revealed in all His creatures, yet eternally transcending them all. They who declare that God is thus degraded below Himself must be prepared to deny that Jesus was God as well as man. (1)

20. In this last remark, Rondo has pointed to the reason why Pound needs this conception. That the universe should consist of God on the one hand and man on the other, tyrant and puppet, is a concept

anything that emphasised sufficiently its unbrokenness; Pythagoran' 'silk cords of the sunlight', with their suggestion of music (1); or Dante's 'this light/ as a river' (2), which echoes Erigena in the De Divisione Naturae:

> As indeed the whole river flows principally from its spring, and the water which first arose in the spring, to whatever length it is stretched out, pours along its bed continuously and without any break... From thence is all goodness... (3)

But, as Reade mentioned, the theophany is graded. For that reason Pound emphasises the different functions within the Trinity (4), as Erigena had in the passage which concludes that 'all things are lights':

> The Father of lights is the heavenly Father, the first and innermost light, from which the true light his Word (by which all things are made, and in which all things become substantial), that is to say the Only Son, is born, and from whom (I mean the Father) proceeds, coessential with Him and the Word, the Holy Spirit, the spirit of the Father and the Son, in whom and through whom the gifts of grace are distributed to all things. (5)

There are distinctions to be made even in the Trinity. 'Unless a term is left meaning one particular thing... all metaphysical thought degenerates into a soup'(6), and 'The Aquinian universe, the garden of divine intelligence and/or goodness or goodwill present in graduated degrees throughout this universe gave the thinker, any thinker something to measure by.' (7)

> Quand vos vonets al son de l'escalina
>
> gradations

repugnant to Pound. For this reason he is not at all interested in the Hellenic tyrant Zeus, and has waged continuous war on what he terms the 'Semitic element' in Christianity, namely the Jehovah of the Old Testament. Like Zielinski, he makes a profound distinction between those religions which are theocratic, 'god-ruled', and those in which men become gods and gods men, the 'theanthropic' religions, which see the deities walking the earth (1).

21. What therefore Pound needed from Erigena was a statement of this god-man continuity. It could be figured in a number of ways. The ideogram 明 ming figures it as a radiation of light, as in Pound's definition:

> 明 The sun and moon, the total light process, the radiation, reception and reflection of light; hence, the intelligence. Bright, brightness, shining. Refer to Scotus Erigena, Grossetoste and the notes on light in my Cavalcanti. (1)

We have already referred to Erigena's radiated world; it is interesting to compare Grossetoste's version, as related in Pound's Cavalcanti essay.

> Light is a corporeal substance which is very subtle and approaches the incorporeal. Its characteristic properties are to engender itself perpetually and to diffuse
>
> itself instantaneously about a point in a spherical manner... This extremely attenuated substance is also the stuff of which all things are made; it is the first corporeal form and that which certain people call corporeity. (2)

22. The continuity between god and man could be figured by

Thoso are distinctions in clarity

ning 明 these are distinctions (8)

The river of the divine flowing therefore has steps in it:

Barley, rice, cotton, tax-free

with hilaritas.

Letizia, Dante, Canto 18

<u>Virtù</u> entera.

Buona da sè volontà.

Lume non è, se non dal sereno

stone to stone, as a river descending (9)

23. Besides the divinely-radiated world, Erigena has two other parts to contribute to this Paradisal ideogram. There is his part in the crystal-ideogram which moves in the later Cantos like a satellite round it (or vice versa): the flowing river, in moments of divine metamorphosis, becomes 'the wave in the stone', or solid crystal: 'That the crystal wave mount to flood surge.' (1) Erigena in his commentaries on Dionysius' <u>Celestial Hierarchy</u>, seems to have specified that the Thrones should be made of crystal:

Solascio or Topaze, and not have it squash,

a 'throne', something God can sit on

without having it squash;

With Greek tags in his excellent verses, Erigena,

In reign of Carolus Calvus. (2)

And as this delightful suggestion contains itself a certain hilarity, it seems natural to end this investigation of Erigena in Pound by mentioning the <u>hilaritas</u> we saw in the ideogram. There is a beautiful Italian prayer reprinted in the <u>Guide to Kulchur</u>, which recalls that most happy saint St Francis, both because it is addressed

half to the sun and because of 'the hilarity of they face': l'Ilarità del Tuo Volto (3). The gods themselves are gods

'By Hilaritas', said Comisto, 'by hilaritas: gods; and by speed in communication (4).

—or 'A man's Paradise is his peace of mind' (5). This delight is the essential antidote to the 'Hindoo' and Plotinian bollyache (6). Hence the beautiful processions in the Cantos; hence the interest in the canons who danced in church at Auxerre (7); hence the arresting 'Religion? With no dancing girls at the altar? RELigion?' (8) How Ioannes Scottus Eriugena was, 'if tales be true', whilom court-jester to King Charles the Bald (9), and Pound draws a delightful picture of the 'Oirishman'(10) at court in Paris:

lux enim
ignis est accidens and,
wrote the prote in his edition of Scotus:
Hilaritas the virtue hilaritas

the queen stitched King Carolus' shirts or whatever
while Erigena put Greek tags in his excellent verses
in fact an excellent poet, Paris
toujours Pari'
(Charles le Chauve) (11)

24. This is what 'Calvin never blacked out / on l'Isle' (1): the wine (Dionisia) and the women (? Eleutheria) of Paris (2), of 'entrez donc, mais entrez, / c'est la mâison de tout le monde' (3), where

three small boys on three bicycles
smacked her young fanny in passing
before she recovered from the surprise of the first swat (4)

—and where the Oirishman wrote his excellent verses.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PROCEDURES

1. Pound

Writings referred to without indication of author are either by Pound or cross-referenced from him.

I do not give the publishing history of works by Pound, naming only the edition used. I give the number, if any, in C. Gallup A Bibliography of Ezra Pound, 2nd edn. London 1969, where the publishing history may be found.

If the work is not a separate publication I refer to the source used; if it was originally published in a collection other than the source used, I quote Gallup number and date of its first publication in brackets.

2. Provençal

Most mediaeval persons are classified by first name. Sigla used for manuscripts are those in Pillet-Carstens Bibliographie, pp. x ff. The letters 'P-C' followed by a number refer to the numbering in Pillet-Carstens Bibliographie. I do not include individual Provençal songs in the Bibliography; notes refer to editions used.

3. General

Where works are referred to as being quoted or cited by another work, I do not include them in the Bibliography; nor do I include works referred to in quotations in extenso. I do not give publishing history anterior to the edition used, nor do I refer to original texts of translations from foreign languages. After each entry is given a specimen place of citation.

The following works, referred to in a general way or in the context of conclusions by other authors, are not given in the Bibliography:

Ad abolendam (papal constitution) 3.3.12;

Ancrene Wisse 2.6.16;

Aristotle Physics 2.5.9;

Balzac H. de Comédie Humaine 2.5.53;

Benoît de Ste-Maure Histoire de Troie 2.2.20;

(Pseudo-) Bonaventura Manifestatio 3.3.63;

Brevis Summula 3.3.63;

Chanson de Guillaume 2.5.121;

Chrotien de Troyes Cligès 2.3.2;

Dante Convivio 2.6.70;

Donne J. The Ecstasie 2.6.12;

Eckbert of Schönau Sermones contra Catharos 3.3.10;

Eliot T.S. The Waste Land 2.4.70;

Erec et Enide 2.6.91;

Flaubert G. Bouvard et Pécuchet 1.2.24;

Gospel of Nicodemus 2.5.123;

James App.3 par.10;

Jean Bodel Congé 2.6.111;

Lamentations 2.4.2;

Liber Supra Stella 3.3.63;

Ovid Heroides 1.2.9, Metamorphoses 2.5.44, Ars Amatoria 2.3.43, Amores 2.3.40;

Propertius Elegies 2.6.48;

Shakespeare W. Henry V 2.4.51, Troilus and Cressida 2.6.16;

Summa contra Haereticos 3.3.63;

Thomas Tristan 2.2.20;

Uc Faidit Donat Proensal 2.6.106;

Voltaire Candide 2.2.6;

Wace Brut 2.2.20;

Year Book 1.2.33.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams John and Thomas Jefferson The Adams-Jefferson Letters ed. L.J. Cappon, 2 vols., Univ. of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1959. 1.2.33.

Andur A.S. The Poetry of Bern Pound, Harvard U.P., Cambridge, Mass. 1936. Abbr. Andur Poetry. 1.2.19.

Anglade Joseph Grammaire de l'Ancien Provençal, Paris 1921 (Nouvelle Collection a l'Usage des Classes, 2e Serie, no.VII). Abbr. Anglade Grammaire. 2.5.117.

Appel Carl Bertran von Born, Halle 1931. Abbr. Appel Bertran. 2.4.

Appel Carl Provenzalische Chrestomathie, 2nd edn. Leipzig 1902. Abbr. Appel Chrestomathie. App.2.

Appel Carl Provenzalische Inedita aus Pariser Handschriften, Leipzig 1890. Abbr. Appel Provenzalische Inedita. App.2 par.22.

Arnaut Daniel Canzoni ed. C. Toja, Firenze 1960. Abbr. Arnaut Canzoni, ed. Toja. 2.5.

Arnaut Daniel Les poesies d'Arnaut Daniel ed. M. Lavaud, Toulouse 1910. Abbr. Arnaut Poesies ed. Lavaud. 2.5.

Arnaut Daniel La vita e le opere del trovatore Arnaldo Daniello ed. U.A. Canello, Halle 1883. Abbr. Arnaut Opere ed. Canello. 2.5.

Arnaut de Mareuil Les poésies lyriques du Troubadour Arnaut de Mareuil ed. R.C. Johnston, Paris 1935. Abbr. Arnaut de Mareuil Poésies ed. Johnston. 1.2.10.

Aroux Eugène Clef de la Comédie anti-catholique de Dante Alighieri, Paris 1856. 3.1.10.

Aroux Eugène Dante hérétique, révolutionnaire et socialiste, Paris 1854. 3.1.10.

Aubry Pierre La Musicologie médiévale: histoire et méthodes, Paris 1900. App.2 par.22.

Aubry Pierre Les plus anciens monuments de la musique française, Paris 1905. App.2 par.22.

Aubry Pierre La Rythmique musicale des troubadours et des trouvères, Paris 1907. App.2 par.22.

Avalle d'Arco Silvio La Letteratura medievale in Lingua d'Oc nella sua tradizione manoscritta, Torino 1961 (Studi e Ricerche no.16). Abbr. Avalle Letteratura. 2.6.111

Bainton Roland H. Early and Mediaeval Christianity, London 1965. 3.2.10.

Bartsch K. and F. Koschwitz Chrestomathie provençale, Elberfeld 1880. Abbr. Bartsch-Koschwitz Chrestomathie. App.2.

Battisti C. and G. Alessio Dizionario etimologico italiano, Firenze 1951. 2.5.117.

Baumann Walter The Rose in the Stool Dint: An Examination of the Canton of Ezra Found, Bern 1967 (Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten no.58). Abbr. Baumann Rose. 1.1.

Baumann Walter 'Secretary of Nature, J. Heydon' in ed. MEISEN Approaches pp.303 ff. 1.2.29.

Bec Pierre Petite Anthologie de la lyrique occitane du moyen age, Avignon 1954 (Les Classiques d'Oc no.4). Abbr. Bec Petite Anthologie. 2.1.17.

Beck J.-B. Die Melodien der Troubadours und Trouvères, Strasburg 1908. App.2 par.22.

Belperron Pierre La Croisade contre les Albigeois et l'Union du Languedoc à la France (1209-1249), 2nd edn. Paris 1967. 3.3.3.

Benoit Fernand Recherches sur l'hellénisation du midi de la Gaule, Aix-en-Provence 1965 (Publ. des Annuaires de la Fac. des Lettres, Aix-en-P., Nouvelle Serie no.43). 3.3.80.

Bernart de Ventadour Chansons d'Amour ed. Moshe Lazar, Paris 1966 (Bibl. française et romane, Serie B no.4). Abbr. Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar. 2.3.

Bernart de Ventadorn Bernart von Ventadorns Seine Lieder ed. Carl Appel, Halle 1915. Abbr. Bernart Lieder ed. Appel. 2.3.

Bertoni G. Il Duecento, Milano 1911 (in Storia Letteraria d'Italia). Abbr. Bertoni Duecento. 2.6.103.

Bertoni G. ed. Provenza e Italia, studi, Firenze 1930. 1.1.7.

Bertoni G. I trovatori d'Italia, Modena 1915. Abbr. Bertoni Trovatori. 2.6.103.

Bertran de Born Die Lieder Bertrans von Born ed. Carl Appel, Halle 1932. Abbr. Bertran Lieder ed. Appel. 2.4.

Bertran de Born Poésies complètes ed. Antoine Thomas, Toulouse 1888. Abbr. Bertran Poésies ed. Thomas. 2.6.97.

Bertran de Born Bertran de Born, Sein Leben und seine Werke ed. Albert Stimming, Halle 1879. Abbr. Bertran Werke ed. Stimming 1st ed. App.2 par.12, 45.

Bertran de Born Bertran von Born ed. Albert Stimming, 2nd edn. Halle 1913 (Romanischer Bibliothek ed. W. Foerster no.VIII). Abbr. Bertran Works ed. Stimming. 2.4.

Bezzola R.R. Les Origines et la Formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident (500-1200), 5 vols., Paris 1944-63. Abbr. Bezzola Origines. 2.1.

Bird Otto 'The Canzone d'Amore of Cavalcanti according to the Commentary of Dino del Garbo' in Mediaeval Studies Vol.2 (1940) pp.160-203, and Vol.3 (1941) pp.117-160. Abbr. Bird 'Canzone'. 1.1.68, 2.6.17.

Blant: see POUND E.L. Blant.

Bloch Oscar and W. von Wartburg Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue française, Paris 1932. App.1 par.5.

Bouquet Martin Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, Paris 1870. App.1 par.7.

Boutière Jean and A.H. Schutz Biographies des Troubadours, Toulouse/Paris 1950 (Bibl. meridionale 1re Serie t.XVII). Abbr. Boutière et Schutz Biographies. 1.1.

Boutière Jean and A.H. Schutz Les Biographies des Troubadours, 2nd edn. Paris 1964 (Les Classiques d'Oc no.1). Abbr. Boutière et Schutz Biographies n.ed. 2.6.94.

Brooke-Rose Christine 'Lay me by Aurelie' in ed. HEWSE Approaches pp.242 ff. 1.2.47.

Brooke-Rose Christine A ZBC of Ezra Pound, London 1971. Abbr. Brooke-Rose ZBC. 1.2.39.

Brown Norman O. Life Against Death, Sphere paperback: London 1960. 2.4.43.

Browning Robert Sordello, London 1840. App.2 par.22. See also next.

Browning Robert Sordello in Poems with an intr. by Oscar Browning, London 1900. Abbr. Browning Sordello. 2.4.87.

Bunting Basil Collected Poems, London 1970. 2.1.14.

Cambridge Mediaeval History, Cambridge U.P., Cambridge 1957. 2.4.49, App.3.

Cappuyns (Dom) Maieul Jean Scot Erigene, Paris/Louvain 1933. Abbr. Cappuyns Erigene. App.3.

Carducci Giosuè Opere, Edizione nazionale, Bologna 1944. Abbr. Carducci Opere. 2.6.65.

Cavalcanti Guido Le Rime ed. E. Arnone, Firenze 1931. Abbr. Cavalcanti Rime ed. Arnone. 2.5.60.

Cavalcanti Guido Rime ed. Ezra L. Pound, Genova 1932. Gallup B27. 1.1.60.

Corcamon Les Poésies ed. Alfred Jeanroy, Paris 1922 (Classiques français du moyen age no.27). Abbr. Corcamon Poésies ed. Jeanroy. 2.5.120.

Chabaneau Camille Les Biographies des Troubadours, Toulouse 1885. Abbr. Chabaneau Biographies. App.1 par.11.

La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise ed. and tr. Eugène Martin-Chabot, 3 vols., Paris 1931-61 (Class. de l'Hist. de France vols. 13, 24, 25). Abbr. Chanson de la Croisade ed. Martin-Chabot. 3.3.20.

La Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois ed. and tr. Paul Meyer, 3 vols., Paris 1879. Abbr. Chanson ed. Meyer. 3.3.17.

La Chanson de Roland ed. and tr. Joseph Bédier, 'Edn. definitive', Paris 1964. 2.4.52.

Chaucer Geoffrey The Book of the Duchess, Troilus and Criseyde, The Wife of Bath in following. 2.6.16.

Chaucer Geoffrey The Works ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd. edn. Cambridge, Mass. 1957. Reference to text by group- and line-number. 2.5.114, 2.6.16.

Chaytor Henry J. Savaric de Mauleon, baron and troubadour, Cambridge U.P., Cambridge 1939. Abbr. Chaytor Savaric. 1.2.34.

Chaytor Henry J. From Script to Print, Cambridge U.P., Cambridge 1945. Abbr. Chaytor Script. 2.6.91.

Chaytor Henry J. The Troubadours of Dante, Oxford U.P., Oxford 1902. Abbr. Chaytor Troubadours of Dante. App.2 par.5.

La Chronique de Reims ed. Louis Paris, Paris 1837. App.1 par.4.

Cipolla Carlo M. Money, Prices and Civilization in the Mediterranean World: Fifth to Seventeenth Century, Princeton U.P., Princeton 1956. Abbr. Cipolla Money. 2.4.

Clédat Léon Sur le rôle historique de Bertran de Born, Paris 1879 (Bibl. des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome fasc. 7°). Abbr. Cledat Bertran. 2.4.

Cohn Norman The Pursuit of the Millenium, Paladin paperback, London 1970. Abbr. Cohn Millenium. 3.5.

Confucius Doctrine tr. M.G. Pauthier, Paris 1929. App.3 par.16.

Cornford Francis M. The Origin of Attic Comedy, Cambridge U.P., Cambridge 1934. 3.2.4.

Crombie A.C. Robert Grosseteste and the origins of experimental science, 1100-1700, Oxford U.P., Oxford 1953. App.3 par.12.

Cumont Franz The Mysterios of Mithra, London 1903. 1.2.38.

Dante Alighieri De Vulgari Eloquentia with intr. by A. Mozzi, Milano 1926. Abbr. Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia. 2.5.

Dante Alighieri La Divina Commedia ed. G.A. Scartazzini, 2nd edn. Milano 1896. Passim.

Dante Alighieri Inferno, Purgatorio, Purgatorio see prec.

Dante Alighieri Rime ed. Gianfranco Contini, 2nd edn. Torino 1946 (Nuova raccolta di Classici Italiani Annotati no.1). Abbr. Dante Rime ed. Contini. App.2 par.15.

Dante Alighieri La Vita Nuova ed. Tommaso Casini, 3rd edn. Firenze 1968. Abbr. Dante Vita Nuova. 2.5.82.

Davenport Guy 'Persephone's Ezra' in ed. HESSE Approaches pp.145 ff.

Davenport Guy 'Pound and Frobenius' in ed. LEARY Potiva pp.33 ff.

Davenson Henri Les Troubadours, Paris 1964 (Le Temps qui Court no. 22). 1.1.62.

Davidsohn Robert Firenze ai Tempi di Dante, Firenze 1929. 3.3.86.

Davidsohn Robert Storia di Firenze, 2nd edn. Firenze 1965. Abbr. Davidsohn Storia di Firenze. 2.6.64.

Davie Donald Ezra Pound: Poet as Sculptor, London 1965. Abbr. Davie Sculptor. 1.2.36.

Davie Donald 'The Poet as Sculptor' in ed. HESSE Approaches pp.190 ff. 1.2.36.

De Bartholomaeis V. 'La poesia provenzale e l'Italia' in ed. G. BERTONI Provenza e Italia, Firenze 1930, pp.3 ff. 2.6.105.

Debenedetti Santorre 'Tre Secoli di studi provenzali (XVI-XVIII)' in ed. G. BERTONI Provenza e Italia, Firenze 1930, pp.143 ff. 1.1.7.

Dekker George Sailing after Knowledge: The Cantos of Ezra Pound, London 1963. Abbr. Dekker Sailing. 1.2.

Delisle Leopold Recueil des Actes de Henri II, 2nd edn. Paris 1916. App.1 par.6.

Denys l'Aréopagite La Hiérarchie Céleste ed. Roques, Heil, Candillac, Paris 1958 (Sources Chrétiennes no.58). Abbr. Denys l'Aréopagite Hiérarchie Céleste ed. Roques. App.3 par.18.

Del Pra M. Scoto Eriugena, 2nd. edn. Milano 1951. 3.1.21.

De Sola Pinto V. Enthusiast in Wit: A Portrait of John Wilmot Earl of Rochester, 2nd edn. London 1962. 2.1.10.

Diez F. Leben und Werke der Troubadours, Zwickau 1829. Abbr. Diez Leben. 1.2.10.

Dionysius the Areopagite Celestial Hierarchy in DENYS L'AREOPAGITE Hiérarchie Céleste ed. Roques. 3.2.30, App.3 par.18.

Doellinger I. von Beitrage zur Sektengeschichte in Mittelalter, Munich 1890. 3.3.62.

Dondaine (Father) Antoine 'Les actes du concile albigeois de Saint-Félix-de-Caraman' in Miscellanea G. Morcati Vol.5, Città del Vaticano 1946 (Studi e Testi no.125) pp.324 ff. Abbr. Dondaine 'Actes'. 3.3.

Dondaine (Father) Antoine ed. Un traité néo-manichéen du XIII^e siècle: le Liber de duobus principiis, suivi d'un fragment de Rituel Cathare, Roma 1939. Abbr. ed. Dondaine Liber. 3.3.

Dondaine (Father) Antoine 'Nouvelles sources de l'histoire doctrinale du néomanichéisme au moyen âge' in Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques XXVIII (1939). 3.1.5.

Dronke Peter The Medieval Lyric, London 1968. Abbr. Dronke Medieval Lyric. 2.1.41.

Duncan Robert 'The W.D. Book Part I Chapter 5' in Aion 1, no date. 3.1.13.

Duncan Robert 'The W.D. Book Part II Chapter 4' in Caterpillar 7 (April 1969). 3.1.13.

Edwards J.H. and W.W. Vasse Annotated Index to the Cantos of Ezra Pound: Cantos I-LXXXIV, California U.P., Berkely and Los Angeles 1957. Abbr. Edwards and Vasse Annotated Index. 1.2.

Emory Clark Nixon Ideas Into Action, Univ. of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Fla. 1958. Abbr. Emory Ideas. 2.4.111.

Erigena Johannes Scotus Comm. in Hierarchia Caelesta, De Divisione, De Praedestinatione, Expositiones, see following.

Erigena Johannes Scotus Joannes Scoti Opera in Migne Patrologia Latina Vol.122. App.3.

Erigena Johannes Scotus Periphyseon (De Divisione Naturae) ed. I.P. Sheldon-Williams, Dublin 1968. Abbr. Erigena De Divisione ed. Sheldon-Williams. App.3.

Eyton R.W. Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II, London 1878. Abbr. Eyton Itinerary. 2.4.74.

Farnell Ida Lives of the Troubadours: translated from the original Provençal, London 1896. Abbr. Farnell Lives. App.2.

Favati Guido Le Biografie trovadoriche, Bologna 1961 (Bibl. degli 'Studi mediolatini e volgari' Vol.III). Abbr. Favati Le Biografie. 1.2.48.

Fiedler Leslie A. Love and Death in the American Novel, Paladin Paperback, London 1970. Abbr. Fiedler Love and Death. 2.1.

Folquet ed. Stronski see STRONSKI Folquet.

Frazer J.G. Adonis, Attis, Osiris, 2nd edn. London 1907. Abbr. Frazer Adonis, Attis, Osiris. 2.7.10.

Gallup Donald A Bibliography of Ezra Pound, 2nd corr. impr. London 1969. Abbr. Gallup. 1.2.16.

Gaubert de Poicibot Per amor del bel temps nuou ed. Camille Chabaneau in Revue des langues romanes 25.221. App.2 par.22.

Gaussin Pierre-Roger L'Abbaye de la Chaise-Dieu, Paris 1962. 1.2.30.

Genicot Léopold La XIII^e siècle européen, Paris 1968 (Collection 'Nouvelle Clio'). 1.1.62.

Gilson Etienne History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages, London 1955. Abbr. Gilson Christian Philosophy. App.3.

Gilson Etienne, review of G. CAVALCANTI Rime ed. E.L. Pound, Genova 1932, in Criterion Oct. 1932. 1.1.60.

Gimpel Jean The Cathedral Builders, NY and London 1961. 3.2.34, 72.

Girart de Rousillon, Chanson de Geste ed. W.M. Hackett, 3 vols., Paris 1953-5 (Soc. des anciens textes français). 1.1.7.

Girart de Rousillon, chanson de geste tr. Paul Meyer, Paris 1884. Abbr. Girart de Rousillon tr. Meyer. 2.4.

Giraut de Bornelh Sämtliche Lieder des Troubadors Giraut de Bornelh, ed. A. Kolsen, Halle 1910-35. Abbr. Giraut Lieder ed. Kolsen. 2.3.6.

Gourmont Rémy de La Culture des Idées, 7th edn. Paris 1916. 2.6.47, 3.2.10.

Gourmont Rémy de Dante, Béatrice et la Poésie amoureuse, Paris 1922. Abbr. Gourmont Dante, Béatrice. 2.5.

Gourmont Rémy de Le Latin Mystique: les poètes de l'antiphonaire et la symbolique au moyen âge, Paris 1922. Abbr. Gourmont Latin Mystique. 2.1.30.

Gourmont Rémy de Lettres à l'Amazone, 16th edn. Paris 1922. 2.5.79.

Gourmont Rémy de Lettres d'Un Satyre, 5th edn. Paris 1919. 2.5.79.

Gourmont Rémy de The Natural Philosophy of Love, tr. and intr. Ezra L. Pound, 2nd edn. London 1957. Abbr. The Natural Philosophy of Love; Gallup A22 note. Translation of the following. 2.7.10.

Gourmont Rémy de Physique de l'Amour, Paris 1904. 2.1.47, 2.4.111.

Guilhem de Cabestanh Les Chansons ed. P.A. Langfors, Paris 1924 (Classiques français du moyen age no.42). Abbr. Guillem de Cabestanh Chansons ed. Langfors. App.2 par.16.

Guillaume IX Les chansons de Guillaume IX Duc d'Aquitaine ed. A. Jeanroy, Paris 1913 (Classiques français du moyen age no.9). Abbr. Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy. 2.1.

Guillaume le Maréchal L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal ed. Paul Meyer, Paris 1891-4 (Soc. de l'Histoire de France). Abbr. Guillaume le Maréchal Histoire ed. Meyer. 2.4.

Guiraud Jean Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen Age, Paris 1935-8. Abbr. Guiraud Inquisition. 3.3.

Guthrie W.K.C. Orpheus and Greek Religion, 2nd edn. London 1952. 3.2.2.

Hackett W.H. 'Le problème de "midons"' in ed. I. Cluzel and F. Pirot Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à la mémoire de Jean Boutière, Liège 1971, pp.205 ff. 2.1.5.

Harrison Jane E. Prolegomena to the Study of the Greek Religion, 3rd ed. Cambridge U.P., Cambridge 1922. Abbr. Harrison Prolegomena. 3.2.

Hauvette H. La France et la Provence dans l'oeuvre de Dante, Paris 1930. Abbr. Hauvette France. 2.6.

Hesse Eva ed. New Approaches to Ezra Pound, London 1969. Abbr. Hesse Approaches. 1.2.47.

Hill R.T. and T.G. Bergin Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours, New Haven 1957. 1,2,24.

Hueffer Francis The Troubadours, London 1878. 1.1.39.

Interrogatio Iohannis in I. von DOELLINGER Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte im Mittelalter, Munich 1890, pp.85 ff., Vol.II. 3.3.62.

Jackson Thomas H. The Early Poetry of Ezra Pound, Harvard U.P., Cambridge Mass. 1968. Abbr. Jackson Early Poetry. 1.2.

Jaufre Rudel Les chansons ed. Alfred Jeanroy, 2nd. edn. Paris 1924 (Classiques français du moyen age no.15). Abbr. Jaufre Chansons ed. Jeanroy.

Jeanroy Alfred 'Dante et les Troubadours' in Dante, Mélanges de critique et d'érudition (no editor), Paris 1921, pp.11-21. 2.6.19.

Jeanroy Alfred La Poésie Lyrique des Troubadours, 2 vols., Paris 1934. Abbr. Jeanroy Poésie. 2.6.

Kelly Amy Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings, London 1952. Abbr. Kelly Eleanor. 2.2.

Kenner Hugh 'The Broken Mirrors and the Mirror of Memory' in ed LEARY Motive pp.3 ff. Abbr. Kenner 'Mirrors'. 1.2.50.

Konner Hugh 'Drafts and Fragments and the Structure of the Cantos' in Agenda Vol.8 Nos.3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1970). 3.3.106.

Konner Hugh The Poetry of Ezra Pound, London 1951. 1.2.41.

Kor W.P. Dante, Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel, Cambridge 1909 (reprinted from Modern Language Review IV.2, Jan 1909). Abbr. Kor Dante ...and Daniel. 2.5.20.

Korenyi K. Elements Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter, London 1967. 3.2.1.

Latreille A., E. Delaruelle and J.-R. Palanque Histoire du Catholicisme en France, Paris 1957. 3.3.08.

Lea Henry Charles The History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, 3 vols., London 1887. 3.3.26. See also following.

Lea Henry Charles The Inquisition of the Middle Ages, London 1963 (Vol.I ch.VII-XIV of the preceding). Abbr. Lea Inquisition. 3.3.

Leary Louis Motive and Method in the Cantos of Ezra Pound, Columbia paperback, Columbia U.P., NY 1961. Abbr. ed. Leary Motive. See KENNER, DAVENPORT, QUINN.

Leff Gordon Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, London 1966. Abbr. Leff Heresy. 3.3.

Le Goff Jacques ed. Hérésies et Sociétés: Communications et débats du Colloque de Royaumont, Paris/La Haye 1960 (Civilisations et Sociétés no.10). Abbr. ed. Le Goff Colloque. 3.3.57.

Levy Emil Petit dictionnaire provençal-français, 3rd edn. Heidelberg 1961. Abbr. Levy Petit Dictionnaire. 1.1.2.

Levy Emil Provenzalischen Supplement-Wörterbuch: Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Raynouards Lexique Roman, Leipzig 1894 ff. Abbr. Levy SW. 2.5.65.

Lewis C.T. and C. Short A Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1879. App.3 par.24.
Liber de Duobus Principiis in ed. DONDAINE Liber.
Li Ki (Book of Rites) tr. Seraphin Couvreur, Ho Kien Fou 1913. App. 3 par.15.

MacShane Frank: The Life and Work of Ford Madox Ford, London 1965. 1.1.39.

Madaule Jacques The Albigensian Crusade, London 1967. Abbr. Madaule Crusade. 3.3.22. Translation of the following.

Madaule Jacques Le Drame albigeois et le destin français, Paris 1962. 3.3.3.

Magoun F.P. 'The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Poetry' in Speculum XXVIII (1953) pp.446-467. 2.6.110.

Mahn C.A.F. Die Werke der Troubadours in provenzalischer Sprache, Berlin 1846-53. Abbr. Mahn Werke. App.2.

Makin C. Kool The Nature of Concepts (unpublished M.A. thesis), Univ. of Nottingham Nov 1970. Apx.3. par.14.

Male Emile L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France, 3rd edn. Paris 1920. 3.3.06.

Marcabrun Poésies complètes ed. J.-M.-L. Dejeanne, Toulouse 1909. Abbr. Marcabrun Poésies ed. Dejeanne. 2.2.1.

Marchant W. article in Ezra Pound: A New Montagu, New Haven 1950 (offprint of Yale Literary Magazine CXXVI.5, Dec 1950). 1.1.60.

Mead G.R.S. The Doctrine of the Subtle Body in Western Tradition, 2nd impr. re-set London 1967. Abbr. Mead Subtle Body. 2.5.69.

Melville Marion La Vie des Templiers, 3rd edn. Paris 1951. 3.2.34.

Menota of Cremona Summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses ed. Th. A. Ricchini, repr. photolith. Ridgewood N.J. 1964. 3.3.33.

Münch von Montaudon: see following.

Monge de Montaudo Der Münch von Montaudon, ein Provenzalischer Troubadour, sein Leben und seine Gedichte ed. Emil Philippson, Halle 1873. Abbr. Münch von Montaudon Gedichte ed. Philippson. 2.5.2.

Moore Olin H. The Young King, Henry Plantagenet (1155-1183), Columbus, Ohio 1925. Abbr. Moore Young King. 2.4.

Moore Virginia The Unicorn: William Butler Yeats' search for reality, NY 1954. 3.1.13.

Morghen Raffaello Medioevo cristiano, Bari 1951. Abbr. Morghen Medioevo. 3.3.

Muratori Lodovico A. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 2nd edn. Città di Castello 1900 ff. App.1 par.11.

Mylonas George E. Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, Princeton U.P., Princeton 1962. 3.2.1.

Nagy N. Christoph de The Poetry of Ezra Pound: The Pre-Imagist Stage, Bern 1960 (Cooper Monographs no.4). Abbr. Nagy Poetry. 1.2.

Nagy N. Christoph de 'Pound and Browning' in ed. MINOR Approaches pp.86 ff. 1.2.0.

Nelli René, F. Niel, J. Duvernoy and D. Ecche Les Cathares, Paris 1965. Abbr. ed. Nelli Cathares. 1.2.30.

Nelli René Perfection cathare, Paris 1959. 3.3.62.

Nelli René L'Erotique des Troubadours, Toulouse 1963. 2.3.44.

Nelli René Le Musée du Catharisme, Foix 1966. 3.3.95, 99.

Nelli Rene *Le phénomène cathare*, Paris 1964. 3.3.104.

Niel Fernand *Albigeois et Cathares*, 3rd edn. Paris 1962 (Collection 'Que Sais-Je?'). Abbr. Niel *Albigeois*. 3.3.15.

Niel Fernand *Montségur, la montagne inspirée*, 2nd edn. Grenoble 1962 (1st edn. Paris 1954). 3.3.99.

Niel Fernand *Montségur, temple et forteresse des Cathares d'Occitanie*, Grenoble 1967. Abbr. Niel *Montségur, temple*. 3.3.79.

Niel Fernand *Le Fox de Montségur*, Toulouse 1949. 3.3.95.

Norgate Kate *England under the Angevin Kings*, 2 vols., London 1887. Abbr. Norgate *Angevin Kings*. 2.4.30.

Oldenbourg: Zoe *Massacre at Montsegur*, London 1961. 3.3.22.

Oxford *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford U.P., Oxford, 3rd edn. rev. 1964. 2.5.126.

Pacaut Marcel *Louis VII et son royaume*, Paris 1964. Abbr. Pacaut *Louis VII*. App.1.

Parducci Amos 'Dante e i trovatori' in ed. C. BIANCHI *Provenza e Italia*, Firenze 1930, pp.81 ff. 2.6.19.

Paris Gaston *Jaufre Rudel*, Paris 1893. 1.1.19.

Parker T.W. The Knights Templars in England, Tucson 1963. 3.2.54.

Pearlman Daniel The Barb of Time: On the Unity of Ezra Pound's Cantos, Oxford U.P., NY 1970. Abbr. Pearlman Barb of Time. 2.5.57.

Peck: John 'Landscape as Ceremony in the later Cantos' in Agenda Vol.9 Nos.2-3 (Spring-Summer 1971) pp.26 ff. Abbr. Peck 'Landscape'. 2.4.101.

Peire d'Alvernhe Liriche ed. Alberto del Monte, Torino 1955 (Collezione di 'Filologia Romanza' no.1). Abbr. Peire d'Alvernhe Liriche ed. del Monte. 2.5.2.

Peire Bremon Ricas Novas Los Poésies ed. Jean Boutière, Toulouse/ Paris 1930 (Bibl. méridionale 1re Série t.XVI). Abbr. Peire Bremon R.N. Poésies ed. Boutière. 2.6.27.

Peire Cardenal Poésies complètes ed. René Lavaud, Toulouse 1957 (Bibl. méridionale 2e Série t.XXXIV). Abbr. Peire Cardenal Poésies ed. Lavaud. App.2 par.22.

Péladan Joséphin Aine (known as) Sâr Le Secret des Troubadours, Paris 1906. Abbr. Péladan Secret. 3.1.11.

Pernoud Régine Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Paris 1965. 2.2.19.

Pillet Alfred and H. Carstens Bibliographie der Troubadours, Halle 1933 (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Sonderreihe no.3). Abbr. Pillet-Carstens Bibliographie, P-C. App.2.

Popper Karl The Logic of Scientific Discovery, 3rd edn. rev. London 1960. 1.1.79.

Porena Manfredi La Mia Lectura Dantis, Napoli 1932. 2.6.51.

Pound Ezra Loomis ABC of Reading, 2nd edn. Faber paperback: London 1961. Abbr. ABC. Gallup A35.

Pound Ezra Loomis Addendum for Canto C in POUND E.L. Drafts and Fragments of Cantos CX-CXVII, London 1970, pp.28-9.

Pound Ezra Loomis The Alchemist (Gallup A20, Jun 1920) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis A Lume Spento, and other early Poems, London 1965. Abbr. A Lume Spento. Not in Gallup.

Pound Ezra Loomis Annotated Index see EDWARDS AND VASSE Annotated Index.

Pound Ezra Loomis Antheil and the Treatise on Harmony, Paris 1924. Gallup A25.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Arnaut Daniel' in POUND E.L. Essays pp.199 ff. Gallup A10, Apr 1920.

Pound Ezra Loomis Blast, 1.e. poems in Blast 1, 20 Jun 1914 (Gallup C148), and Blast 2, Jul 1915 (Gallup C194).

Pound Ezra Loomis Canto I p.7--Canto CIX p.790: see POUND E.L. The Cantos of Ezra Pound, London 1964.

Pound Ezra Loomis Canto CX p.7--Canto CXVI p.27: see POUND E.L. Drafts and Fragments of Canton CX-CXVII, London 1970.

Pound Ezra Loomis Canton (Lustra): see POUND E.L. Lustra of Ezra Pound, NY 1917.

Pound Ezra Loomis The Cantos of Ezra Pound, new coll. edn, London 1964. Not in Gallup. Abbr. e.g. Canto I p.7.

Pound Ezra Loomis Canzon: Of Incense (Gallup C20, Apr 1910) in Pound E.L. Selected Poems ed. T.S. Eliot, London 1928 (Gallup A30) and succeeding edns.

Pound Ezra Loomis Canzon: The Yearly Slain (Gallup C17, Jan 1910): as prec.

Pound Ezra Loomis Cathay: Translations by Ezra Pound, London 1915. Gallup A9.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Cavalcanti' (Gallup A36, Sep 1934) in POUND E.L. Essays pp.149 ff.

Pound Ezra Loomis Cavalcanti (partly-published opera) see Gallup E3a; first draft summer 1932.

Pound Ezra Loomis Collected Shorter Poems, 2nd edn. London 1960. Abbr. Collected Shorter Poems. Not in Gallup.

Pound Ezra Loomis Confucius: The Great Digest, The Unwobbling Pivot, The Analects, New Directions paperback NY 1969. Abbr. Confucius/Digest (/Analects). Not in Gallup.

Pound Ezra Loomis and Marcella Spann edd. Confucius to Cummings: an anthology of poetry, New Directions paperback NY 1964. Abbr. Confucius to Cummings. Not in Gallup.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Donzna Poi de Mo Mo.un Cal' (Gallup C132, Mar 1914) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis Donzella Beata (Gallup A1, Jun 1908) in POUND E.L. A Lume Spento.

Pound Ezra Loomis Drafts and Fragments of Canto CX-CXVII, London 1970. Not in Gallup.

Pound Ezra Loomis E.P. Ode pour l'Election de son Sépulcre: see POUND E.L. Hugh Selwyn Mauberley 1.1.

Pound Ezra Loomis Essays: see POUND E.L. Literary Essays.

Pound Ezra Loomis Exultations of Ezra Pound, London 1909. Abbr. Exultations. Gallup A4.

Pound Ezra Loomis Fifine Answers (Gallup A1, Jun 1908) in POUND E.L. A Lume Spento.

Pound Ezra Loomis Gaudier-Brzeska: A Memoir, Hessle, East Yorkshire, 1960. Gallup A10d. Abbr. Gaudier-Brzeska.

Pound Ezra Loomis Gold and Work: Money Pamphlets by E. number two, London 1951. Gallup A52c. Abbr. Gold and Work.

Pound Ezra Loomis Guide to Kulchur, London 1966. Gallup A45d. Abbr. Kulchur.

Pound Ezra Loomis Guillaume de Lorris Related, A Vision of Italy (Gallup A3, Apr 1909) in POUND E.L. Personae (1909).

Pound Ezra Loomis The Gypsy (Gallup C184, Mar 1915) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis Hesternae Rosae: see HUEFFER F.M. Hesternae Rosae.

Pound Ezra Loomis Homage to Sextus Propertius (Gallup C449, 471, 474, 476, 479, 481, 484, 516, 533, A17, Mar 1919 ff.) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis Hugh Selwyn Mauberley (Gallup A19, Jun 1920) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'I Gather the Limbs of Osiris I-XII' in New Age 30 Nov 1911 (X.5), 7 Dec 1911 (X.6), 14 Dec 1911 (X.7), 21 Dec 1911 (X.8), 28 Dec 1911 (X.9), 4 Jan 1912 (X.10), 11 Jan 1912 (X.11), 18 Jan 1912 (X.12), 25 Jan 1912 (X.13), 8 Feb 1912 (X.15), 15 Feb 1912 (X.16), 22 Feb 1912 (X.17). Gallup C25-30, C32-5, C41-3. Abbr. New Age.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Il Miglior Fabbro' (Gallup A5, Jun 1910, but cf. B1 note) in POUND E.L. Spirit pp.22 ff.

Pound Ezra Loomis Impact: Essays on Ignorance and the Decline of American Civilization ed. Noel Stock, Chicago 1960. Gallup A70. Abbr. Impact.

Pound Ezra Loomis Indiscretions; or, Une Revue de Deux Mondes, Paris 1923. Gallup A23.

Pound Ezra Loomis In Durance (Gallup A3, Apr 1909) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis Instigations of Ezra Pound, NY 1920. Gallup A18.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'The Jefferson-Adams Letters as a Shrine and a Monument' (Gallup C1422, Winter 1937/1938) in POUND E.L. Impact pp.166 ff.

Pound Ezra Loomis Jefferson and/or Mussolini: L'Idea Statale: Fascism as I have seen it, NY 1970. Not in Gallup, but cf. A41. Abbr. Jefferson and/or Mussolini.

Pound Ezra Loomis Kulchur: see POUND E.L. Guide to Kulchur.

Pound Ezra Loomis Lampoon d'Or (Gallup C354, May 1918) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis The Letters of Ezra Pound 1907-1941 ed. D.D.Paige, London 1951. Gallup A64. Abbr. Letters. Reference by address and date.

Pound Ezra Loomis Literary Essays of Ezra Pound ed. T.S. Eliot, Faber paperback London 1960. Gallup A67. Abbr. Essays.

Pound Ezra Loomis Lustra of Ezra Pound with Earlier Poems, for private circulation, NY 1917. Gallup A11d. Abbr. Canton (Lustra).

Pound Ezra Loomis Make It New: Essays by Ezra Pound, London 1934. Gallup A36. Abbr. Make It New.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Mang Tsze: The Ethics of Confucius' (Gallup C1460, Jul 1938) in POUND E.L. Impact pp.118 ff.

Pound Ezra Loomis Marvoil (Gallup A3, Apr 1909) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis Memoriam (Gallup A1, Jun 1908) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis Mr Houston's Message (Gallup A7, Jul 1911) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis Money Pamphlets i.e. e.g. POUND E.L. Gold and Work, Social Credit, A Visiting Card. For the others cf. Gallup A51b, A53, A46 note.

Pound Ezra Loomis My Audient (Gallup A1, Jun 1903) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis The Natural Philosophy of Love: see GOURMONT R. de The Natural Philosophy of Love.

Pound Ezra Loomis Near Perigord (Gallup C211, Dec 1915) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis New Age: see POUND E.L. 'I Gather the Limbs of Osiris I-XII'.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Notes: Parts of which have been used in later drafts' in Agenda Vol.8 nos.3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1970) pp.3-4. Not in Gallup.

Pound Ezra Loomis Patria Mia and the Treating on Harmony, London 1962. Gallup A63b. Abbr. Patria Mia.

Pound Ezra Loomis Pavannes and Divagations, London 1960. Gallup A74b. Abbr. Pavannes and Divagations.

Pound Ezra Loomis Peire Vidal Old: see POUND E.L. Piere Vidal Old.

Pound Ezra Loomis Personae of Ezra Pound, London 1909. Gallup A3. Abbr. Personae (1902).

Pound Ezra Loomis Personae: The Collected Poems of Ezra Pound, NY 1926. Gallup A27. Abbr. Personae (1926).

Pound Ezra Loomis Piere Vidal Old (Gallup A4, Oct 1909) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis The Pisan Canto (= Canto LXXIV p.451 - Canto LXXXIV p.576), NY 1948. Gallup A60.

Pound Ezra Loomis Plaint for the Young English King (Gallup A4, Oct 1909) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Proença' in POUND E.L. Spirit pp.39 ff.

Pound Ezra Loomis Provincia Deserta (Gallup C104, Mar 1915) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Psychology and Troubadours' (Gallup C55, Oct 1912) in POUND E.L. Spirit pp.87 ff.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Psychology and Troubadours' in Quest IV.1 (Oct 1912): see prec.

Pound Ezra Loomis La Regina Avrillouse (Gallup A1, Jun 1908) in POUND E.L. A Lume Spento.

Pound Ezra Loomis The Seafarer (Gallup C25, Nov 1911) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis Section: Rock-Drill: 85-95 de los cantares (= Canto LXXXV p.579 - Canto XCV p.630), Milano 1955. Gallup A70.

Pound Ezra Loomis Sestina: Altaforte (Gallup C12, Jun 1909) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis Social Credit: An Impact: Money Pamphlets by £ number five, London 1951. Gallup A40 note. Abbr. Social Credit.

Pound Ezra Loomis Song of the Women of Shu (Gallup A9, Apr 1915) in POUND E.L. Collected Shorter Poems.

Pound Ezra Loomis The Spirit of Romance, London 1953. Gallup A5d. Abbr. Spirit.

Pound Ezra Loomis Thrones: 96-109 de los cantares (= Canto XCVI p.683 - Canto CIX p.798), Milano 1959. Gallup A77.

Pound Ezra Loomis Translations enlarged edn. London 1964. Gallup: not in, but cf. A66. Abbr. Translations.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Troubadours - their Sorts and Conditions' (Gallup C101, Oct 1913) in POUND E.L. Essays pp.94 ff.

Pound Ezra Loomis 'Troubadours - their Sorts and Conditions' in Quarterly Review CCXIX.437 (Oct 1913): see proc.

Pound Ezra Loomis Villon (partly-published opera) cf. Gallup E3h (written 1920-1).

Pound Ezra Loomis A Visiting Card: Money Pamphlets by E number four, London 1952. Gallup A50a. Abbr. Visiting Card.

Pound Ezra Loomis What is Money For? Money Pamphlets by E number three, London 1951. Gallup A46 note. Abbr. What is Money For?

Pound Ezra Loomis Women of Trachis Faber paperback, London 1969. Not in Gallup, but cf. C1738, A72. Abbr. Women of Trachis.

Powicke F.M. The Thirteenth Century: 1216-1307, Oxford U.P., Oxford 1953. 2.4.91.

Pushkin Aleksandr Sergeovitch Eugene Onegin: a novel in verse tr. V.V. Nabokov, 4 vols., London 1964. 2.5.94.

Quinn (Sister) M. Bernetta 'The Metamorphoses of Ezra Pound' in ed. LEARY Motive pp.60 ff. Abbr. Quinn 'Metamorphoses'. 1.2.50.

Rachewiltz Boris de 'Pagan and Magic Elements in Ezra Pound's Works' in ed. HESSE Approaches pp.174 ff. 1.2.56.

Rachewiltz Mary de Discretions: A Memoir by Ezra Pound's Daughter, London 1971. Abbr. Rachewiltz Discretions. 1.2.30.

Radulphus de Diceto Opera Historica ed. W. Stubbs, London 1876 Rolls Series no.68). App.1 par.6.

Rahner Hugo Greek Myths and Christian Mystery, London 1963. 3.2.10. Abbr. Rahner Greek Myths.

Rainbaut d'Orange The Life and Works ed. W.T. Pattison, Minnesota U.P., Minneapolis 1952. Abbr. Rainbaut Works ed. Pattison. 2.4.

Rainbaut de Vaqueiras The Poems ed. J. Linskill, The Hague 1964. Abbr. Rainbaut de Vaqueiras Poems ed. Linskill. 2.5.1.

Rajna Pio 'Guglielmo conte di Poitiers, trovatore bifronte' in Alfred Jeanroy Melanges Jeanroy, Paris 1923, pp.349 ff.

Ramsay James H. The Angevin Empire, London 1903 (The Scholar's History of England Vol.3). Abbr. Ramsay Empire. 2.2.

Ramsay James H. The Foundations of England; or Twelve Centuries of British History (B.C. 55 - A.D. 1154), London 1898. 2 vols. Abbr. Ramsay Foundations. 2.2.9.

Raynouard M. Choix des poésies originales des troubadours, Paris 1816-21. Abbr. Raynouard Choix. App.2.

Raynouard Lexique roman ou dictionnaire de la langue des troubadours, Paris 1838-44. Abbr. Raynouard Lexique. 2.5.117.

Read Forrest 'Pound, Joyce and Flaubert: The Odysseans' in ed. HESSE Approaches pp.125 ff. 1.1.73.

Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims ed. H. de Wailly, Paris 1876 (Société de l'Histoire de France). App.1 par.4.

Rémusat C.F.M. de Abélard, Paris 1845. 3.2.19.

Rémusat C.F.M. de Lord Herbert de Cherbury, Paris 1874. 3.2.21.

Rémusat C.F.M. de Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry, Paris 1853. 3.2.21.

Richard Alfred Histoire des Comtes de Poitou (778-1204), 2 vols., Paris 1903. Abbr. Richard Comtes. App.1 par.2.

Rigaut de Barbézieux Le canzoni ed. H. Dracoini, Firenze 1960 (Accad. toscana di Scienze e Lettere 'La Colombaria' Studi no.VII). Abbr. Rigaut Canzoni ed. Dracoini. App.2 par.22.

Rigaut de Barbézieux Liriche ed. A. Varvaro, Bari 1960 (Bibl. di filologia romana no.4). Abbr. Rigaut Liriche ed. Varvaro. App.2 par.22.

Robert of Torigni Chronicle ed. R. Howlett in Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I Vol.4, London 1889 (Rolls Series no.82). App.1 par.6.

Roland ed. Bédier: see La CHANSON DE ROLAND ed. Bédier.

Rolandino 'Chronica' in L.A. MURATORI Scriptores rerum italicarum 2nd edn. Città di Castello 1900 ff., t.VIII. App.1 par.11

Rossetti Dante Gabriel Il mistero dell'amor platonico nel medioevo, 5 vols., London 1840. 3.1.9.

Rougemont Denis de L'Amour et l'Occident, Paris 1939. Abbr. Rougemont L'Amour et l'Occident. 2.6.50.

Rowbotham John Frederick The Troubadours and Courts of Love, London 1895. 1.1.39.

Rumsol Walter Morse and Fara Found Montemas Roses Sorta II: Sauf Chansons de Troubadours, London/ Paris/ Boston 191'. Abbr. Montemas Roses. Gallup B5. 2.7.11.

Runciman James Cochran Stevenson A History of the Crusades, 3 vols., Cambridge U.P., Cambridge 1951-4. Abbr. Runciman Crusades. 2.4.75.

Runciman James Cochran Stevenson The Medieval Manichee, 2nd edn. Cambridge U.P., Cambridge 1955. Abbr. Runciman Manichee. 3.3.

Russell Jeffrey Burton Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1965. Abbr. Russell Dissent. 3.3.

Russell Jeffrey Burton Medieval Civilization, Somerset, N.J. 1968. 3.3.3.

Rutherford John The Troubadours, London 1873. 1.1.39.

Ruthven K.K. A Guide to Ezra Pound's Personae (1926), Univ. of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969. Abbr. Ruthven Guide. 1.2.

Sacchoni Raynier Summa de Catharis et Leonistis in ed. DONDAINE Liber.

Santangelo Salvatore Dante e i trovatori provenzali, 2nd edn. Univ. di Catania 1959. Abbr. Santangelo Trovatori. 2.6.

Schafer Murray 'Ezra Pound and Music' in ed. Walter Sutton Ezra Pound: Critical Essays, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1963, pp.129 ff. Abbr. M. Schafer /etc./ in ed. Sutton Ezra Pound. 1.2.10.

Schon Donald 'Reith Lecture' in The Listener, 29 Nov 1970, pp.723 ff.

Schrötter Wilibald Ovid und die Troubadours, Halle 1906. Abbr. Schrötter Ovid. 2.6.110.

Schultz-Gora O. Altprovenzalisches Elementarbuch, Heidelberg 1906 (Sammlung Romanischer Elementarbücher 1. Reihe no.3). Abbr. Schultz-Gora Elementarbuch. 2.6.97.

The Seafarer ed. I.L. Gordon, London 1960. 2.4.50.

Setton Kenneth M., editor-in-chief, A History of the Crusades, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1955. Abbr. Setton Crusades. App.1 par.4.

Shaw J.E. Cavalcanti's Theory of Love: The Canzone d'Amore and Other Related Problems, Toronto U.P., Toronto 1949. 3.2.21.

Shepard William P. 'A Provençal Debat on Youth and Age in Women' in Modern Philology 29 (1931-2) pp.149 ff. Abbr. Shepard "Debat". 2.3.11.

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary: see OXFORD The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.

Smith Justin H. The Troubadours at Home, NY/ London 1899. Abbr. Smith Troubadours. 1.1.39.

Sophokles Women of Trachis; see POUND E.L. Women of Trachis.

Sordello Le Poesie ed. Marco Boni, Bologna 1954 (Bibl. degli 'Studi Mediolatini e Volgari' no.1). Abbr. Sordello Poesie ed. Boni. 2.6.

Sordello Vita e Poesie ed. Cesare de Lollis, Halle 1896 (Romanische Bibliothek no.11, ed. W. Foerster). Abbr. Sordello Poesie ed. de Lollis. 2.6.40.

Stackle Enid From Gautier to Eliot, London 1960. 3.1.19.

Stendhal (Henri Beyle) De l'Amour, Paris 1822. 1.1.40.

Stock Exile: see STOCK Noel Poet in Exile.

Stock Noel The Life of Ezra Pound, London 1970. Abbr. Stock Life. 1.2.

Stock Noel Poet in Exile: Ezra Pound, Manchester U.P., Manchester 1964. Abbr. Stock Exile. 3.3.110.

Stronski Stanislaw Le troubadour Folquet de Marseille, edition critique, Cracovie 1910. Abbr. Stronski Folquet. 2.4.03.

Stronski Stanislaw La légende amoureuse de Bertran de Born, Paris 1914. Abbr. Stronski Bertran. 2.4.

Sullivan J.P. ed. Ezra Pound: A Critical Anthology, Penguin paperback, London 1970. Abbr. ed. J.P. Sullivan Ezra Pound. 2.5.107.

Sullivan J.P. Ezra Pound and Sextus Propertius: A Study in Creative Translation, London 1964. 1.1.12.

Thouzellier Christine Catharisme et Valdéisme en Languedoc à la fin du XII^{e} et au début du XIII^{e} s., Paris 1966. Abbr. Thouzellier Catharisme. 3.3.

Thouzellier Christine Hérésie et hérétiques: Vaudois, Cathares, Patarins, Albigeois, Roma 1969 (Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi no.116). Abbr. Thouzellier Hérésie. 2.5.117.

Tocco F. L'Eresia nel medio evo, Firenze 1884. 3.3.34.

Uc de Saint-Circ Poésies ed. A. Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave, Toulouse 1913. Abbr. Uc Poésies ed. Jeanroy.

Valli Luigi Il Linguaggio Segreto di Dante e dei 'Fedeli d'Amore', Roma 1928 (Bibl. di filosofia e scienza no.10). Abbr. Valli Linguaggio. 3.2.

Vignier N. Recueil de l'Histoire de l'Eglise, Leyden 1601. Abbr. Vignier Recueil. 3.3.63.

Villon François Oeuvres ed. A. Longnon, Paris 1932 (Classiques français du moyen age no.2). 2.3.19.

Walker Curtis Howe Eleanor of Aquitaine, Univ. of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1950. Abbr. Walker Eleanor. 2.7.12.

The Wife of Bath: see CHAUCER G. Works, ed. F.N. Robinson.

Wilmot John, Earl of Rochester, Poems ed. V. de Sola Pinto, 2nd edn. London 1964. 2.6.12.

Witemeyer Hugh The Poetry of Ezra Pound: Form and Renewal, 1909-1920, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969. Abbr. Witemeyer Poetry. 2.5.71.

Zaehner R.C. The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism, London 1961. 3.3.34.

Zanboni Filippo Gli Eszelini, Dante e gli schiavi, Firenze 1902. App.1 par.10.

Zielinski Thaddeus The Religion of Ancient Greece, Oxford UP., London 1926. Abbr. Zielinski Religion. 2.6.46.

Zielinski Tadeusz (i.e. Thaddeus) La Sibylle, Paris 1925. Abbr. Zielinski Sibylle. 3.2.7.

Zukovsky Louis 'Interview with Raymond Gardner' in The Guardian, 14 May 1969. 2.1.9.

Zukovsky Louis Propositions, London 1967. Abbr. Zukovsky Propositions. 1.2.17.

NOTES TO SECTION ONE

CHAPTER ONE: POUND'S USE OF HIS MATERIALS

par 1 (1) See Bibliography.

par 4 (1) See esp. Jeanroy Poésie lyrique.

par 5 (1) Pillet-Carstens Bibliographie.

(2) Ibid. pp.vii-xliv, and Avalle Letteratura pp.203-214.

(3) Avalle Letteratura pp.44-5

par 6 (1) E.C. 2.6.67 ff.

par 7 (1) Cf. 2.6.103 ff.

(2) Cf. Jeanroy Poésie lyrique I p.3 note; his passage idoiron reproduces most of the important points from S. Debenedetti (erroneously cited as 'P. Debenedetti', ibid.) 'Tre secoli di studi provenzali (XVI-XVIII)' in ed. C. Bertoni, Provenza e Italia, studi, etc., Firenze 1930 (cited by Jeanroy ibid. p.57 as a 'volume collectif' without mention of the editor). For the Gonzagas cf. Clerk de Rouaillon, Chanson de Geste ed. W.M. Hackett, Paris 1953-5, III p.464.

(3) Cf. Jeanroy Poésie lyrique I pp.15-30.

par 10 (1) For all this see Appendix Two

(2) Stock Life p.70.

(3) Ibid. p.68.

par 11 (1) Cf. Farnell Lives p.166: '"Ane iou non lac, nan olla na." (Never did I have it, but she has, etc.)' Compare Arnaut ed. Toja no. VII.

(2) 'Praefatio' to Spirit.

(3) Canto XIV p.67 (Gallup A26).

par 12 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no. 40. This song is attributed to Bertran by only 5 out of 15 MSS; see Appel ibid.

(2) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no. 40 V.21-56:

Et autresi.m platz do senhor,
Quan os primiers a l'onvasir
Un chaval, armatz, sens temor,
Qu'aissi fai los sieus enardir
Ab valen vassalatge.
E puois que l'estorns es mesclatz,
Chascun dau cenor acesmatz
E negre.l d'agradatge,
Que nuls om non es re prezatz,
Tro qu'a maintz colps pres e donatz.

Vassas e brans, elms de color,
Escutz tranchar e desguarnir
Veiron a l'entrar de l'estor
E maintz vasnals ensems ferir,
Don anaran arratge
Chaval dels mortz e dels nafratz.
E quan er en l'estorn entratz,
Chascus om de paratge
No pens mas d'acolar chaps e bratz,
Que mais val mortz que vius sobratz.

Ie.us dic que tan no m'a sabor
Manjar ni beure ni dormir
Com a, quan auch cridar: "A lor!"
D'ambas las partz et auch ennir
Chavals vochs per l'ombratge,
Et auch cridar: "Aidatz! Aidatz!"
E vei chazer per los fossatz
Pauc e gran per l'erbatge,
E vei los mortz que pels costatz
An los tronzon ab los condatz.

Baro, metetz en gatge
Chastels e vilas e ciutatz
Enanz qu'usquecs no.us guerreiatz!

Papiols, d'agradatge
A'n Oc-e-No t'en vai viatz
E dijas li que trop estai en patz.

For similar early mistranslations see Appendix Two on the Poire Cardenal translations in Essays pp.105 ff. (par. 22); 1.1.12; 2.5.7; 2.6.36; and 2.7.11.

(3) Levy Petit dictionnaire s.v.

(4) J.P. Sullivan, Ezra Pound and Sextus Propertius, London 1965, p.100.

par 13 (1) Ezra Pound ed. J.P. Sullivan, London 1970, p.224. Cf. 2.5.107 ff.

par 14 (1) 2.5.93 ff.

(2) In Old English: New Age Feb. 15, 1912 (his Seafarer literal); in French: his 'savoureux exotismes', Stock Life p.241.

par 15 (1) Spirit p.89.

(2) 2.6.93 ff.

(3) Below, par. 45.

(4) See Appendix Two, which shows incompetence also.

par 16 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.xiii.

par 17 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies n.ed. p.XLI ff.

(2) 2.3

(3) Essays p.153

par 19 (1) Jeanroy Poésie lyrique I. pp.106-9

(2) Essays p.95.

(3) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.25, 226.

(4) E.C. ibid. p.347 on Uc de St-Circ.

par 20 (1) Folquet ed. Stronski p.ix.

(2) Boutière et Schutz Biographies n.ed. p.471

(3) Chabaneau Biographies p.85.

(4) Stronski Folquet pp.104* ff.

(5) Rainbaut Works ed. Pattison p.27.

par 21 (1) Stronski Folquet pp.64*, 140-8; Rainbaut Works ed. Pattison p.30; cf. 2.3.2, 2.4.6, 2.6.27 note 1.

(2) Stonski Folquet p.xi.

par 22 (1) Such historians cited in this study are Fiedler (Love and Death) and Wahner (Greek Myths).

(2) Quoted in Stronski Folquet p.x.

par 23 (1) E.g. Paris Joufre passim: Stronski Folquet pp.61*-60*.

par 24 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.319:
...sos amics d'el... mostreron li una dona de Gascuenha qu'era... joves e bela et avinens, e deziroza de pretz e de vezer En Savaric...

(2) Ibid. p.310:
E la donna era gentils e bella, e gain e plazenz, e not envejosa de pretz e d'onor... Et ella, con dous semblanz amoros, retenc sos precs, e los receup e los auzi, con donna que avia volontat d'un trobador que trobes d'ella.

(3) Ibid. p.206:
E non era neguna gran donna ni valenz, en totas aquellas encontradas, que no desires e no ac penos qu'el entendes en ella, o qu'el li volgues ben per domesteguessa, car el las sabia plus onrar e far grazir que nulz autr'om; per que neguna no cresia esser preziada, si no fos sos amics Raimons de Miraval.

(4) Ibid. pp.296-8:
...el... fes de leis maintas bonas chansos, lauzan son pretz e sa valor e sa cortezia; e con la en si gran honor que tuit li valen baro d'aquela encontrada entendion en ela... ac lo rein tot so que·ill plac de lein... En Miraval... Fo·n trits e dolens...

par 25 (1) Cf. Ibid. pp.297, 202, 264.

(2) Ibid. p.193:
...et ella si sofria los p[reecs] e l'entendimen d'En Giraut, per lo gran coratgen q'el li fazia de preg e d'onor...

(3) Ibid. pp.14-15:
Et amet una auta donna de Gascoingna, muiller d'En Guillem de Duovilla, mas non fo cregut que la donna li fezes plaiser cubrelt d'amor...

(4) Ibid. p.195:
...et ella li avia faich plazers. Et avenc se q'ela se penset qe sa valors avia trop descendut, car avia se q'el vole volgut; e si.l det comjat...

(5) Ibid. p.291:
...e volia ben al comte de Foix, tan qu'ela l'avia fait son drut. Et era l'amors peiors de lor e la drudaria per totas las encontradas de Carcasses; don ela fo decazuda de pretz e d'onor, e d'amics e d'amigas...

(6) Ibid p.125:

> Geucelm Faidits si anet outra mar e si manot dompna Guillelma Monja, q'ora sa moiller et era estada soudadiera, et era plus grossa q'el non era. E cresia aver un fill d'ella, q'ora mout desplagens hom en totas causas. E tornet s'en mout paubres e mout desasiatz.

par 26 (1) Ibid. p.333:

> Mas pois qu'el sa moiller non fetz cansos.

(2) Ibid. p.277:

> "Senher Rambaut/z/ qe es aisso qe vos non chantatz ni·us allegratz, e·ausi/tz/ aisi bel son de viola e veitz aiqi tan bella dompna com es mia sorer, qe vos a retengut per servidor et es la plus valen dompna del mon?"

(3) Ibid. p.251:

> E l'amors de la dompna e de Peirol monta tan quo·l Dalfins s'engelosi d'ella, car crezet qu'ella li fezes plus que convengues ad olla...

par 27 (1) Ibid. p.24:

> Lonc temps duret lor amors ans que·l vescoms ni l'autra gens s'en aperceubes. E quant lo vescoms s'en apercoup, si·n castiet de lui, e la moiller fetz norar e gardar. E la dompna si fetz dar conjat a·l Bornart...

(2) Ibid. p.157:

> E fon dich so a·N Raimon de Castel Rossillon; et ol, cum hom iratz e gelos, enqeric tot lo faich e saup que vera era, e fetz gardar la moiller.
>
> E qan venc un dia, Raimons de Castel Rossillon trobet paisan Guillem de Cabestaing sen gran compaignia et cueis lo...

par 28 (1) Ibid. p.312:

> ...el non era hom qe neguna dompna li dogues ni far ni dir plazer, q'el era lo plus fals hom del mon, qant el era partitz de sa dompna, q'era si bella et si gaia et qe·l volia tant de be... et si com era partitz d'ella si se partria d'autra.

(2) Ibid. pp.259-63.

par 29 (1) Ibid. p.314:

> Et qant las doupnas et li cavalier auziron qe podia trobar merce ab sa doupna, se .C. doupas e .C. chavalier, qe s'amessen per amor, aussen clamar merce a la doupna de Ricchaut q'ella li perdones, et ella li perdonaria, las doupnas e.l chavalier s'assembleron tuit et amoron et clamoron merce as ella per Ricchaut. Et la doupna li perdonet.

(2) Ibid. p.259:

> Et el, estan en aquela honor com ela et en aquest' alegreza, se volontat, si com fols amics que non sap ni pot sufrir gran benanansa, de proar s'ella li voilla be...

(3) Ibid, p.29:

> Puois s'enpenset, com hom vencus d'amor, qe niels li era q'el aguos on leis la noitat qe del tot la perdes. Puois, cant era davan loi, lai on era l'autre'amics e l'autra gens, a lui era semblans q'ella gardes lui plus qe tota l'autra gen. E maintas ves descresia se qe avia cresut, si con deven far tuit li fin amador, qe non deven creser se qe vesen dels oills, qe sia faillimens a soa domna.

(4) Ibid, p.214:

> Et un dia, el dormejava com ella, e si a[r]on una tenson entre lor; qe.l cens de la Marcha dizia qe tota fis amairo, pois qe na doupna li dona s'amor ni.l pren per cavalier ni per amic, tant con el es leials ni fis vas ella, deu aver aitan de seignoria en ella e de comandamen com ella de lui. E na doupna Maria defendia qe l'amic[a] no devia aver en ella seignoria ni comandamen.

par 30 (1) Ibid. p.334:

> ...et auc gran volontat de prets et [d']esser auzida loing et pres, et d'aver l'amistat et la domesticheza de las bonas do[n]pnas et dels valens homes. Et N'Uc conoc la volontat d'ella et sauf li ben servir d'aiso q'ella plus voilla; qe non se bona doupna en totas aquellas encontradas con qal oll non fezes qe l'aguos amor et domesticheza, et se.ill fezes mandar letras et saluts et joias, per acordansa et per honor. Et N'Uc <u>ho</u> fasia las letras de la[s]responsions qe convenian a far a las doupnas dels plasers q'ellas li mandavan.

par 32 (1) See par. 24 note 4.

par 33 (1) 2.1 passim; 2.5.69 ff, etc.

par 35 (1) Spirit p.62

(2) Spirit p.54

(3) Ibid. o.c. pp.42, 44, 57. Spirit p.41; Farnell Lives p.27.

(4) Appendix Two par. 10, 16.

par 36 (1) Smith Troubadours 2 p.50; cf. Bontiero et Schutz Biographies pp. 184-6.

par 37 (1) Sect. 2 Chap. 4 par. 84 ff.

par 38 (1) Ibid.

(2) Smith Troubadours 1 p.7.

par 39 (1) J. Rutherford, The Troubadours: their Loves and their Lyrics, London 1873, p.319, where he also refers to Richard Lionheart's sister as 'Helena' (cf. 2.4.60 note 2).

(2) J.F. Rowbotham, The Troubadours and Courts of Love, London 1895, p.95.

(3) Cf. Stock Life p.60.

(4) F. Hueffer, The Troubadours, London 1870.

(5) Cf. F. MacShane, The Life and Work of Ford Madox Ford, London 1965, pp 4, 14, 151.

(6) Appel Bertran, preface.

(7) See Poetry 146 (Dec 1915), cited Ruthven Guide s.v. Near Perigord.

(8) For the geography cf. 2.4.101 note 2.

par 40 (1) Essays esp. p.101.

(2) E.C. ABC p.11.

(3) Cf. par. 23 above.

(4) Essays p.110.

(5) 2.3.10

(6) Spirit p.44 note.

(7) Guilhem de Cabestanh, Les chansons ed. A. Langfors, Paris 1924, p.xv.

(8) Cf. ibid.

(9) Cf. Stock Life p.204.

(10) Below par. 62 ff.

par 41 (1) Stock Life p.117.

(2) Appendix Two, par. 19 ff.

(3) Essays pp.94 ff.

(4) Ibid. p.350.

(5) Ibid. p.94

(6) Ibid. p.101.

par 42 (1) Ibid. p.94.

par 43 (1) Pound's phrase in Homerian.

(2) Cf. Stock Life p.271.

(3) Essays p.101.

(4) Cantos XVI p.72, XCVII p.700.

par 44 (1) Cf. Letters to Felix Schelling 9 Jul 1922.

(2) Vida of Perdigon, Boutiere et Schutz Biographies p.254:

> Et estan en aquella honor et en aquel prets, el anet ab lo prince d'Aurenga, En Guilem dels Baus, et ab En Folquet de Marcella, evesque de Tolosa, et ab l'abas de Sistel a Roma, querer lo mal del conte de Tolosa et /per/ azordenar la crozada. Per que fon desertetz lo bos coms Raimons de Tolosa, e sos nepz, lo coms de Bezers, e mortz Tolzan e Caersin e Bederes, et Albiges fon destruitz, e mortz lo reis l'eire d'Arago ab mil cavaliers davan Murel, e .XX. milia d'autres homes en foron mortz.

(3) Vida of Guillem Figueira ibid. p.173:

> E quant li Frances agron Tolosa, si s'en vono en Lombardia.

(4) razo of Raimon de Miraval ibid. p.304:

Quan lo coms de Toloza fo dezeretatz per la Gleiza e per los Frances...

(5) razo of Bertran de Born lo Fills ibid. p.73:

E fetz negar son nebot Artus...

(6) razo of Dalfi d'Alvergne ibid. p.69:

E tant tost com En Richartz saup que.ill dui conte d'Alvergne, lo Dalfins, e.l coms Gis, son cosins, eran revelat contra.l rei de Franza, el pres trevas ab lo rei de Franssa et abandonet lo Dalfin e.l conte Gulon, e si s'en passet en Engletorra.

par 45 (1) Essays pp.103 ff; for Pound's extraordinary handling of the sources, cf. Appendix Two, par. 22, under p.103 ff.

(2) Essays p.104; cf. Confucius/Analects 2.XIX-XXI. (It is noteworthy that in the matter of Confucius' doctrines, as with those of Frobenius (cf. 2.7.2), Pound's ideas were fairly clear before he came across the 'master' who had given them their 'classic' formulation.)

(3) Canto XVI p.72.

par 46 (1) 1.2 e.g. par. 28, 29.

par 47 (1) 2.1

(2) Ref. mislaid, but cf. Letters to Harriet Monroe 5 Jun 1916.

(3) Translations p.423 (New Age 18 Jan 1912).

(4) Cf. New Age Dec 7 1911.

(5) Cf. Essays p.4.

(6) Cf. Gaudier-Brzeska p.81.

par 48 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographien p.234:

...fez vers tals com hom fazia adonc, de paubra valor, de foillas e de flors, e de cans e de ausels. Sel cantar non agues gran valor, ni el.

(2) Stendhal, De L'Amour, Paris 1822, livre premier ch.LII.

(3) E.G. Gaudier-Brzeska p.83, Essays p.54.

par 49 (1) Baumann Rose pp.26-9.

(2) Canto IV pp.17-18.

par 50 (1) Canto XXIX p.150.

par 51 (1) Vida of Guillem de Cabestaing, Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.154-5:

Guillems de Capestaing si fo uns cavalliers de l'encontrada de Rossillon, que confinava com Cataloingna e com Narbones. Molt fo avinens e prezatz d'armas e de servir e de cortesia.

Et avia en la sua encontrada una donna que avia nom ma dompna Seremonda, moiller d'En Raimon del Castel de Rossillon, qu'era molt ricx e gentils e mals e braus e fers et orgoillos. E Guillems de Capestaing si l'amava la donna per amor e cantava de leis e fazia sas chansos d'ella. E la donna, qu'era joves e gentil e bella e plaisenz, si·l volia bo major que a re del mon. E fon dit a Raimon del Castel de Rossiglon; et el, com hom iratz e golos, enquerí lo fait, e sa/u/p que vers era, e fez gardar la moiller fort.

E quant venc un dia, Raimon del Castel Rossillon troba paissan Guillem senes gran compaingnia et ausis lo; e trais li lo cor del cors; e fez lo portar a un escudier a son albere; e fez lo raustir e far pourada, e fes lo dar a manjar a la muiller. E quant la donna l'ac manjat lo cor d'En Guillem de Capestaing, En Raimon li dis o que ol fo. Et ella, quant lo auzi, perdet lo vezer e l'auzir. E quant ela revenc, si dis: "Seingner, bon m'avez dat si bon manjar que ja mais non manjarai d'autre." E quant el auzi so qu'ella dis, el corot a sa espaza e volc li dar sus en la testa; et ella s'en anet al balcon e no laisset cazer jos, e fo morta. (Version in MS F^bIK.)

par 52 (1) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.159-172.

(2) Cf. Baumann Rose p.29, Sister M.B Quinn 'The Metamorphoses of Ezra Pound' in ed. Leary Motivn p.86.

(3) Rose p.20.

(4) Canto IV p.17.

par 53 (1) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.247.

(2) First publ. Exultations, 1909 (Gallup A4). Cf. verbal borrowings from Farnell Lives, noted in Appendix Two par. 10.

par 54 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.247:

> La Loba si era de Carcasses, e Peire Vidal si se fazia apelar Lop per ela e portava armas de lop. Et en la montanha de Cabaretz si se fes cassar als pastors ab los mastis et ab los lebrers, si com hom fai lop. E venti una pel de lop per donar as entendre als pastors et als cans qu'el fon lop. E li pastor ab lur cans lo casseron e.l baritoron si en tal guiza qu'el en fo portatz per mort a l' alberc de la Loba de Puoinautier.

par 55 (1) Baumann Rose pp.32-5

(2) Spirit p.97.

(3) Canto IV p.18.

par 56 (1) Baumann Rose pp.34-5

(2) Essays pp. 150-1.

(3) Baumann Rose p.35.

(4) From Patria Mia p.39 (written 1913).

(5) Cf. e.g. 3.3.107.

(6) Spirit p.178.

par 57 (1) Canto IV p.18

(2) 3.5.69 ff.

par 58 (1) Cf. Stock Life p.126.

(2) Essays p.96; cf. Aprendix Two par. 22 under p.95.

(3) Canto V p.22.

(4) Baumann Rose p.35.

(5) Canto IV p.19.

par 59 (1) Canto V p.22.

(2) 'por voluntat de femna', vida of Gaubert de Poicibot in Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.120,130.

(3) See Fassaya p.90, and Appendix Two par. 22 under p.90.

(4) Canto V p.22.

(5) Fassaya pp.96-7; cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.228: 'se laissat furar ad el'.

par 60 (1) Ibid. p.228:

Peire de Maensac si fo d'Alvernhe, de la terra terra del Dalfin, paubres cavallliers; et ac un frairе que ac nom Austors de Maensac, et amdui foron trobador. E foron andui en concordi que l'uns d'els aguos lo castel e l'autre aguos lo trobar. Lo castel ac Austors e.l trobar ac Peire; e trobava de la moiller d'En Bernart de Ticrci.

Tant cantet d'ella e tant la onret e la servi que la donzna se laisset furar ad el; e mena la en un castel del Dalfin d'Alvernhe. E.l marritz la demandet molt com la glesia e com gran guerra quel.n fetz; e.l Dalfins lo mantenc, si que mais no.[1]/11 la rendet.

Fort fo adregs hom e de bel solatz; e fez avinens sirventes de mons e de motz, e bonas coblas de solatz.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Canto V p.22.

par 61 (1) 2.7.

par 62 (1) Cf. 2.4.49 ff.

(2) Jeanroy Poésie vol. I ; Bernart de Ventadorn Lieder ed. Appel pp.ix-x; Chabaneau Biographies II. Davenson Les Troubadours, Paris 1964, p.62.

(3) L. Genicot, Le XIII^e siècle européen, Paris 1960.

(4) Rainbaut Vaqueiras ed. Pattison p.10.

(5) Clédat Bertran p.10

par 64 (1) E.g. Stock Exile pp.247 ff.

(2) Brooke-Rose ZBC p.30.

(3) Ibid. p.39.

par 65 (1) Cf. Canto XLVI p.241:

> And if you will say that this tale teaches...
> a lesson, or that the Reverend Eliot
> has found a more natural language...you who
> think you will
> get through hell in a hurry...

Kulchur p.194:

> No one has claimed that the Malatesta cantos are obscure. They are openly volitionist...

par 66 (1) See Appendix One par. 4 under 11.20-22.

(2) Cf. 3.2. par. 19, 20.

(3) Cf. Edwards and Vasse Annotated Index pp.311-2.

(4) Ibid.

par 67 (1) Cf. above par. 48.

(2) New Review Winter 1931-2, quoted in Stock Exile p.23.

(3) Cf. Stock Life p.287.

(4) Canto XXXI p.111.

(5) ABC p.14

(6) Cf. Stock Life p.300.

par 68 (1) Review of G. Cavalcanti Rime ed. Pound, Genova 1931, in Criterion Oct. 1932.

(2) O.Bird 'The Canzone d'Amore of Cavalcanti...' in Mediaeval Studies 2 (1940), 3 (1941), bibl.

(3) W. Norchant in Ezra Pound: a new pantare, New Haven 1950, offprint of Yale Literary Magazine CXXVI.5 (Dec 1950).

(4) Cf. 2.4.15 ff.

(5) Cf. 2.6.67 ff.

(6) Cf. 3.3 passim.

par 69 (1) Dustjacket to New Directions edition of Kulchur (1952), quoted Stock Life p.432.

par 71 (1) Cf. 2.5.50, and e.g. Essays p.343.

(2) Essays p.154.

par 73 (1) F. Read 'Pound, Joyce and Flaubert' in ed. Monro Approaches p.142.

(2) Dante Paradiso 1.1-3.

par 74 (1) Dante Paradiso 1.1-3. For Erigena cf. Appendix Three par. 18 ff.

(2) Cf. Essays p.154.

par 76 (1) 1.2.17.

(2) Forward to 1965 edition of A Lume Spento.

par 77 (1) Gallup D27.

(2) Cf. esp. Essays pp. 85-6.

par 78 (1) In this context we may see the nature-descriptions of Thoreau and the local information in Melville's Moby Dick, for example, as predecessors of Pound in this fight to respect the 'otherness' of particular situation. Cf. Letters to Basil Bunting Dec 1935:

> The poet's job is to define and yet again define till the detail of surface is in accord with the root in justice. [Not] to submit to the transient. But poetry does not consist of the cowardice which refuses to analyze the transient, which refuses to see it.

par 79 (1) E.g. Brooke-Rose ZBC pp.102-110.

(2) K. Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery, London 1968, p.31:

> The initial stage, the act of conceiving or inventing a theory, seems to me neither to call for logical analysis nor to be susceptible of it.

I would therefore suggest that neither observation nor theory exist in a pure state.

par 00 (1) Visiting Card p.00.

par 01 (1) Letters to T.S. Eliot, 1st Feb 1940.
(2) Kulchur pp.107-8; cf. 2.6.45 ff.
(3) Stock Life p.76.
(4) Cf. e.g. Kulchur p.57

par 02 (1) Stock Life pp.142-3.
(2) Cf. 1.2.22 ff.
(3) Canto II p.13.
(4) Kulchur p.107; cf. 2.6.45 ff.

par 03 (1) Essays p.431; cf. 1.2.22.
(2) Kulchur p.127.

par 04 (1) Canto LXXXVII p.606.

NOTES TO SECTION ONE

CHAPTER TWO: CRITICAL TREATMENT OF POUND'S TROUBADOURS

par 2 (1) See 1.1.4.

(2) Cf. e.g. 1.1.10, 35 ff.

(3) 2.5.93 ff.

(4) 2 passim; summarized 2.7.

(5) Cf. 3.3.09 ff.

par 4 (1) See below for all this material.

par 8 (1) Nagy Poetry pp.105 ff.

(2) ed. Hesse Approaches p.86 ff.

(3) Nagy Poetry p.113.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid. p.116.

(6) Ibid. p.114.

par 9 (1) Ibid. p.119.

(2) Ibid. pp. 119-20.

(3) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.17-20.

(4) Nagy Poetry p.120.

(5) 'Salut' in Kahn Werke p.151; Ovid Heroiden.

par 10 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.20:

... cant auzit lo conjat anaisi, fo sobre totas dolors dolens, e si se partit com hom desesperatz...

(2) Personae (1909) (Gallup A3) p.59.

(3) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographien pp.43-4.

(4) Ruthven Guide; see below par. 18 ff.

(5) Ruthven Guide s.v. Marvoli; cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographien p.344.

(6) Nagy Poetry p.122 note.

(7) The identification of 'Gen Conquis' with Burlats is taken from Diez Leben 2nd ed. p.121 and is not provable; as Nagy notes p.120, there is no evidence in the songs. Nor is there any historical evidence; cf. Arnaut de Marcuil Poésies ed. Johnston pp.xxx-xxxi.

par 11 (1) Nagy Poetry p.122.

(2) Spirit p.178 quoted in Nagy Poetry p.122.

(3) Nagy Poetry p.123.

par 12 (1) See below par. 29.

(2) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.237, 230, 245.

(3) Poire Vidal Old.

(4) Nagy Poetry p.123.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Exultations (Gallup A4).

(8) Forward to 1965 edition of A Lume Spento.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ruthven Guide s.v. Sestina: Altaforte.

par 13 (1) Though cf. footnote 346 to Nagy Poetry p. 122:

> 'Alfred Jeanroy, and he does not seem to be the only one... dismisses as incredible the anecdotes told in the "vidas". However, Pound does not share this view...'

(2) Cf. 2.3.10.

(3) Cf. 2.4.86 ff.

par 14 (1) Nagy Poetry pp.124-6.

par 15 (1) Jackson Early Poetry p.45 quoting Spirit p.90.

(2) Sect. 3 passim. esp. 3.2.1 ff.

par 16 (1) Jackson Early Poetry pp.92-3, quoting Ennayn pp.173 ff.

(2) See 3.1 passim.

par 17 (1) Letters to T.S. Eliot 26 Apr 1936.

(2) Zukovsky Prepositions p.69.

(3) Cf. Appendix Three par. 1-17.

Par 18 (1) E. Sitwell in ed. Russell Ezra Pound; cited Schafer 'Ezra Pound and Music' in ed. Sutton Ezra Pound, p.135.

(2) Ruthven Guido p.21.

(3) Quot. ibid. p.5.

(4) Cf. 2.5.94 ff.

par 19 (1) Cf. above par. 10.

(2) Ruthven Guido s.v. Alchemist, The.

(3) Andur Poetry p.34.

(4) 2.5.85.

par 20 (1) Ruthven Guido s.v. 'Domna Poin'.

(2) Ibid. s.v. Near Perigord; cf. 2.4.106.

(3) Ruthven Guido s.v. Plaph for the Young English King; only Greoffroy de Vigeois mentions Bertran (Clodat Bertran p.10), and he does not speak of the friendship (ibid p.57, Appel Bertran p.37).

(4) Stronski Bertran.

(5) Ruthven Guido s.v. 'Domna Poin de Ne Hoeus Cal', Harvoll.

(6) Ibid. s.v. Near Perigord.

(7) Cf. 1.1.35-9.

(8) E.g. Ruthven Guido s.v. Near Perigord.

par 22 (1) Dekker Galling p.203.

(2) Ibid. p.49.

(3) Canto II pp.10-14.

(4) Dekker Galling p.52.

par 23 (1) 2.4.1-39, 66-94 etc.

(2) Dekker Sailing p.152.

(3) Cf. 1.1.11.

par 24 (1) Dekker Sailing p.111 says that R.T. Hill and T.G. Bergin's Anthology of the Provencal Troubadours, New Haven 1957, is 'the first and only anthology of troubadour poetry to appear under English or American editorship.' Cf. however Chaytor Troubadours of Dante.

(2) Dekker Sailing p.112.

par 25 (1) Ibid. p.55 note.

(2) Cf. Kulchur p.207.

(3) Dekker Sailing p.55.

(4) Guillem de Cabestanh Chansons ed. Langfors p.xv note.

par 26 (1) Dekker Sailing p.137 note.

(2) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.322. Interesting light is shed on these points by the fact that Pound actually invented documents where necessary; cf. Appendix One par. 5, 6, and 2.7.13, 14.

(3) Cf. Dekker Sailing p.200; Canto XCI p.644.

(4) Spirit p.41; cf. below, par. 34, s.v. Quo la lauzeta mover. The relevant lines are Bernart de Ventadorn Chansons ed. Lazar no. 31, Can vei la lauzeta mover 1.4:

pao la doussor c'al cor li vai

--and Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. X Ab lo dolchor del temps novel. Pound accurately translates the former (Spirit p.41):

When I see the lark a-moving
For joy his wings against the sunlight,
Who forgets himself and lets himself fall
For the sweetness which goes to his heart
[For la doussor...]

For the latter, cf. Sect. 2 Chap. 1 par. 21.

The text of the latter which Pound used, Appel Chrestomathie 2nd ed. no. 10, has 'Ab la dolchor', so that 'Ab' is the only word in the Canto line that might be from Guillem. No music for this song survives; whereas for the music quoted by

Found, Canto XCI p.644, cf. Bernart Chanzonn ed. Lazar planche III. However, despite all this Dekker is probably right in that Pound unconsciously confused the two lines and that the reader is probably reminded of both in reading him.

par 27 (1) Dekker Sailing p.112.

(2) Ibid. pp.114-6.

(3) Cf. 1.1.60.

par 28 (1) Dekker Sailing p.60.

(2) Canto XXX p.152.

par 29 (1) 'Secretary of Nature, J. Heydon' in Neues Angreifen pp.303 ff.

(2) Canto IV p.19; Baumann Rose p.35; cf. 1.1.52-3.

(3) Baumann Rose p.34; cf. 1.1.49-52.

(4) Baumann Rose p.37; cf. 3.1.26.

par 30 (1) Stock Life p.118.

(2) Essays p.95.

(3) Impact p.77.

(4) Stock Life p.113.

par 31 (1) Essays p.95

(2) Ruthven Guide s.v. Near Portcord.

(3) Stock Life p.113; cf. 1.1.19.

(4) Essays p.95.

par 32 (1) E.g. 2.1.40 ff, 2.5.69 ff.

(2) Stock Life pp.224, 118; cf. Cantos XXIII p.113, XLVIII p.253 etc., and The Gypsy.

par 33 (1) For non-Provençal mistakes cf. e.g. 2.4.120, notes 4 and 5;

2.6.58; 2.6.48 note 2. The following point has also been cleared up too late for inclusion in the Provençal list:

> A tiels leis... en ancien scriptures (Fr) according to such laws... (Fr) in old handwriting. [Read: (Law French) to such law... in ancient writings. (See: The Adams-Jefferson Letters ed. L.J. Cappon, Univ. of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1959, 2 p.422, referring to Year Book 34. H. 6, folio 38.)] (Canto XXXI p.160.)

par 34 (1) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no. I: cf. 2.6.54.

(1a) Cf. 3.3 passim.

(2) See Appendix One par. 7.

(3) Allègre in between La Chaise-Dieu (cf. Canto XXIII p.113) and Le Puy (cf. Canto C p.749).

(4) See Appendix One par.11.

(5) Jaufre Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. V, Lanquan li jorn son lonc en may.

(6) Cf. 2.6.41.

(7) Cf. Appendix One par. 8.

(8) Cf. 2.5.64 ff, 127.

(9) Cf. 3.1.116.

(10) Cf. Appendix Two par. 22 under p.97.

(11) Cf. 2.5.123.

(12) Cf. above, par. 26 note 4.

(13) Chaytor Saviaric passim and esp. p.77.

(14) The Annotated Index p. 310 does however note that Sordello is quoted at this point.

par 35 (1) Stock Exile p.87.

(2) Ibid. pp.204 ff.

(3) 2.4.98 note 1; H. Kenner 'The Broken Mirrors and the Mirror of Memory' in ed. Leary Motive, p.9.

(4) Cf. 1.1.52.

(5) 2.5.107 ff.

par 36 (1) Davie Sculptor p.23.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. pp.46-7; 60-2.

(4) ed. Nosco Approaches pp.198 ff.

(5) 'Pagan and Anglo Elements in Ezra Pound's Works' in ed. Nosco Approaches pp.174 ff.

(6) 3.2.20.

(7) Cf. 3.1 passim.

(8) ed. Nosco Approaches p.192. Cf. 2.5.51.

par 37 (1) Cf. 3.3.108 note 4.

(2) 3.3.09 ff; Cf. 2.4.101 note 2.

par 38 (1) Cf. Peck 'Landscape' p.40 note, but all his information is in ed. Nolli Catharos. From that collection he quotes lines by Peire Vidal ('Landscape' p.43), apparently without noticing they have been translated into French (cf. ed. Nolli Catharos p.26); his citation p.42 note of Pierre-Roger Gaussin L'Abbaye de la Chaise-Dieu, Paris 1962, is no indication of further knowledge, since that book gives nothing relevant to Pound on the abbey's 'connections with Toulouse and their dissolution by Boniface VIII'. The sympathy of Weil, Nolli etc. for the 'Cathars' is based on a respect for their independence of mind in acknowledging that 'in the world nothing is good' (ed. Nolli Catharos p.1); Pound always disagreed strongly with this view of the world, cf. e.g. Essays p.150 ff, Rachewiltz Discretions p.69 ('Rules for Maria', i.e. for his daughter):

> That if she suffers, it is her own fault for not understanding the universe.
>
> That so far as her father knows suffering exists in order to make people think. That they do not usually think until they suffer.

(2) Peck 'Landscape' pp.30-9

(3) 3.1 passim.

(4) Cf. e.g. F. Cumont The Mysteries of Mithra, NY 1956, pp.7, 29. Note that Peck 'Landscape' p.39 says that Pound traces the Cathars back 'through the Manicheans and Gnostics to oriental roots'; while in fact we find him tracing the Provençal heretics to the Hellenic world (e.g. Spirit p.96, and cf. 3.3.110), a world from which Cumont p.33 says that Mithra 'remained forever excluded'. The confusion among writers on Pound about the Cathars is complete. Cf. however 3.3100.

par 48 (1) Brooke-Rose ZBC p.157: '*Selmer, bon n'avets dat ni bon manjar que ja nain non manjarai d'autre*, in the Provençal story.' This altogether peculiar reading (Gallicised?) is not found in Boutière et Schutz *Biographies* p.155, id. n. ed. p.531, Favati *La Biographie* p.197, or Guillem de Cabestanh *Chansons* ed. Rayford p.31, 86.

(2) Cf. o.c. 3.3.110; Brooke-Rose ZBC p.216.

(3) Brooke-Rose ZBC p.41; cf. 1.1.16 ff.

(4) Brooke-Rose ZBC p.117: '"Refer to Scotus, Erigena..."', which should read 'Refer to Scotus Erigena' (*Confusion* p.20). If the distinction between Duns Scotus (1266-1308) and Scotus Erigena (fl. ninth cent. A.D.) needs to be made, cf. e.g. Gilson *Christian Philosophy* pp.113, 454.

(5) Brooke-Rose ZBC p.116.

NOTES TO SECTION TWO

CHAPTER ONE: FERTILIZATION

par 3 (1) Canto VI p.25.

(2) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. IX:

Mout jauzens me prens en amar
On joy don plus mi vuelh aizir,
E puis en joy vuolh revertir
Don doy, ni puesc, al miolhs anar,
Quar miolhs onrats, estiers cujar,
Qu'om puesca vezer ni auzir.

Ieu, so sabetz, no•m dey gabar
Ni de gran laus no•n say formir,
Mas si ano mulhs joys poc florir,
Aquest dau sobre totz granar
E part los autres esmerar,
Si cum sol brus jorns esclarzir.

Ane mais no poc hom faisonar
Co'n, en voler ni en dezir
Ni en pensar ni en conzir;
Aitals joys no pot par troubar,
E qui bo•l volria lauzar
D'un an no y poiri' avenir.

Totz joys li dey humiliar,
Et tota ricor obezir
Mi domn, per son belh acuilhir
E per son belh plazent esguar;
E deu hom mais cent ens durar
Qui•l joy de s'amor pot sazir.

Per son joy pot malauta sanar,
E per sa ira son morir
E savis hom enfolezir
E belhs hom sa beutat mudar
E•l plus cortes vilanejar
E totz vilns encortezir.

Plus hom pensor no•n pot troubar
Ni huelhs vezir ni boca dir,
A mos ops la vuolh retenir,
Per lo cor dedins refrescar
E per la carn renovellar,
Que no puesca envellezir.

Si•m vol mi dons s'amor donar,
Pros suy del pen' o del grazir
E del colar o del blandir
E de mos plazers dir e far
E de mos prets tener en car
E de mon laus enavantir.

Ren per autruy non l'aus mandar,
Tal paor ay qu'ados o'auzir,
Ni iou mezeyn, tan tem falhir,
Ho l'aus m'amor fort annoblar;
Mas olha•n dou mo mielhs triar,
Pus say qu'ab lieyn ai a guerir.

par 4 (1) Spirit p.91

(2) 2.5.69 ff.

par 5 (1) Cf. above, 3 note 2: 'A mos ops la vuelh retenir'.

(2) However, cf. 'Le problème de "midons"', an essay by Dr W.H. Hackett in Mélanges de philologie romane, Liège 1971, p.290: 'pour les troubadours midons n'appartenait pas au langage de la soumission féodale'; 'Le mot don ne s'y trouve d'ailleurs qu'une fois dans les chartes au sens de "seigneur féodal".'

(3) Gregory VII proclaimed the supremacy of the religious over the civil power in 1075; cf. Thouzellier Hérésie p.5

par 7 (1) Bezzola Origines II.2.

(2) Spirit p.96

par 8 (1) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. XI; cf. Richard Comtes I.505; this song is in fact not from his deathbed but on the occasion of the Crusade.

(2) Ordoric Vital quoted Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy p.iv

(3) William of Malmesbury quoted ibid.

(4) Geoffroy de Vigeois quoted Bezzola Origines II.2.271 note.

(5) P. Rajna 'Guglielmo conte di Poitiers, trovatore bifronte', in Mélanges Jeanroy, Paris 1928, pp.349-60.

par 9 (1) Pacaut Louis VII p.60.

(2) Louis Zukovsky, interview in The Guardian 14 May 1969.

par 10 (1) Cf. e.g. V. de Sola Pinto, Enthusiast in Wit, London 1962, p.xxi.

par 11 (1) Trans. Found as The Natural Philosophy of Love (Gallup A22); cf. Gourmont on love in o.c. 2.5.64 ff.

par 12 (1) Or 'about anything else'.

(2) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. IV:

Farai un vers de dreyt nien:
Non er de mi ni d'autra gen,
Non er d'amor ni de joven,
Ni de ren au,
Qu'ennuns fo trobatz en durmen
Sobre chevau.

No sai en qual hora·m fuy natz:
 No suy alegres ni iratz,
Ne suy estrayns ni sui privatz,
Ni no·n puesc au,
Qu'enaissi fuy de nueitz fadatz,
Sobr' un puog au.

No sai quora·m suy endurmitz
Ni quora·m velh, s'om no m'o ditz.
Per paur no m'es lo cor partitz
D'un dol corau;
E no m'o protz una soritz,
Per sanh Marsau!

Malautz suy e tremi morir,
E ren no·n sai mas quam n'aug dir;
Metge querrai al miou albir,
E no sai cau;
Dos metges or mi·m pot guerir,
Mas non, si anau.

Amigu'ai ieu, no sai qui s'os,
Qu'anc non la vi, ni m'ajut fos;
Ni·m fos que·m plasca ni que·n pes,
Ni no·m'en cau,
Qu'anc non ac lierman ni /read: ni/ Frances
Dins mon ostau.

Anc non la vi et am la fort,
Anc no n'aic dreyt ni no·n fes tort;
Quan non la vey, bo m'en deport,
Ne·n preta un jau,
Qu'ie·n sai gensor et bellazor,
E que mais vau.

Fag ai lo vers, no say de cuy;
E trametrai lo a celuy
Que lo·m trametra per autruy
Lay vers Anjau,
Que·n trametes del siou estuy
La contraclau.

par 13 (1) Bezzola Origines II.2.296 note, 297.

(2) Ibid.

par 14 (1) E.C. D. Dunting Collected Poems, London 1970, p.97.

par 15 (1) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. III.

(2) Ibid. no. II.

(3) Ibid. nos. VI, I, V.

(4) Ibid. no. XI; cf. however above, par. 8 note 1.

(5) Fennyn p.344.

(6) Cf. o.c. 2.6.13 ff.

par 16 (1) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. VII:

Pus vezem de novelh florir
Pratz e vergiers reverdezir,
Plus e fontanas esclarzir,
Auras e vens,
Ben deu quascus lo joy jauzir
Don es jauzens.

D'Amor non dey dire mas be.
Quar no n'ai ni petit ni re?
Quar ben leu plus no n'en cove;
Foro leumens
Dons gran joy qui be•n mante
Los aizimens.

A totz jorns m'es pres enaisi
Qu'ano d'aquo qu'amley non jauzi,
Ni o farey ni ano no fi.
Qu'az escient
Fas mantas ren que•l cor me di:
"Tot es mions."

Per tal n'ai•meyns de bon saber
Quar vuelh so que no puesc aver,
E si•l reproviers no dits ver
Certanamens:
"A bon coratge bon poder,
Qui'n bon suffrens."

Ja no sera nuills hom bon fis
Contr'Amor si non l'es sobtils,
Et als estranhs et als vezis
Non es corteis,
Et a totz sols d'aicels aizis
Obedients.

Obediensa dou portar
A motas gens qui vol anar,
E covon li que sapcha far
Faigz avinens,
E que·s gart en cort de parlar
Vilanamens.

Del vers vos dig que mais en vau
Qui bon l'entan ni plus l'esgau,
Que·l mot non fag tug per egau
Cominalmens,
E·l sonetz, qu'leu mezeis me·n lau,
Bos e valens.

A Narbona, mas ieu no·i vau,
Sia.l prezens
Mos vers, e vuolh que d'aquest lau
N sia guirens.

Non Lateve, mas ieu no·i vau,
Sia·l prezens
Mos vers e vuelh que d'aquest lau
Sia guirens.

par 17 (1) See above, par. 8 note 1; cf. e.g. Bec Petite Anthologie p.67: (this poem and another show that Guillem) 'avait aussi des moments de vrai lyrisme et d'exquise tendresse.'

(2) Bezzola Origines II.2.301.

par 18 (1) William of Tyre quoted Kelly Eleanor p.72.

par 20 (1) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. VIII.

(2) Ibid. 1.17:

Morrai, pel cap sanh Gregori

11.27-8:

Totz lo joys del mon es nostre,
Dompna, s'anduy nos amam.

par 21 (1) See above, par. 17 note 1; Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. XI

Ab la dolchor del temps novel
Foillo li bosc, e li aucel
Chanton chascus en lor lati
Segon lo vers del novel chan;
Adonc esta ben c'om s'aisi
D'acho don hom a plus talan.

De lai don plus m'es bon e bel
Non vei mesager ni sagel,
Per que mon cors non dorm ni ri,
Ni no m'aus traire adonan,
Tro qe sacha ben de la fi
S'ol' en aissi com eu deman.

La nostr' amor vai enaissi
Com la branca de l'albespi
Qu'esta sobre l'arbre tremblan,
La nuoit, a la ploja ez al gel,
Tro l'endeman, que.l sols s'esclan
Per las fueillas verz e.l ramel.

Enquer me membra d'un matin
Que nos fezem de guerra fi,
E que.m donet un don tan gran,
Sa drudari' e son anel!
Enquer me lais Dieus viure tan
C'aja mas manz sotz so mantel!

Qu'eu non ai soing d'estraing latin
Que.m parta de mon Bon Vezi,
Qu'eu sai de paraulas com van
Ab un brau sermon que s'espel,
Que tal se van d'amor gaban,
Nos n'avem la penca e.l coutel.

par 22 (1) Dante Inferno 2.127.

(2) Cf. 2.5.30-41.

(3) Below, par.40.

par 23 (1) Essays p.102.

par 24 (1) Cf. e.g. 2.3.28 ff, 2.6.13 ff.

par 25 (1) Cf. above, par. 12.

(2) Cf. above, par. 16-19.

(3) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. IX.

(4) Ibid. no. XI.

(5) Ibid. no. VII.

par 27 (1) Cf. also Richard Coeur I.302 ff, the standard biography.

(2) For all this material see Bezzola Origines II.2.278 ff.

par 29 (1) Bezzola Origines II.2.230.

par 30 (1) Ibid. II.2.291.

(2) Gourmont Latin Mystique p.40.

(3) Bezzola Origines II.2.290.

par 31 (1) Geoffroy de Vigeois quoted Bezzola Origines II.2.271 note.

(2) Ibid.

(3) William of Malmesbury quoted ibid. II.2.273 note.

par 32 (1) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. VI

Farai un vers pos mi sonolh
E·m vauc e m'estauc al sololh.
Domnas i a de mal connelh,
E cal dir cals:
Cellas c'amor de cavalier
Tornon a mals.

Domna fai gran pechat mortel
Qe no ama cavalier leal;
Mas s'ama o monge o clergal,
Non a raizo:
Per dreg la deuri hom cremar
Ab un tezo.

(2) Bezzola Origines II.2.295.

(3) Ibid. II.2.296-7.

(4) Ibid. II.2.297; cf. above, par. 12.

par 33 (1) Ibid. II.2.317.

par 34 (1) Cf. above, par. 3

(2) Bezzola Origines II.2.270 ff, for all this material

par 35 (1) Fiedler Love and Death pp.49 ff.

par 38 (1) Ibid. p.46

(2) Ibid. p.49

par 39 (1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid. p.50 ff.

par 40 (1) Essays p.94.

(2) 1.1.41 ff.

(3) Spirit p.41

par 41 (1) Canto VI p.25; cf. Appendix One par. 2, and 2.7.9 ff.

(2) Near Perigord; cf. 2.4.57 ff.

(3) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no. V.

(4) Canto VIII p.36 (publ. July 1923, Gallup C652).

(5) Cf. Essays p.109.

(6) Cf. esp. Dronke Medieval lyric pp.70-4, 86 ff.

par 42 (1) Cf. 2.6.3.

(2) Spirit p.39

par 43 (1) The date given Spirit p.87 note is incorrect; cf. Gallup C55.

(2) Quest IV.1 (Oct 1912) (Gallup C55); cf. 2.4.93, 2.5.59, 3.1.13.

(3) 2.5.49 ff; 3.1.1 ff.

(4) Spirit p.94

(5) Ibid. p.97.

par 44 (1) Ibid. p.94.

(2) Ibid. p.97.

(3) Ibid. p.90

(4) Ibid. p.94.

par 45 (1) Ibid. p.98.

(2) Ibid. p.99.

(3) Ibid. p.90

(4) 3.1.1 ff.

par 46 (1) Ibid. p.90

(2) Ibid. p.91

par 47 (1) Zielinski Sibylle p.10.

(2) Fragments and Divagations (Postscript to The Natural Philosophy...) p.214. Cf. esp. 2.5.69 ff.

(3) Fiedler Love and Death p.49.

NOTES TO SECTION TWO

CHAPTER TWO: DESCENDANTS OF GUILHEM IX

par 1 (1) Cf. Corcamon Poésies ed. Jeanroy p.vi, Marcabrun Poésies ed. Dejeanne p.30.

(2) Bezzola Origines II.2.316.

(3) Corcamon Poésies ed. Jeanroy pp.vi, 22.

(4) Canto XXVII p.137.

par 2 (1) Clédat Bertran pp.10-11.

(2) Bernart Lieder ed. Appel pp.ix-x. For Gui cf. Bezzola Origines II.2.260-2.

(3) Bernart Lieder ed. Appel p.xi.

(4) Ibid. p.xvii.

(5) Stronski Bertran p.35.

par 3 (1) Richard Comtes 1.488, Bezzola Origines III.1.255.

(2) Canto VII p.20; cf. Edwards and Vance Annotated Index p.262.

(3) C. de Barri quoted Bezzola Origines III.1.84.

(4) Canto II p.10.

par 4 (1) Bezzola Origines II.2.317.

par 5 (1) Kelly Eleanor p.23.

par 6 (1) Bezzola Origines II.2.325. For the crusade cf. Kelly Eleanor p.23 ff. Sutton Crusades 1.463 ff.

par 7 (1) Canto VI p.25; cf. Aprendix One par. 4.

par 8 (1) Kelly Eleanor p.36.

(2) Kelly Eleanor p.60.

(3) Bezzola Origines III.1.258 note.

par 9 (1) Canto VI p.25; cf. Appendix One par. 5.

(2) Ramsay Foundations 2.444-5.

par 10 (1) Ibid.

(2) Ramsay Empire p.1.

par 11 (1) Pound's phrase from Dante, cf. e.g. Impact p.202, and translated 'direction of the will' in Jefferson and/or Mussolini p.17. Dante, De Vulgari Eloquentia ii.2., cf. 2.5.10.

(2) Bezzola Origines III.1.13.

(3) Ramsay Empire pp.81, 190

(4) Bezzola Origines III.1.14.

(5) Jeanroy Poésie 1.161.

(6) Ibid. 1.153

par 12 (1) 2.3.1 ff.

(2) This remark in fact made about Lustra; Letters to John Quinn 24 Jan 1917.

(3) Letters to Margaret C. Anderson c. May 1917, 7 Jan 1918.

Par 14 (1) Cf. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd ed. Cambridge Mass. 1957, p.811.

(2) Appel Bertran pp.5-6.

par 15 (1) Cf. esp 2.3.1 ff.

(2) Cf. Social Credit p.4.

(3) Confucius/Analects 19.VII.

par 16 (1) See the unremarked note Bernart Lieder ed. Appel p.lvii ff, on the meeting between Bernart and Chrétien.

(2) Appel Bertran pp.18-19

par 18 (1) Ramsay Remira p.163 ff.

par 19 (1) Cop. Walker Eleanor, Kelly Eleanor, R. Pernoud Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Paris 1965; the factual content of which works is nonetheless sound.

(2) Bezzola Origines III.1.254.

(3) Jeanroy Poésie 1.151 note.

par 20 (1) Cf. Bezzola Origines III.1.152, 255; Jeanroy Poésie 1.151 note; Bernart Lieder ed. Appel no. 33.

par 21 (1) Spirit p.97.

(2) Bezzola Origines III.1.265-6.

(3) Jeanroy Poésie 1.151.

(4) Ibid. note.

(5) E.g. C. de Barri quoted Bezzola Origines III.1.84

par 22 (1) Letters to John Drummond 18 Feb 1932.

(2) Canto II p.10.

(3) Canto VII p.28. For all this matter on Eleanor cf. 2.7.17.

(4) Canto II p.10.

(5) Kulchur pp.115,194.

(6) Letters to Harriet Monroe 27 Dec 1931.

par 23 (1) Cf. Bezzola Origines III.1.84.

(2) Ibid. III.1.83 note.

par 24 (1) Ramsay Empire p.119 ff.

(2) Eyton Itinerary pp.110-9

(3) Ramsay Empire p.119.

(4) Canto VI p.25; cf. Appendix One par. 5, 2.7.11.

par 25 (1) Eyton Itinerary p.41

(2) Ramsay Empire p.17.

(3) Canto VI pp.25-6; cf. Appendix One par.6.

(4) Ramsay Empire p.23.

par 26 (1) Ibid. p.119 ff.

(2) Ibid. p.165.

par 27 (1) Ibid. p.213.

(2) 2.4.1 ff.

(3) Ramsay Empire p.244.

par 28 (1) Ibid. p.265.

(2) Ibid. p.289

(3) Canto VI p.26; cf. Appendix One par. 7.

par 29 (1) Ramsay Empire p.289.

(2) Ibid. p.334.

(3) Ibid. p.403-4.

NOTES TO SECTION TWO

CHAPTER THREE: BERNART DE VENTADORN

par 1 (1) Cf. 2.7.8, 15, and Appendix One par.8.

par 2 (1) 2.2.12.

(2) Cf. 1.1.21 note 1.

(3) Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no.29:

Si·l rois engles o·l duc normans
o vol, eu la veirai abans
que l'iverns nos sobreprenda.

Pel roi sui engles e normans,
e si no fos Nos Azimans,
rostera tro part calenda.

(4) Ibid:

Faihz es lo vers tot a randa,
si que nots no·i doschapdolha,
outra la terra normanda,
part la fera mar prionda;
e si·m sui de midons lonhdns,
vas se·m tira cos azimans
la bela cui Dous defenda.

(5) Cf. Ramsay Empire p.176.

(6) Bernart Lieder ed. Appel pp.lv-lvii.

(7) Ibid.

par 3 (1) Cf. ibid. pp.xxxiv-xxxv.

(2) Cf. ibid. p.197 note.

(3) Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no.10:

No cal coras mais vos veirai;
mas vau m'en irats e marritz.
Per vos me sui del roi partitz,
e prec vos que no·m sia dans,
qu'e·us serai en cort prezentiers
entre doznas e chavalers,
frances e doutz et umilians.

Huguet, mos cortes messatgers
chantatz ma chanso volontiers
a la reina dels Normans.

par 4 (1) 2.4.1 ff.

(2) Pacaym p.122; cf. 2.5.116.

(3) Cf. 2.4.95 ff.

par 5 (1) Near Perigord.

(2) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.23:

Vai, Papiols, adoa tost e corrons,
A Trilnac sias anz do la festa;

Di•m a'n Rotgier et a totz coa parens
Qu'icu no trop mais "onba" ni "on" ni "osta".

(3) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no.XVII; though Toja notes ibid. p.10 that Guilhem de Durfort and Uc de Saint-Circ also used this form. Found'a awareness of this particular form as a test for a poet is shown in Canton (Lantra) III p.198:

I've strained my ear for -onna, -ombra, and -oman,
And cracked my wit on delicate canzoni

—and in his remarks on its syntax in Letters to Felix Scholling 8 and 9 Jul 1922.

(4) Appel Bertran p.82.

(5) Cf. below, par.10, 11.

par 6 (1) Canto IV p.19.

(2) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no.IV.

(3) Cf. on this whole question 2.5.116.

(4) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no.XVI.

(5) Giraut Lieder ed. Kolsen no.19.

(6) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.17:

Nels qui l'on corchan
Per tot a gaman
Del Nil tro•l solelh colgan.

par 7 (1) E.g. Stronski Folquet p.43*.

(2) Cf. Bernart Lieder ed. Appel p.lix.

(3) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja pp.9, 11; Bernart Lieder ed. Appel p.lix.

(4) Clédat Bertran pp.22, 92; cf. Appel Bertran p.4 note.

par 8 (1) Canto VI p.26; cf. Appendix One par.8, and esp. Pound's idea of Eleanor as focus for all three troubadours, 2.4.89-90, 2.7.16-18.

(2) For Arnaut and Richard see below, par.10, 11; for Bertran's relations with the princes see 2.4.1 ff.

par 9 (1) Stock Life p.118.

(2) Clédat Bertran p.92.

(3) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.190.

(4) Nanays p.109.

(5) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.14.

(6) For instance, Stronski Folquet p.3* ff. and Rainbaut Works ed. Pattison p.25 ff. have confirmed the information in the vidas that Folquet de Marseille's father came from Genoa, and that Rainbaut d'Orange possessed Courthezon. This information is highly-specific and could not be inferred from any general considerations. By contrast, the 'romans d'amour' constructed by the vida-writers do not normally contain any but the most general indications of locale.

(7) Bertran Poésies ed. Thomas pp.xlvi-xlvii.

(8) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.25.

par 10 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.15-16.

(2) Cf. translation, 2.6.111.

(3) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.11.

(4) Essays p.110.

(5) Cf. 2.4.104-7.

par 11 (1) Stronski Folquet p.ix.

(2) Cf. above, par.9 note 6.

(3) Cf. ibid.

(4) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja note to no.XII line 51. Note that a Bernart de Durfort, presumably a close relative of the

Raimon de Durfort with whom Arnaut has a loud verse-debate (cf. 2.5.2-4), and, I would have thought, in fact the same person as the 'Bernart de Cornilh' (probably a punning name) there referred to, was on exchange-of-genital (verse-name) terms with Raimon V of Toulouse. Cf. Shepard '"Debat"' p.150, Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja pp.170-184, and below, par. 12 note 4.

(5) On loyalty cf. 1.2.34 s.v. Hauleon. Note also that Richard was an accomplished troubadour; cf. Bronke Medieval Lyric p.212.

par 12 (1) 2.5.1.

(2) In fact above, par.6.

(3) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no.XVIII; cf. ibid. p.10 note.

(4) Stronski Folquet p.27*.

(5) Ibid. p.34* note.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no.XVIII:

Arnautz tramet sa chanson d'ongl'e d'onele,
a grat de lieis que de sa vergl'a l'arma,
son Deslrat, cui prets en cambra intra.

(8) Cf. ibid. note to 11.38-9.

(9) Cf. 2.4.89-90, 2.7.16-18.

par 14 (1) E.g. New Age Dec 7 1911.

(2) Cf. Visiting Card p.25 (the ABC grew out of How to Read, cf. ABC p.11).

par 15 (1) Cf. Pound's ideas, 2.4.89-90, 2.7.16-18.

(2) Cf. Appendix to this Chapter, 2.3.48.

(3) Letters to Katue Kitasono 11 Mar 1937.

(4) Noore Young King p.43.

(5) Cf. Bernart Lieder ed. Appel pp.254-5.

(6) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographien p.408.

par 16 (1) New Age 21 Dec 1911.

(2) Jeanroy Poésie 2.49.

(3) Letters to W.C. Williams 21 Oct 1908, which is not specifically about Provence, but cf. Spirit p.31.

par 18 (1) Cf. Fenaya p.153 for a similar conjunction of artists.

(2) Kulchur p.28.

par 19 (1) Spirit p.166 note.

(2) Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no.14.

(3) F. Villon Oeuvres ed. A. Longnon, Paris 1932, 'Testament' ll.533-4.

(4) Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no.29.

(5) Ibid. no.14:

...ni l'erba nais delone la fon
...De l'agra por fol qui'n dizes
tro aras, qu'on sui tan prion,
que ja'm tengues tan doziron
anors qu'eu morir on poyues

(6) Ibid. no.44.

(7) Canto VII p.30.

par 20 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.22; cf. Appendix to this Chapter, 2.3.48.

(2) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.7.

(3) Ibid. no.11.

(4) Ibid. no.40.

par 21 (1) Cf. Confucius p.20, and 3.2.23 ff.

(2) 2.5.49 ff.

(3) Spirit p.150; cf. 2.1.22.

(4) 2.3.48.

(5) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no.XIII.

par 22 (1) Above, par.16.

(2) E.g. New Age 21 Dec 1911, Spirit p.97. Cf. Appendix Three par.10.

(3) Essays p.154.

(4) Cf. Appendix Three par.18 ff.

(5) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.6.

(6) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no.IX.

(7) Canto XX p.94.

par 23 (1) Essays p.394.

par 24 (1) Translations p.237.

(2) Women of Trachis p.66; cf. Kulchur p.93.

par 25 (1) Essays p.155.

(2) E.g. Canto LXXVI p.405.

(3) Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no.31.

(4) Canto XCI p.644; cf. 1.2.26.

(5) Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no.24.

(6) Letters to Agnes Bedford Oct 1920.

par 26 (1) Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no.24.

(2) Cantos XI p.93, XCII p.652, XCV p.670.

par 27 (1) Kulchur p.59.

(2) Letters to James Vogel 23 Jan 1929.

par 28 (1) ABC p.39.

(2) 2.5.30 ff.

(3) ABC p.55.

(4) Spirit p.166 note.

par 29 (1) Cf. Letters to Felix Schelling 9 Jul 1922: 'I can't count six people whom I have succeeded in interesting in XIIth Century Provence.'

(2) Spirit p.89.

par 30 (1) Ezraym p.307; cf. his impressions on meeting Joyce: 'the real man is the author of Chamber Music, the sensitive. The rest is the genius; the registration of realities on the temperament...' (Letters to John Quinn 19 Jun 1920).

(2) Bernart Chanconn ed. Lazar nos. 16, 13, 37, 36, 34, 23, 21, 20.

(3) Ibid. no.36:

Al Deus can bona for' amors
de dos amics, s'esser pogues
que ja us d'aquests enveyos
los amistat no conogues!

par 31 (1) Ibid. no.37:

Mas fals lauzengor enpres
m'an lunhat de so pais,
que tals s'en fai esdevis
qu'eu cuidera que•ns colos
si•ns saubes tan d'un coratge.

par 32 (1) Ibid. no.20:

Parlar degrem ab coberta entresens,
e, pus no•ns val arditz, valgues nos gens!

(2) Ibid. no.37:

Car no parria, anos
nulhs om que d'amor s'aizis,
qar por colar es on fis
o•n catai de joi plus pros.

(3) Ibid. no.38:

Ja per drudaria
no m'an, que no•s cove

(4) Ibid:

poro si•lh plazia
que•m fezes cal que bo,
ou li juraria
per loia o per ma fo,
que•l bon que•m faria
no fos caubuta per mo.

par 33 (1) Ibid. no.10:

qu'e•us serai en cort prezentera
entre domnas e chavalers,
franca e doutz et umilians.

(2) Ibid. no.23:

Main a d'Amor que domneya
ab orgolh et ab enjan
que cel que tot jorn merceya
ni•s vai trop umilian;
e'a penas vol Amors celui
qu'es franca e fis, si con eu sui.

(3) Ibid. no.19:

C'ab sol lo bel semblan que•m fai
can pot ni aizes lo•lh consen,
ni tan de joi que sol no•n sen,
e'aissi•m torn e•m volv' e•n viro

par 34 (1) Ibid. no.20:

Tan am midons e la tenh car,
e tan la dopt' e la reblan
e'anc de me no•lh auzei parlar,
ni re no•lh quer ni re no•lh man.

(2) Ibid. no.40:

e'arau n'a dat cor e talen
qu'eu enquenos, si podia,
tal que, si•l reis l'enqueria,
auria faih gran ardimen...
Ja per me no no sabra qu'eu n'ai
ni autre no l'en dira re.

par 35 (1) Ibid. no.13:

Pois tant es douss' e fin' e pura,
gran paor ai qu'azesmo sa valor

(2) Ibid. no.38:

Bo douri' auciro
qui ano fota miradors!
Can bo m'o cossiro,
no•n ai guerrer poyor.
Ja•l jorn qu'ela•s miro
ni pons de sa valor,
no sorni jauzire
de lois ni de s'amor.

par 36 (1) Ibid. no.13:

Pero bo sai c'uzatgos es d'amor
o'on o'ama bo non a gaire de son.

(2) Ibid. no.41:

El mon non es mas una ros
per qu'eu joya pogues aver;
e d'aquela no•n aurai ges,
ni d'autra no•n pose ges voler.
Pero si ai por lois valor e sen,
e•n sui plus gai e•n teno mo cors plus gen,
car s'ilh no fos, ja no m'en moir' en plai!

par 37 (1) ABC p.29.

par 38 (1) Letters to John Quinn 10 Jan 1917.

par 39 (1) Cf. Pound's remarks on one of the 'Confucian Odes': 'There is no progress from this form. Here the actual author speaks; in Browning's Personae the speaker is an imagined character.' (Confucius to Cummings p.8).

par 40 (1) Bernart Chanzons ed. Lazar no.13.

(2) Ibid. no.32.

(3) Ibid. no.30.

(4) Ibid. no.36.

(5) Stronski Folquet p.60*.

(6) Bernart Lieder ed. Appel p.xxviii.

(7) Bernart Chanzons ed. Lazar no.42:

Norta venh' a sel qui'n vol blasmar
qu'eu no l'an norta e sebolitz!

Cf. also examples in Bernart Liedor ed. Appel p.xxvii.

par 41 (1) 2.4.74 ff; cf. 2.5.3-5.

(2) Bernart Chanzons ed. Lazar no.18:

Mas eu sui cai, alhor,
e no cai com l'estai!

par 42 (1) Fiedler Love and Death p.47.

(2) Ibid. pp.49-50.

par 43 (1) Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no.30:

Truans volh escer per s'amor,
e cove c'ab leis aprenda

(2) Ibid. no.31:

D'aisso·s fa bo femna parer
na domna, per qu'e·lh o retrai,
car no vol so c'on deu voler,
o so c'on li deveda, fai.

(3) Ibid:

Ane non aqui do no podor
ni no fui meus do l'or en sai
quo·n laisset en son olhs vezer
en un miralh quo nout no plai.
Miralhs, pus no mirai en to,
n'an mort li soupir de preon,
e'aissi·m perdoi com perdet so
lo bels Narcisus en la fon.

(4) Ibid. no.7:

mas mas jonchas li venh a so plazer,
e ja no·n volh mais d'a nos pes movor,
tro per merce·n meta lai o·s despolha.

(5) Ibid. no.23:

Mal o fara, si no·n manda
venir lai on so despolha,

qu'eu sia per sa comanda
pres del leih, jonta l'esponda,
o·lh traya·ls sotlars bo chaussans,
a genolhs et umilians,
si·lh plats quo son pes no tenda.

Bernart Lieder ed. Appel no.26 note observes that this is from Ovid Ars Amatoria II.211.

(6) Bernart Chansons ed. Lazar no.24:

Bo sai la noih, can no despolh,
el leih qu'eu no dormirai re.

(7) Ibid. no.4:

Anar pose nes vestidura,
nutz en ma chamiza,
car fin' amors n'asegura
de la froja biza.

par 44 (1) Fiedler Love and Death pp.47-8. This point, it seems to me, also invalidates the general thesis of R. Nelli, L'Erotique des Troubadours, Toulouse 1963, where it is suggested that the troubadours carefully avoided making love. The approach is similar to that of Rougemont L'Amour et l'Occident. Given that they were 'unconscious self-castrators', and given the abundance of physical sexuality that I have pointed out (cf. above, par.41), it is clear that the psychological barriers we see at their highest in Bernart could be closely involved (as obviously with Bertran de Born) with activities leading to sex. Cf. 2.4.66 ff.

par 45 (1) Spirit p.94; what follows is condensed from the essay 'Psychology and Troubadours' in Spirit pp.87 ff. Cf. 2.5.69 ff.

(2) Spirit p.96.

(3) Ibid. p.97.

par 46 (1) Cf. Kulchur p.294.

NOTES TO SECTION TWO

CHAPTER FOUR: BERTRAN DE BORN

par 1 (1) Cf. 2.4.110, 120.

par 2 (1) Dante Inferno 28.112 ff.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid; cf. Lamentations 1.12.

(4) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.2; cf. 2.5.10.

(5) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.28.

par 3 (1) Cf. esp. Raimbaut Works ed. Pattison p. 7 ff.

(2) Appel Bertran p. 19.

par 4 (1) Raimbaut Works ed. Pattison p. 7.

par 5 (1) Ramsay Empire p. 103.

(2) Benoît de Peterborough quoted Clédat Bertran p.41.

(3) Gervaise de Canterbury quoted ibid; Robert de Torigni quoted Ramsay Empire p.212 note.

(4) Cf. below, par. 30.

(5) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.11:

Puois Ventadorns e Comborns ab Segur
E Torena e Monfortz ab Gordo
An fach acort ab Peirogoro e jur,
E li borges si clauen de viro,
M'es bel qu'ieu chan e qu'ieu m'en entremeta
D'un sirventes per lor asnegurar;
Qu'ieu no vuelh ges, sia min Toleta,
Per qu'ieu segur non i auzen estar.

Al Puoi-Guilhem e Clarenz e Granhol
E Saint-Antier, mout avetz gran onor,
Et ieu mezeis, qui conoisser la·n vol,
Et /a sobrier Engolesmen/ maior
D'en Charretier que guerpis la charreta
(Non a denier ni no·n pren ses paor),

Por qu'ab onor pretz mais pauchia torrota
Que gran ongler tener a dessonor...

Entre Peitous e la Isla-Bochart
E Mirabel e Laudu e Chino,
A Clarauvals an bastit nos ropart
Un bel chanlar e nos on pla chanbo;
Mas no vuolh gos, lo re[illegible] capcha ni lo veia
Lo jovon rois, que no·lh cabria bo;
Mas paor ai, puois que tan fort blanchoia,
Que lo voira bo de Mntafolo.

Del roi Folip cabren bo, ai paireia
O s'el segra los usatges Charlo
D'on fadet gran Talhafer, que per conhor l'autreia
[illegible]
D'Engolesme, et el l'en a fach do.

par 7 (1) Ramsay Empire p.214.

(2) Ibid. pp.214-5.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Aprel no.14:

D'un sirventes no·m chal far lonhor ganda,
Tal talan ai quo·l dija e que l'espanda,
Quar n'ai razo tan fo novela e tan granda
Del jove roi qu'a fenit sa demanda
So frair Richart, puois con pairs l'o comanda;
Tan es forsatz!
Puois n'Anrics terra no te ni manda,
Sia rois dels malvatz!

Que malvatz fai, quar aissi viu a randa
De liurazo a conte et a [illegible] garanda.
Rois coronatz que d'autrui pren liuranda
Fal semblo Arnaut, lo marques de Bollanda,
Si·l pro Guilhelm que conquis Mor Mirmanda,
Tan fo prezatz!
Puois en Peitau lor nen e los truanda,
No·i or mais tan amatz.

Ja per dormir non er de Coberlanda
Rois dels Engles si conquerra Yrlanda
Ni terra Angious ni Monsaurel ni Canda
Ni de Peitious non aura la miranda;
Ni dues clamatz de la terra normanda
Si er cons palatz
Sai de Bordels ni dels Gascos part Landa
Sonher ni [illegible] de Basatz.

Conselh vuolh dar el so de n'Alamanda
Lai a'n Richart, si tot no lo·n demanda;
Ja per so fo frair mais son cors no blanda.
Honca'o fai el, anz camotja o·ls aranda,
Tol lor chastels e derocha et abranda
Dovos totz latz.
E·l rois tornei l[illegible]i ab [illegible] cels de Garlanda
E l'autre, sos conhatz.

Lo coms Jaufres, cui es Tresilianda,
Volgra fos l' primiers natz,
Quar es cortes, e fos en sa comanda
Toiesmes e duchatz.

par 8 (1) Ramsay Empire p.214.

par 9 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.19:

/Cad'en/ mi laissan derrier,
Quan m'an mes en la roselada
Li gentil e li lenior.
Puois qu'an ma terra edernada
Et arsa et abrasada,
Mizon cilh del Colombier
Qu'on prenda dreoh, si m'agrada.

(2) Quoted Appel Bertran p.37.

par 10 (1) Ramsay Empire p.214.

(2) Cf. Appel Bertran p.6 ff; also below, par. 66 ff.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.10:

Ges no mi desconort,
S'ieu ai perdut,
Que no chan e'n deport
E no m'aiut
Com cobres Autafort,
Qu'ieu ai rendut
Al senhor de Niort,
Quar l'a volgut.
E puois en [illegible] merceian
Li cui vonguts donan,
E'l coms en perdonan
M'a retengut baisan,
Ges no'i dei aver dan,
Que que'n disnes antan,
Ni lauzengier no blan.

Ves mi con perjurat
Trei palazi
E'lh quatre vescontat
De Lemozi
E li dui penchenat
Peiregorzi
E li trei comte fat
Engolmosi...

Lo conte vuolh prejar
Que ma maiso
Mi coman a gardar
O que la'm do...

(4) Ibid. no.20:

Mos parsoniers on tan galhartz
Qu'el vol la torra mos enfans;
Et iou vuolh l'on dar, tan mui cartz...

Mo•n chal d'Autafort
Mais far drech ni tort,
Que•l jutjamon croi
Mo nonhor lo roi.

par 11 (1) Ibid. no.26.

(2) Ibid. no.27.

(3) Appel Bertran p.54; Ramsay Papiro p.240.

(4) Appel Bertran p.54.

par 12 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.31 11.17-18.

(2) Appel Bertran pp.58-60.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.42.

par 13 (1) Dante Inferno 28.35.

par 14 15 (1) Spirit p.45.

(2) Clédat Bertran p.22, quoting the Cartulary of Dalon, Raimbaut Works ed. Pattison pp.13-17.

(3) Cf. above, par. 9.

(4) Ibid.

par 16 (1) Moore Young King pp.48-61.

(2) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.13:

Tot jorn recolli o retalh
Los baros e•ls refon e•ls calh,
Que cujava metre en oissart.

(3) Ibid. no.27:

Farai chanzo tal que, quan or aprosa,
A cadun cora tart que guerrai.

Cf. Appel Bertran p.50.

par 17 (1) Cf. 1.1.19 ff.

(2) Folquet Stronski p.67*.

(3) Ibid. p.68*.

par 18 (1) Moore Young King p.38.

(2) Ibid. p.47.

par 19 (1) Ibid. pp.35-9.

(2) Ibid. pp.38-47.

par 20 (1) Ibid. p.39; cf. above, par.16.

par 21 (1) Bertran Lledor od. Appel no.13:

Que lor enfan, si'l reis no'ls part,
M'auran pro en la coralha.

(2) Moore Young King p.41.

(3) Cf. above, par.5.

(4) Moore Young King p.42.

(5) Ibid. p.40.

(6) Cf. above, par.7.

(7) Moore Young King pp.41-2.

par 22 (1) Ibid. p.74.

par 24 (1) Ibid. p.40.

(2) Ibid. p.42.

(3) Ramsay Empire p.247.

par 25 (1) Appel Bertran p.111.

par 26 (1) Moore Young King pp.40-1.

(2) Cf. esp. Stronski Folquet p.27* ff.

par 27 (1) Moore Young King p.42.

(2) Ibid. p.44.

(3) Ibid. p.45.

(4) Ibid. p.46.

(5) Thus it would be foolish to look for 'personalized' facial characteristics in the Romanesque carving of St Luke at Souillac, or in the characters of the Chanson de Roland. By writing planhs about them Bertran put the young princes into similar contemporary semi-mythical worlds.

par 28 (1) See above, par.21.

(2) Cf. above, par.5, 6; also Appel Bertran p.27 ff.

(3) Appel ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Cf. Bertran Werke ed. Stimming p.154.

(6) Cf. next par.

(7) For 'entre' cf. Levy Petit Dictionnaire s.v.

(8) Cf. Appel Bertran p.65; Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.13:

Un sirventes en vetz no falh
Al fach, qu'anc no·n costet un alh;
Et ai apres un' aital art
Que, s'ai fraire, gerra ni quart,
Part li l'uou e la medalha,
E s'el puois vol la mia part,
Ou l'on got de comunalha.

Tot no·m val tenh dintz mo corralh,
Si tot n'an donat gran trebalh
Entre n'Azemar e·n Richart.
Lonc temps m'an tengut en regart,
Mas aras an tal baralha
Que lor enfan, si·l rein no·ls part,
S'auran pro en la coralha.

(9) Ramsay Empire p.103.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Ibid. p.65 note; cf. Guillaume le Maréchal Histoire ed. Meyer vv.2223 ff.

par 29 (1) Clédat Bertran p.30 note; Bertran Werke ed. Stimming 'Glossary'; cf. Appel Bertran p.29.

par 30 (1) Appel Bertran p.23.

(2) Cf. above, par.5.

(3) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.48:

> ...reprenden lo rei Jove quar el en la guerra
> non era plus prosperos, remembran a lui com
> En Richarts [illegible] l'avia toutas las rendas
> de las carotas...

(4) Norgate Angevin Kings II.222.

(5) Bertran Werke ed. Stimming p.159.

(6) Moore Young King p.38.

(7) Appel Bertran p.25.

par 31 (1) Moore Young King p.40 note.

(2) Above, par.10.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.10; cf. Appel Bertran p.25.

(4) Cf. 2.3.11, esp. note 4.

(5) Clédat Bertran [illegible] p.41; Appel Bertran p.44 note; Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.23.

par 32 (1) Stronski Folquet p.67*.

(2) Essays p.420.

par 35 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.9.

(2) Chaytor Script p.130 ff.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.9:

> E seran i ab nos vengut
> las poestatz o li baro
> E li plus onrat companho
> Del mon e li plus rentaugut;
> Qui por aver, qui por sonz,
> Qui por protz, o'l seran nogut.
>
> E desse que seren vengut,
> Fesclar o'n·l torneis pel champo,
> E·lh Catalan e·lh d'Arago
> Tombaran noven e nmut,
> Que ja no·ls contenran arzo;
> Tan grans colps los ferren nos drut...
>
> Totz temps vuolh que li aut baro
> Sian entre lor irascut.

par 36 (1) Ibid. no.18:

Si·l com m'os avinens
E non avars,
Mout li serai valens
En sos afars

(2) Guillaume le Maréchal Histoire ed. Meyer vv.11355 ff.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.36:

E no·us cujetz qu'ieu fassa motz a vendre;
Mas per rio bar dau en tot jorn contendre!

par 37 (1) Above, par.7.

(2) Moore Young King p.41.

par 38 (1) Above, par.9; Moore Young King p.35 is aware of this.

(2) Cf. above, par.10 esp. note 4; also Appel Bertran p.38.

(3) Cf. above, par.10.

(4) Cf. above, par.28.

(5) Cf. above, par.9; Geoffroy was related to Bertran (Clédat Bertran pp. 10-11).

par 39 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.27:

Cinc duchatz a la corona francesa,
E, si·ls contatz, son a dire li troi.

(2) Appel Bertran p.70 note; Guillaume le Maréchal Histoire ed. Meyer vv.9291 ff.

(3) Meyer ibid. p.xlvii, referring to vv.5715 ff.

(4) For the situation cf. Appel Bertran p.52 ff.

(5) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.31:

Senher Conratz, en sai dos reis qu'estan
Pr[illegible] D'ajudar vos. Ara entendetz qui:
Lo reis Felips es l'us, quar vai doptan
Lo rei Richart; es el lui dopt'aissi.
Ar fon unquecs d'els dos en boia
D'en Saladi, puois vun dieu galian,
Quar son crozat e d'amar mot no fan!...

Senher Conratz, lo reis Richartz val tan

(Si tot, quan · · vuolh, de lui gran mal m'en di)
Qu'el passara ab tal esforta oran
Com far poira, no auch dir tot de fi;
E·l reis Felips on mar poia
Ab autres reis, qu'ab tal esforta venran
Que part l'Arbre-Sec iran conquistan...

· D'en Oc-e-No no·n van ara doptan,
Quar pesa li, si nulha re·lh chasti;
E·l reis frances vai si trop aprimat,
E·t ai paor que venha sobre · · ni;
Mas anc al setge de Troia
Non no tan duc, pr·nce ni emiran
Com ieu ai mes per chantar e non dan.

par 40 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.9:

Lo coms m'a mandat e pogut
Per n'Arnmon Luc d'Esparro
Qu'ieu fassa por lui tal chanzo
On sian tranchat mil escut,
Elm et ausbere et alcoto,
E perponh falsat e romput.

(2) Ibid. no.28:

· · Qu'ieu n'agra colps recoubuts en ma tarja
E fach vermelh do mon gonfano blanc

(3) Ibid. no.40:

De·n platz lo gais temps de pascor,
Que fai fuolhas e flors venir;
E platz mi, · · quan auch la baudor
Dels auzels, que fan retentir
Lor chan por lo boschatge;
E platz mi, quan vei sobrels prats
Tendas e pavilhos formatz;
Et ai gran alegratge,
Quan vei por champanha · · renjatz
Chavaliers e chavals armatz...

Masas e brans, elms de color,
Escutz trunchar e desguarnir
Veiran e l'entrar do l'estor
E maintz vassals encontra ferir,
Don anaran arratge
Chaval dels mortz e dels nafratz.
E quan or en l'estorn entratz,
Chascun on de paratge
No pens mas d'asclar chaps e bratz,
Que mais val morta que viva sobratz.

par 41 (1) Above, par.35.

(2) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.24:

Que·ls aguza e·ls esmol
E·ls tocha coma coutel
Lo senhor que te Bordel,
Man trop son espon denan
E motz deves lo tronchan
E plus leial d'un prior.
Morco de l'esmoledor
Tuit venran a vida otorna.

(3) Ibid. no.29:

E·l reis Folips chassa lai ab falcos
Los passeratz e·ls petits auzelos.
E aioi hemo no·lh ausan dire·l ver,
Quar pauc a pauc al laissa dechazer
Sai a'n Richart...

(4) Above, par.16; Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.15:

Falairans no trota ni salh
Ni no·s muou do son arenalh...

par 42 (1) Ibid. no.35:

Ja no crezatz qu'om ressis
Fuoc de pretz dos eschalos;
Man al estoira do jos
Pot ben estar quets e clis,
Et en aquel qun remanha
Que per nil marca d'esterlis
No·n poiria poiar dos,
Tan·i tem qu'avers li sofranha.

(2) Ibid. no.19:

Oi mais seran ric portier,
Que tenran porta serrada

par 43 (1) In this I follow M.O. Brown, Life Against Death, London 1960, pp.173, 200 ff.

(2) Impact p.13.

(3) Canto CVII p.707.

par 44 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.10:

No·n tenhatz per envazidor,
S'iou vuolh qu'us rics l'autre azir,
Quar mielhs s'on poiran vavassor
E chastela do lor jauzir;
Que plus os frances, larcs e privatz,
Fe qu'ieu vos doi,
Rics om ab guerra que ab patz.

(2) Ibid. no.35:

De·n plats quar troba ni fis
Lo roma entrels barons,
Qu'ados plantavan boissos.
Tan aman orts o jardin,
Mas ab paus de companha,
Semblo·s gardon d'ancessis,
Que ja lai on us d'els fos,
Non entrorats sos mercalanhs!

par 45 (1) Ibid. no.37:

Trompas, tabors, sonhieras e ponos
Et entresenhs e chavals blancs e niers
Veiran en briu, que·l seglos sera bos,
Que on tolra l'avor als usuriers,
E per chamis non anara sazmiers
Jom afiatz ni borjos sec doptanza
Ni merchadiers que venha de vas Franza;
Anz sera rics qui tolra volontiers.

(2) Ibid. no.40:

Baro, mototz on gatge
Chastels e vilas e ciutatz
Enans qu'unques no·us guerrolats!

(3) Essays p.94.

(4) Read 'confusion/ Basis of renewals', Canto XX p.96.

(5) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.39:

Bel m'es, quan vei chanjar lo senhoratge,
Que·lh vielh laissan als joves lor mainos

(6) Bertran Werke ed. Stimming no.40:

Joves on hom que lo siou ben enguatge,
Et es joves, quan es bo sofrachos;
Joves si to, quan pro·lh costan ostatge,
Et es joves, quan fai estragats dos;
Joves si to, quan art l'archa e·l vaissol
E fai entorn e vouta o cembol;
Joves si to, quan li platz domnejar,
Et es joven, quan bo vuolha jogar.

par 47 (1) Giraut de Bouneilles tr. Boyer p.lvii.

(2) Ibid. laisse 637.

(3) Ibid. p.lxxvii.

par 48 (1) Raimbaut Works ed. Pattison p.14.

(2) Ibid. p.13.

(3) Ibid. p.16.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Above, par.9, and par.10 note 4.

par 49 (1) Cambridge Mediaeval History, Cambridge 1957, V.505 ff.

(2) Raimbaut Works ed. Pattison p.16.

(3) Ibid. p.17.

par 50 (1) Ibid. p.18.

(2) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.36:

No•n platz companha de basclos
Ni de las putanas venaus.
Sacs d'esterlis o de moutos
M'es laitz, quan son vengut de-fraus.
E maicuadior escharn douria on pondre
E rio ome, quan son donar vol vendre.
En domn' escharsa no•s douria on entendre
Que por aver pot ploiar et estendre.

(3) Raimbaut Works ed. Pattison p.18.

(4) The Seafarer ed. I.L. Gordon, London 1960, p.44.

(5) Cf. below.

par 51 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.25: (lacunae in MSS)

Verais comn, Alixandres volh
Que•un fassa companhia lui,
Oglers o Paoln de Cambrai,
Rolantz...
Et Oliviers...

(2) Ibid. no.28:

Ho puosc mudar, un chantar non esparja,
Puois n'Oc-e-Ho a nos fuoc e trach sano,
Quar grans guerra fai d'escharn senhor larc,
Per quo•n platz be dels reis veser la bomba,
Que n'aian ops paisno, cordas o pon,
Non aian trop tendut per forn jazer,
Pois encontron a miliers et a com,
Si qu'apres nos en chan hon de la gesta.

(3) Henry V iv.3.

par 52 (1) Girart de Rousillon tr. Meyer p.lxxii.

(2) Bertran Lledor ed. Appel no.37:

En brieu veiren champu jonchats de quartiers
D'elms o d'escutz o de brunc o d'arzon
E de fenduts per bustz tro als braiers

(3) Roland ed. Bédier laisse CIV, where Bédier strangely translates 'Tronchot le coru [?]' as 'trancho la coiffe (?)'.

(4) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.13:

E se·i trop poitavi pifart,
Veiran de mon bran com talha,
Qe eus pol chap li farai bart
De cervel nenclat ab malha.

(5) Roland ed. Bédier laisse CVI.

par 53 (1) Bertran Lledor ed. Appel no.34:

E·l reis Folips anhola ni par,
Qu'alusi·n laissa doserotar.

(2) Roland ed. Bédier laisse CVII.

(3) Cambridge Mediaeval History, Cambridge 1957, V.495.

par 54 (1) Girart de Rousillon tr. Meyer laisse 16.

(2) Bertran Lledor ed. Appel no.17:

Con acolhir e donar aco cor vairo
E bel respon e 'be-siats-vengut'
E gran ostal paiat e gen tengut,
Los e garnirs et estar aco tort fairo

(3) Ibid. no.15:

Lo con venzeren ab feudat
Mon Lonzoi, et envozat,
Que volen qu'om do e ria

par 55 (1) Jeanroy Poésie I.257.

(2) Raimbaut Vaqueiras ed. Pattison p.16.

(3) Girart de Rousillon tr. Meyer p. lxxvii-lxxviii.

par 56 (1) Raimbaut Vaquiras ed. Pattison p.13.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. p.14.

(4) Ibid.

par 57 (1) Ibid. p.17.

(2) Above, par.50 and 45.

(3) Above, par.45.

par 58 (1) Ensenhs p.94; cf. above, par.45.

(2) Cipolla Money p.64.

(3) Guillaume le Maréchal Histoire ed. Meyer vv.2223 ff; cf. also William Rufus' designs on Normandy, put into his hands as security for a loan, Appendix One par.2.

par 59. (1) Ibid. (Guillaume le Maréchal) 11.6805 ff.

(2) Raimbaut Vaquiras ed. Pattison p.16; Ramsay Empire pp.205, 269; though Cohn Millenium pp.79-80 says that the money-lending was not the chief cause of those massacres.

par 60 (1) Girart de Roussillon tr. Meyer p.lxxxviii note.

(2) Raimbaut Vaquiras ed. Pattison p.14.

(3) Ibid. p.13.

par 61 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.53:

Enaps o copas mazanta
Et orzola
D'argen o pairola,
E sec ribleira o forest.
E ai tolia a donava,
No·is blaia
Dola afans!
Prosses o mazans,
Guerra ab tribol
E'on crans.

Appel notes that Stirling, Thomas and all the MSS have 'E aci tolia...'; I follow them.

(2) Girart de Rousaillon tr. Meyer p.lxxv.

par 62 (1) Madalo Cranada p.89.

(2) Girart de Rousaillon tr. Meyer p.lxxv.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.13:

E•n fon hom na torra o la m'art
E• mesola•l gra ab la palha,
E non ai ardit ni coart
Encmic qu'or no m'assalha.

(4) Ibid. no.19:

Puois qu'an na torra adornada
Et arma et abrasada,
Dizon cilh de Colombier
Qu'en preada droch, ai m'agrada.

(5) Girart de Rousaillon tr. Meyer p.lxxii.

(6) For example, the mercenaries who terrorised the countryside when they were demobilised in Périgord by Richard (Ramsay Empire p.212).

(7) Chanson de la Croisade ed. Martin-Chabot laisses 20-22; the nobles in fact took the booty from the 'ribauds', who set fire to the town by way of revenge.

par 63 (1) Above, par.45.

(2) Cipolla Money p.56.

(3) New Age Dec 7 1911.

par 64 (1) Cf. 2.3.38.

par 65 (1) Song of the Bowmen of Shu.

(2) E.g. Malchus p.285.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.34:

E•l reis Felips a abels mi par,
Qu'ainsi•s laissa descrotar.

(4) Ibid. no.27:

Puois als barons enoia o lor poca
D'aquesta patz qu'an facha li dui roi,
Farai chanzo tal quo, quan or apresa,
A cadhu cera tart que guerroi.
E no m'en bol de roi qu'en patz estoi
Dezerotatz ni que perda son droi,
Tro la demanda qu'a fach', a conquesa.

par 66 (1) Cf. 2.2.16.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Appel Bertran p.19.

par 67 (1) Ramsay Empire p.211.

(2) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.7:

Gens, joves cors, francs e verais e fis,
D'aut paratge e de reiau,
Per vos serai estranhs de mon pais
E'n midesal part Anjau.
E, quar es tan sobr' autras sobeirana
Vostre valors, n'er plus au:
Qu'onrada n'er la corona romana,
Si'l vostre chaps s'i enclau.

Ab doutz esgar que'm fetz et ab clar vis
Mi fetz Amors son esclau.
E mon senhor n'ac pros de lieis asnis
Sobr' en foutre emperiau...

(3) Cf. Appel Bertran p.6.

par 68 (1) Eyton Itinerary p.248.

(2) She is identified by 'gaia, lisa lena' also, in the first strophe (a pun on the Helen of Troy celebrated in Benoit de Ste-Maure's Troy poem, dedicated to Matilda's mother; cf. 2.2.14, Appel Bertran pp.7 and 8 note, and Stronski Bertran p.80).

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.8:

Ja mais no er cortz complia
On om no gap ni non ria.
Cortz non don
Non es mas parcs de barons!
Et agra'n mort son falhia

L'enuois e la vilania
D'Argentos,
Na·l gentils cors amoros
E la dousса chara pia
E la bona companhia
E·l respos
De la Saisna·n defendia.

(4) Ibid:

De tota boutat terrona
An prota las tres de Torena
[fis e verais]
Mas ilh n'a sobre lor mais
Tan quan fis surs sobr' arena

(5) Ibid. no.7 (cf. above, par.67):

Per saludar torn entrels Lemozis
Celas qui an prota chabau.
Mos Bels-Senhor e mos Bels-Cembelis
Quieiran oi mais qui las lau;
Qu'ieu ai trobat del mon la plus certana
E la gensor qu'om mentau;
Per que s'amors m'es tan quotidiana
Qu'a las autras mi fai brau.

par 69 (1) Stronski Bertran p.95.

(2) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.5:

Domna, puois de no·us veirchàl
E partit m'avetz de vos,
Senes totas ochaisos,
No cal on m'enquieira...

Puois no·us puosc trobar engal,
Que fos tan bela ni pros,
Ni sos ric cors tan joios,
De tan bela tieira
Ni tan gais
Ni sor rics pretz tan verais,
Irai por tot achaptan
De chascuna un bel semblan
Per far domna soleucubuda,
Tro vos mi sintz renduda.

Froscha color natural
Pren, bela Cembelis, de vos
E·l doutz esgart amoros;
E fatz gran sobrieira
Quar re·i lais,
Qu'ane res de bo no·us sofrais.
Midons n'Aelis deman
Son adrech parlar gaban,
Quo·m don a midons aiuda;
Puois non er fada ni muda...

Dels Senhor, iou no·us quier al
Mas que fos tan coboitos
D'aquesta com eui do vos...

par 70 (1) Cf. above, par.67-8.

(2) Stronski Bertran p.96.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.2:

Ai, Lemozis! francha terra cortesa,
Mout mi sap bo quar tals onors vos creis,
Que jois e pretz e deportz e raisos,
Cortesia e solatz e dormels
S'en vo a nos...

E, qui pros es ni de prezza·s fels,
Mal estara, s'aoras no pareis,
Puois na Guischarda nos es sai tramesa.

(4) Ibid. no.5:

Lemozi, bo vos dou plazer
Qu'ara·us es vengutz Miolhs-de-bo.

par 71 (1) Stronski Bertran pp.67-8; cf. Clédat Bertran p.11.

(2) Appel Bertran p.14.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel nos.3, 4; cf. razon to nos. 3, 6 (Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.40, 42).

par 72 (1) Appel Bertran p.14.

(2) Moore Young King p.46.

(3) Cf. above, par.27.

par 73 (1) Dante Inferno 3.60, cf. 'those who make the grand abnegation, who refuse to say what they think', Essays p.56.

par 74 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.8:

Ben es veritat no galia
Mi·n fai mala fantasia
Lo joios,
Jovens, pens cors amoros;

E ganza, qui la deolia;
Et on om plus n'ostaria
Garnizos,
Soria·n plus enveios,
Que la noch fai parer dia
La gola, e qui·n vezia
Plus on jon,
Totz lo mons en ganzaria!

(2) Appel Bertran p.8 ff.

(3) Ibid. p.10.

(4) Ibid. Though the troubadour was older, it is worth noting that he was over 50 when he wrote 'Ano no·s poc' (ed. Aprel no.33), which Aprel himself (Bertran p.16) says shows strong sexual passion. As for the birth of Matilda's son, Henry her husband does not seem to have regarded it in the same emotional light as Aprel, since he was absent on a pilgrimage to Compostella when it took place (Eyton Itinerary p.248).

par 75 (1) 2.2.3, 23.

(2) Bezzola Origines III.1.84; John of Salisbury quoted Runciman Crusades II.279; cf. Appendix One par.4.

(3) Bezzola Origines III.1.15 and note.

(4) Ramsay Empire p.97.

(5) Ibid. p.289.

(6) Bezzola Origines III.1.15 and note; above, par.5.

par 76 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Aprel no.3 (cf. Appel Bertran p.12):

Et a·n conveiguda s'amor,
Quan volra chavalier aver;
Que cel que mais onbra valer
Sofrira por entendedor.

(2) Appel Bertran p.15.

(3) Cf. Stronski Folquet p.81* ff.

(4) Cf. above, par.60.

par 80 (1) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.5:

N'Audiartz, si be·m vol mal,

Vuólh que·m do do ean faleon,
Quo·lh estai con liazos,
E quar es entieira,
Qu'ano no·n fraia
S'amors ni·n voln en blais.
A no Miolhs-de-bo demen
Con adreoh, nuoi cors prezan,
De quo par a la voguda,
La fanna bo tener nuda.

(2) Cf. below, par.86 ff.

par 81 (1) Cf. above, par.76.

(2) Bertran Lindor ed. Appel no.1:

Quo·lh plus conoisenn e·lh melhor
Pantenon ades en lauzor
E la tenon per la genzor,
Qu'illi eap far tan entieir' onor:
No vol nan un sol preiador.

(3) Ibid:

...es do prets tan enveiosa
Qu'als pros paubres es amorosa.
Puois n'an pros per chastiador,
Proe li que tenha char s'amor

(4) Cf. above, par.76.

(5) Bertran Lindor ed. Appel no.1:

Nansa, domn' ai qu'on fresche e fina,
Coinda e gaia e nesquina:
Pel saur, ab color de robina,
Blanche pel cors con flors d'espina,
Coude mol ab dura totina,
E semble conil de l'esquina.

(6) F. Villon Oeuvres ed. A. Longnon, Paris 1932, 'Testament' ll.501 ff.

par 82 (1) Aprol Bertran p.14.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Bertran Lindor ed. Appel no.5:

Dels Senhor, ieu no·us quier al
Nan que fos tan nobeltos
D'aquesta con sui do vos:
Qu'una lechadoira
Amors nais,
Don nos cors es tan lechais:

Mais vuelh de vos lo donan
Que autra tener Lainan.
Donca cidons per qu'om refuda,
Puois eap que tan l'ai volguda?

par 83 (1) Appel Bertran p.14.

(2) Stronski Folquet p.68*.

(3) C. de Nogent Autobiography ch. XVI, quoted Rainbaut Works ed. Pattison p.22.

(4) Cf. 2.5.3.

(5) Stronski Folquet p.89*.

par 84 (1) Essays p.342.

(2) Donzella Beata.

(3) Letters to A.R. Orage 7Apr 1919.

par 85 (1) Essays p.299.

(2) Ibid. p.310.

(3) Letters to Harriet Monroe [10] Aug 1912.

(4) Editor's note to Letters to Harriet Monroe 1 Jan 1910.

par 86 (1) In Durance.

(2) This is Stock's opinion of the dating; cf. Stock Life pp.37-8.

(3) E.g. Memorism, Fifine Answers. Cf. e.g. 'Pound and Browning' by A.C. de Nagy, in Mercure Approaches p.86 ff.

(4) Above, par.80.

(5) Pound changes it from 'who wishes' to 'you wish'; cf. par.80.

(6) He had it correctly in his 'Domna Pois de Me No.us Cal'.

par 87 (1) Browning Sordello I.18 ff.

par 88 (1) This phrase is in fact used of Tiresias in Canto XLVII p.246, but cf. Canto I pp.7-9.

(2) Cf. Bertran Works ed. Stimming p.201, Stronski Bertran p.96.

(3) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.409, and Stronski Folquet p.160.

(4) Canto VI p.26.

(5) Cf. Ramsay Empire p.404.

par 89 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.39.

(2) Ibid. p.352.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.8; cf. above, par.60.

(4) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.353.

par 90 (1) Ibid. p.346.

(2) Ibid. p.112.

(3) Cf. above, par.67 ff.

(4) Cf. 2.3.2 ff; also 2.7.16-18.

(5) Cf. also 2.7.11, 17.

par 91 (1) Canto XCIV pp.673-4.

(2) Canto VI p.25.

(3) Sir F.M. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, Oxford 1953, p.116; Appel Bertran pp.140-4.

par 92 (1) Spirit p.127.

(2) Ibid. p.120.

par 93 (1) Stock Life pp.104, 113; cf. 2.1.43, 2.5.59, 3.1.13.

(2) Kilcher p.226.

(3) Ibid. p.225.

(4) Canto XV p.69.

(5) Dante Inferno 5.107, quoted Canto V p.23.

(6) Canto XLVI p.241 (Pound's punctuation).

par 95 (1) Spirit p.47; Essays p.114.

(2) Gallup C132.

(3) Essays p.267.

par 98 (1) H. Kenner 'The Broken Mirrors and the Mirror of Memory' in ed. Leary Motive p.9, makes the important point that the fragmentary structure of the poem is a 'mirror' of Pound's personality.

par 100 (1) Essays p.5.

(2) Spirit p.127.

(3) Letters to Felix E. Schelling 8 Jul 1922.

par 102 (1) Cf. D. Davie 'The Poet as Sculptor' in ed. Hesse Approaches p. .200-214, where Davie hopes to confute the 'weight of Winters's objection' by the theoretical answer that Pound wishes not to render ideas by sensations but to make 'manifest what is extant', i.e. the eternal 'form'. Cf. 2.5.40.

(2) Peck 'Landscape' makes interesting use of the various local geographies interwoven in the later Cantos, especially that of Languedoc; p.27:

> As the overlays proceed with accumulating richness, the composite landscape, in both presence and memory, embraces the literary, the visionary, and the real—all within a framework whose structural inflections are not only those of temples and rites, but of trees, mountains, and mountain lakes, most prominently at the beginnings and ends of single cantos, rising through the profiles of motif into the elements of structure.

Pound's feeling for the landscape of Languedoc as the theatre for the troubadour culture was probably enhanced by Smith Troubadours, which I have referred to (1.1.36-9). Smith set out to make proper appreciation of the troubadour poetry more possible by putting it in the framework of a journey through Languedoc and Provence (cf. ibid. 1 p..v-ix, 1). This is how Smith (2 p.220)

describes the scene after the failure of the 'Dompna pueis':

> ...poor Born crossed the hills, and rode on till the woody meadows of the Toude grew narrow, and the highlands thrust a wedge between the river and its confluent /the Dronne/. At the point of the wedge stood Chalais. A comfortable chateau is there now, looking down complacently upon the marshes and poplars...

Compare Nouv Perigord:

> Chalais is high, a-level with the poplars.
> Its lowest stones just meet the valley tips
> Where the low Dronne is filled with water-lilies.
> And Rochecourt can match it, stronger yet,
> The very spur's end, built on sheerest cliff...

par 102 (1) See above, par.71.

(2) See above, par.9.

(3) Appel Bertran p.30 ff.

(4) Ibid. p.20 note; Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.13, cf. above, par.20.

par 103 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.39, razo to Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.5.

(2) Ibid. p.58, razo to Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.20.

par 105 (1) Stronski Bertran p.20 ff.

par 106 (1) Ibid. pp.60-1.

(2) Bertran Poésies ed. Thomas p.xiv.

(3) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no.4:

> Senher ain ieu do chastel parsonier,
> Et en la tor aian quatre parier,
> E ja l'us l'autre no'ns poschan amar...
> S'ieu ano aio cor d'autra domna amar.

(4) Ibid. no.5:

> Papiols, mon Azalais
> M'anaras dir en chantan
> Qu'amors es desconoguda
> Cai o d'aut ban chausida.

(5) Stronski Folquet p.39* ff; cf. Appel Bertran p.15 note.

par 109 (1) Stock Life p.68.

(2) Cf. 1.2.12.

(3) Letters to W.C. Williams 19 Dec 1913.

par 110 (1) Stock Life p.69; cf. 1.2.12.

(2) Canto LXXX p.543; cf. Edwards and Vasse Annotated Index s.v. Altaforte.

(3) Impact p.77 (an encounter with a hospitable peasant at Born).

(4) E.g. Gaudier-Brzeska p.145, Plate XXIX, and cf. p.49: 'before the back was cut out, and before the middle look was cut down, there was in the marble a titanic energy, it was like a great stubby catapult, the two masses bent for a blow.' For hieratic = phallic cf. par.112 note 1.

par 111 (1) Pavannes and Divagations p.204.

(2) Kulchur p.194 (referring to Sigismundo Malatesta).

(3) Quoted in Emery Ideas p.73.

(4) Essays p.83; cf. Kulchur pp.105-6.

(5) Pavannes and Divagations p.215.

(6) Canto XCIX p.732; cf. ibid. pp.727, 739.

par 112 (1) Canto XXIX p.150, where the tower/phallus is associated with Armrut Daniel; cf. 2.7.17 and 3.3.109 note 1; thus priest = phallus (cf. above, par.110).

(2) Essays pp.150-1.

par 114 (1) Letters to Carlo Izzo 8 Jan 1930; cf. Impact p.233.

(2) Canto XCIX p.732.

(3) Ibid. p.734.

par 115 (1) Spirit p.170.

(2) Ibid. p.46.

(3) Essays p.94 ff; cf. 1.1.41.

(4) Essays p.107.

par 116 (1) Cf. above, par.35.

(2) E.P. Ode pour l'Election de son Sepulcre Iv.

par 117 (1) Gaudier-Brzeska p.65.

(2) Essays p.296.

(3) Spirit p.40 note.

par 118 (1) Kulchur pp.205-6; cf. 2.3.30.

par 120 (1) Essays p.296.

(2) Canto VII p.20.

(3) New Age 4 Jan 1912.

(4) Edwards and Vasso Annotated Index s.v. e li nostiери ecouten; for badly-invented Old French cf. Appendix One par.5.

(5) See above, par.40: 'The delightful time of Pastor...', and Pound's translation pp.47-8 of Spirit. Edwards and Vasso Annotated Index s.v. ciocco gives simply '(It) log', and seems quite unaware of the Dantesque context (cf. also ibid. p.300), the impression of which is faithfully conveyed by Pound in Canto V p.21:

> Sparks like a partridge covey,
> Like the 'ciocco', brand struck in the game.

Dante has (Inferno 10.100):

> Poi, come nel percoter dei ciocchi arsi
> Surgono innumerabili faville,...
> Ringurger parver quindi più di mille
> Luci...

(6) Cf. ABC pp.51-2.

par 121 (1) E.g. What is Money For? pp.3-4.

par 122 (1) Kulchur p.251.

(2) Canto LXXXV p.584.

(3) Confucius p.21.

par 123 (1) Cipolla Money p.27 ff.

par 124 (1) Ibid. p.20.

(2) Ibid. p.9.

par 125 (1) Ibid. p.31.

par 126 (1) Gold and Work p.1 ff.

NOTES TO SECTION TWO

CHAPTER FIVE: ARNAUT DANIEL

par 1 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja pp.7-11.

(2) Ibid. p.165:

...o fo gentils hom. Et amparet ben letras e fetz se joglars...

(3) Ibid. (MS ElK ^{2}):

et amparet ben letras e deleitet se en trobar et abandonet las letras e fetz se joglar

(4) Bertran Lieder ed. Appel no. 39:

No sirventes port de vielh e novel
Armautz joglars a Richart, que•l chapdel

(5) Cf. e.g. Sordello Poesie ed. Boni pp.XXXV-XXXVI.

(6) Arnaut Canzoni p.19 note.

(7) Raimbaut de Vaqueiras Poesie ed. Linskill p.13 ff; though of course Raimbaut was also a warrior.

par 2 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.279:

Raimons de Durfort e•l Turc Maleo ai foron dui cavallier de Caersi que foiron los sirventes de la donna que no nom ma donna N'Aia, aquella que dis al cavallier de Cornil qu'ella no l'amaria si el no la cornava el cul.

(2) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja pp.187-191.

(3) Ibid. p.190, with Toja's translation p.13 (R-C 447,1, attr. Truc Maleo).

(4) Münch von Montaudon Gedichte ed. Philipp con p.50; Peire d'Alvernha Liriche ed. del Monte no. XII.

(5) Peire ibid.

(6) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.11 note.

par 3 · (1) Cf. 2.4.73 ff.

(2) Stronski Folquet no. XVI.

(3) Ibid. p.47*

(4) Ibid.

par 4 (1) Ennayn p.151.

(2) 2.3.44.

(3) E.g. Chaytor Troubadours of Dante pp.xxi-xxiii.

(4) 2.4.113-4.

(5) Ennays p.111.

par 5 (1) Cf. Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.89 note.

(2) Ennayn pp.109, 115, 119 note, 123, 129 note.

(3) Cf. Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.102; but ibid. no. 1 refers to:

col que en boch' el corn conduts

—says that the action would:

tot l'encalderam·l col e·l cais

—and notes that:

...no·i·n cove que dompna bais
aquel qui cornes corn putnais

—presumably because the action is performed with the face. Evidently the poem has nothing to do with the posteriors; the 'cul' referred to ibid. probably means 'pudenda', as often MdnFr 'cul' and MdnAm 'ass'; the term 'cornar' was probably a cant term for MdnAm 'going down on', or Modern Cockney 'plating'.

(4) Cf. Santangelo Trovatori p.101.

(5) Cf. Impact p.233, and 2.4.114.

par 6 (1) Ennayn p.109.

(2) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.41.

(3) Stronski Folquet no. XXI.

par 7 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. X:

e si'l maltruich no'n rostaura
ab un baisar ans d'annou
ni auci e si enferma.

(2) Ibid. no. XI:

Doutz brais e critz...
aig dols auzols...
e doncan iou q'on la gensser entendi
dei far chanson sobra tota de boll' obra...

(3) New Age Feb 15 1912; cf. Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XI:

En breu brisara'l temps braus,
e'ill bisa busin'els brancs
qui s'entrecoigon trastuich
de sobre rama claus de fuoilla;
car no'i chant'auzels ni piula
n'encoign'Amors q'iou fassa edens
tal chan que n'or segons ni tersa
ans prims d'afrancar cor agro.

Amors es de proetz la claus
e de proes'un estancs
don naisson tuich li bon fruich,
e'ls qui loi clauson los cuoills;
q'un non dolin gel ni niula
contro qe'e noirls el bon tronc;
mas si'l romp trefans ni culverts
peris tro leials lo sagro.

Faillirs encendatz es laus;
et es sentis n'ams los flancs
que mais n'ai d'amor cos cuich
que tals q'on parl' e'is n'orguoilla;
que pleitz ni fa'l cor de friula.
Mentr'ollan'm fetz semblan embronc,
mais vulgr'iou trair pen'els desertz
on ens non es d'auzels agro.

Bona doctrina e sonus
e cors clars, sotils e francs
m'an d'Amor al form conduich
de lleis don plus vuoill qe'm cuoilla;
car si'm fo for' et estriula
er iuzinens broiun'm temps lonc,
q'il m'en plus fin' et ieu lleis cortz
que Talant'e Malesgro.

Tant dopti que per non-sens
deveno sovens niers e blancs;

ai n'a•l ueus doaira foraduich
no cap lo cors trop o•is duoilla;
mas loin que d'espar n'aflula
n'encolpa car no la sonsno;
per q'iou sui d'ent proe tant espertz
non ai d'als talen neis maire.

Ponsar de lieis n'eu ropaus,
e tragn•m mas los huoills cranca
s'a lieis vezer no•ls estuich;
e•l cor non crezatz q'en tuoilla,
car orars ni loca ni viula
no•m pot de lein un travers iono
partir... C'ai dig? Dieus, tu•n sonorta
e•m perin el polcairol
Arnautz vol nou chans ai'oforta
lai on doutz notz nou on aire.

I discuss the last stanza of this in detail below, par. 119. The rest of the translation suffers in general only from mistakes of syntax, except for the 'garden-close', which is Pound's etymological reading of claus 'key'; 'the cap is lost between the loyal', where Pound has vaguely Italianised 'it perishes until a loyal man dedicates it'; 'without thinking of it'—non cuich is an idiom meaning 'without doubt'; and perhaps 'ends in "Aire"'—see ed. Toja p.294, who says that nou here means 'begins'.

par 8 (1) Visitinz Carl p.24.

(2) ABC p.55; Kulchur p.103; Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia I.xv.

(3) Kulchur p.165.

(4) Cf. Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja pp.123-145.

par 9 (1) Cf. Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.x

(2) Ibid. I.iii.

(3) Essays p.148.

par 10 (1) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.ii.

(2) Ibid. II.vi.

(3) Ibid. II.x.

(4) Ibid. II.xiii.

par 11 (1) Santangelo Trovatori pp.63, 172; cf. discussion below, par.49 ff.

par 13 (1) Essays p.140.

(2) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia I.i.

(3) Essays pp.195 ff.

(4) Cf. Ibid. p.36, and Canto LXXXVI (where 'language' is used as a metaphor for religious expression).

par 14 (1) Above, par. 10 (Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.ii.).

(2) Cf. ABC p.24.

(3) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.vi.

par 16 (1) Dante Purgatorio 26.

par 17 (1) Spirit p.23.

(2) Dante Purgatorio 26.97-8.

(3) Cf. ibid. ed. Scartazzini note.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Cf. Hoepffner quoted Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.77 note.

(6) Dante Purgatorio 26.115 ff.

par 18 (1) In the essay 'Arnaut Daniel' (1920) (Essays p.109), Pound wrote 'he was the best fashioner of songs in the Provençal, as Dante has said of him in his Purgatorio...', and again , p.111, 'when Dante was older and had well thought the thing over he said simply, 'il miglior fabbro.'' In the Five Troubadour Cantos of the same year he wrote: 'Arnaut Daniel, whom Dante considered the finest Provençal craftsman...' (Provença'). Pound takes it to be a compliment to the role of Provençal in the begetting of Tuscan poetry: 'the 'parlar materno' is usually taken to be Provençal, the mother tongue of troubadour art, Sicilian and Bolognese being descended from it.' (Letters to Laurence Binyon 8 May 1935.) Undoubtedly Dante conceded this role to Provençal, both in poetry and (here, like later Italian philologers—cf. Jeanroy Poésie I.4—and, it seems, like Pound, erroneously) in language. But in view of the importance given to 'nostra

vera prima locutio', the language which we first learn (presumably from our mothers) as infants, in the De Vulgari Eloquentia I.ii, it seems more reasonable to think that 'parlar materno' refers to anyone's primary tongue. After all, Dante concludes ibid. I.x. that Italian is superior to the tongues of oc (Provençal) and oïl (French), partly because he himself and Cino da Pistoia have written in it 'dulcius... subtiliusque' than anyone else in any tongue. What therefore Dante means is that Arnaut wrote better than anyone in his own primary language (as opposed to Latin), which of course was Provençal.

par 19 (1) Spirit p.25.

(2) Galvani quoted Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.125.

(3) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.191 ('called master of the troubadours').

par 20 (1) Jeanroy Poésie II.50-1

(2) Santangelo Trovatori p.173; Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia I.x., Purgatorio 26.98.

(3) Santangelo Trovatori p.179.

par 21 (1) Jeanroy quoted Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.98.

(2) Jeanroy Poésie II.p.47. Note also that Jeanroy's image is totally confused, unlike either Dante's or Arnaut's. Arnaut has carpig (carpitz, 'charpentier, tailleur'—Levy, Petit Dictionnaire), dolh (dolar, 'doler, raboter' ibid.), and lima ('file'), Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. X), which all have to do with carpentry. Jeanroy's 'ciseleur' might also have to do with carpentry, but is quite incompatible with the making of either 'émaux' or 'camées'.

par 23 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.74.

(2) Letters to Lourenço Minyon 6 May 1938.

par 24 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja pp.65-99.

(2) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.i. Cf. below, par.29.

par 25 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.77.

par 26 (1) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.vi.

par 27 (1) Ibid. II.11.

(2) Spirit p.24.

par 28 (1) Ker 'Dante ...and Daniel' pp.140-7.

(2) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.vii.

(3) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. IX. Pound says of this criticism (Spirit p.30) that 'Dr. Ker's objection that the harmony of this song is not obtained by the rules of thumb Dante prescribes for obtaining harmony in another language, does not seem to me valid.'

(4) E.g. Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja pp.68-9.

(5) Ker 'Dante ...and Daniel' p.149.

(6) Bowra quoted Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.70 note.

(7) Ibid. p.70.

par 29 (1) Essays p.134; Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. IX.

(2) Essays ibid; Arnaut ibid. no. XI.

(3) Zukovsky Prepositions p.17.

(4) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.1. Cf. above, par. 24.

par 30 (1) There are, however, Canzoni the Yearly Slain and Canzoni of Incense, which are modelled on Arnaut's forms. They both date from 1910 (Gallup C17 and C20).

(2) Essays p.109 ff; cf. Appendix Two par. 15 under p. 22.

(3) Stock Life pp.189, 211.

par 31 (1) E.g. Kulchur pp.60, 366.

par 32 (1) Spirit pp.23 note, 38.

par 33 (1) New Age Dec 7 1911.

par 34 (1) E.C. Spirit p.93 ff.

(2) New Age Dec 7 1911.

(3) Ibid.

(4) New Age Dec 21 1911.

(5) Ibid.

par 35 (1) New Age Dec 7 1911

(2) Ibid.

par 36 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.131.

(2) Fiedler Love and Death p.46 note.

par 37 (1) Spirit p.50.

(2) Ennyn pp.216, 237-8, 207, 205 ff.

par 38 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja exp. pp.91-9.

par 39 (1) New Age Dec 7 1911.

(2) New Age Dec 21 1911.

(3) New Age Dec 7 1911.

(4) Ennyn p.267.

par 40 (1) Cf. 2.4.101.

(2) Ennyn p.151.

par 41 (1) New Age 4 Jan 1912.

(2) New Age 21 Dec 1911.

par 42 (1) Jeanroy Poésie II.49

par 43 (1) Cf. Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja 'Rimario' (pp.393-9). The numbers given are those of songs and lines ibid.

(2) Ibid. no. II:

Per ianglaill que no·n vir allor,
bona dompna, vos cui ador;
mas per paor
del devinaill,
don ioia trasaill,
fatz semblan que no·us vuoilla;
e'ano no·ns gauzim
de lor noirim:
mal n'es que lor negaillh.

Toja's note p.201 suggests however that noirim = feeding, i.e. that their looks feed off the lady, which seems equally possible.

(3) Levy Petit Dictionnaire s.v. flano.

(4) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XVII:

Us bons respieitz me revon e·m donarga
d'un doutz desir don mi dolon li flano

Cf. ibid. p.368.

(5) Ibid. no. XIII:

Nout desir q'onquer li fos cuocs
e m'avenguen altalu jornaus,
q'io'n viuria bon d'anz plus vint

Cf. ibid. p.323.

par 44 (1) Jeanroy Poésie II p.49-50.

(2) 'Lucorna' and 'Ebres' are in Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no.XVI.

(3) Ibid. no. XI; cf. above, par. 7; cf. Ovid Metam. VIII 322-6.

(4) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XIII:

...vai l'el cor s'er'en Poill' o en Flandres.

(5) Ibid. nos. XVI 11.29, 45, X 1.21, XVI 1.44, IV 1.36, IX 1.05.

par 45 (1) Jeanroy Poésie II. p.49 note.

(2) Jeanroy admits this as a general point, ibid. II.50-1.

(3) Cf. above par. 7, 43, and below par. 120 ff.

par 46 (1) Cf. above par. 24, 29.

(2) Ennayn p.9.

(3) New Age 4 Jan 1912.

par 47 (1) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.xiii, cf. above, par. 7; Ennayn p.140.

(2) Dante ibid. quot. Ennayn ibid.

par 48 (1) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia II.x.

(2) Spirit p.100.

(3) Ibid. p.27.

(4) Canello quoted Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.55.

par 49 (1) E.g. Impact p.61.

par 50 (1) New Age Dec 21 1911.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid; cf. Spirit p.87, the Divina Commedia seen as distinctions.

(4) Cf. 3.1.21.

(5) Confucius/Analects 13.III.

par 51 (1) Canto CVII p.703.

(2) C.T. Lewis and C. Short A Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1879, s.v. vitex.

(3) Cf. 3.3.110.

(4) Canto CXIII p.16.

(5) Published in Fontemma Rosae, nos. I and II; cf. Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.100, under VII C.

(6) Confucius/Analects IX.14.

(7) Ibid. 'Procedure'.

(8) Ibid. 16.XIII.

(9) ABC p.32.

(10) Confucius/Analects 13.III.

(11) Essays p.105.

par 52 (1) Kulchur p.153.

(2) W. Baumann 'Secretary of Nature, J. Heydon' in ed. Hesse Approaches p.312.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Canto LXXXVII p.609

(5) Essays p.180.

par 53 (1) Kulchur p.27.

(2) It can also be a direct description of the blurred demarcation between two colours in for example Rubens, as opposed to the precise (and therefore infinitely thin) demarcation in Piar dolla Francesca.

(3) Canto XXV p.124.

(4) Letters to Mary Barnard 23 Feb 1934.

(5) Kulchur p.152.

par 54 (1) Kulchur pp.60, 250.

(2) Essays p.154.

(3) Confucius/Analects 12.III.

(4) Cavalcanti Rime ed. Arnone no. I 'Donna me prega, perch eo voglo dire', tr. Pound Essays pp.155-7, Canto XXXVI pp.182-5.

(5) Dante Paradiso 2.97 ff.

(6) Cf. also Pound's note to Confucius/Analects 13.XXVII: 'And to combat anyone who thinks Karlgren a more academic, cf. his note on "the impure light of fire that shines outward, the pure light of water that shines inward."'

(7) Canto II p.13.

(8) Canto III p.15.

(9) Canto IV p.19.

par 55 (1) Canto XXIII p.114.

(2) Canto XXV p.124.

(3) Canto XXIX p.150.

(4) Pound's text, Essays page 164; cf. note 4 to par. 54.

(5) Essays p.184.

(6) Dante Paradiso 10.64-9.

(7) Canto XX p.94.

(8) Cf. below, par. 123.

(9) Canto VII p.30, cf. Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.165.

par 56 (1) Confucius/Analects 'Note to this New Version'.

(2) Ibid. 'Procedure'.

(3) E.g. Essays p.344.

(4) Kulchur p.48.

(5) Ibid. p.96.

par 57 (1) Cf. 3.3.100 and e.g. Baumann Rose pp.60-2; Brooke-Rose ZBC p.114; Pearlman Birth of Time pp.165-6.

(2) New Age 18 Jan 1912, Translations p.423.

(3) Canto XC p.641.

par 58 (1) Essays p.431.

par 59 (1) Cf. 2.1.43, 2.4.93, 3.1.13.

(2) Mead Subtle Body pp.37-8.

par 60 (1) Spirit p.94.

(2) Ibid. p.90 and note.

(3) Cavalcanti Rime ed. Arnone no.XI 'Vegnio nogli occhi de la donna mia'.

par 61 (1) Spirit p.90.

(2) Ibid.

par 62 (1) Ennayn p.111; cf. below, par. 123.

(2) Ennayn p.237.

(3) Ibid. p.235.

(4) Canto VII pp.29-30.

par 63 (1) Spirit p.34 note.

par 64 (1) Ennayn p.139; cf. below, par. 127.

(2) Note that Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XI l.11 has flowers of love, and no. V l.5 a tree of love.

(3) Ennayn p.139; cf. below, par. 127.

(4) For a full discussion of the stanza cf. below, par. 127.

(5) Canto XX p.93.

par 65 (1) Levy EW.

(2) Confucius/Analects 15.I.

(3) Cf. Canto XIII p.64; cf. following note.

(4) Confucius/Analects 15.XXV; cf. previous note.

par 66 (1) Ennayn p.154.

par 67 (1) Ennayn p.154.

(2) Canto LXXIV p.466.

(3) Canto CXV p.24.

par 68 (1) Cf. Kulchur p.194: 'No one has claimed that the Malatesta cantos are obscure. They are openly volitionist, establishing, I think clearly, the effect of the factive personality. Sigismundo, an entire man.' Cf. also Kulchur p.107.

(2) Canto LXXIV p.462.

(3) Canto XXIII p.113.

(4) Canto XX p.96.

(5) Dante Inferno 5.67, 69; Pound refers to this passage via 'cosi Elena vedi'; the lines I quote mean:

more than a thousand...
that love of this life parted from it...

(6) Cf. Canto LXXXIp.556, 'Learn of the green world what can be thy place'.

(7) Canto CVII p.787.

par 69 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XVII 1.8; cf. below par. 96.

(2) Canton (Ignatzi) I p.107.

(3) Spirit p.90; cf. 3.2.3, 12, 18, 32.

(4) Spirit pp.92-4.

par 70 (1) Read Subtle Body pp.39-40 (Read's parentheses).

(2) Ibid. p.9.

par 71 (1) Spirit p.93. Cf. Canton (Ignatzi) I. p.107:

Shall I claim;
Confuse my own phantantikon
Or say the filmy shell that circumscribes me
Contains the actual sun;
confuse the thing I see
With actual gods behind me?

Also cf. Zukovsky's use of the word 'phantantikon', quoted 1.2.17. Wittmeyer Poetry p.53 glosses this term in Pound as para Plato ('source of delusions, of the dangerous prevalence of imagination'), without mentioning Read; though it must be admitted Read's definition seems Platonic and Pound's seems to confuse the 'phantnatikon' with its opposite, i.e. Read's 'objective realities'.

par 72 (1) Spirit p.94.

(2) Ennayn p.151; cf. Spirit p.97.

par 73 (1) Cf. below, par. 87, etc.

par 74 (1) New Age Feb 15 1912; cf. above, par. 7, and below, par. 119.

par 75 (1) Cf. below, par. 119.

(2) Cf. ibid.

(3) New Age Dec 14 1911; Cavalcanti Rime ed. Arnone no. XXXI: 'Una figura della donna mia'.

par 76 (1) Cavalcanti Rime ed Arnone Apocalisse no. XII: 'S'avessi dotto, amico, di Maria'.

(2) Ennayn p.131.

(3) Cf. Spirit p.30: 'The boldness of the comparison may well have delighted [Dante]'.

(4) Ennayn p.115.

par 77 (1) Ibid. pp.114-5.

par 78 (1) Spirit p.100.

(2) New Age Dec 21 1911.

(3) E.g. Ennayn pp.115, 100.

par 79 (1) Though Pound lists this book in his 1920 recommendations of Gourmont (Ennayn p.356), the list of books that he recommends is to be found almost identically opposite the title-page of Mercure de France editions of the period. He may not, therefore, have read them all; and he makes no other reference to Dante, Béatrice. (For the list cf. e.g. R. de Gourmont Lettres d'un Satyre, Paris 1919, and id. Lettres à l'Amazone, Paris 1922.) It will be seen from e.g. par.65 ff. that Pound was strongly influenced by Gourmont on

these questions, but on the nature of Beatrice he seems to differ (cf. par. 85).

(2) Gourmont Dante, Béatrice p.16.

(3) Ibid. pp.32-3.

par 80 (1) Ibid. p.35.

par 81 (1) Ibid. p.44.

(2) Ibid. p.38.

(3) Ibid. p.48.

par 82 (1) Cf. Ibid. pp.57-8; Dante Vita Nuova II: '...lo spirito animale... parlando specialmente a li spiriti del viso, si disse queste parole: "Apparuit iam beatitudo vestra".

(2) Gourmont Dante, Béatrice p.59; Dante Vita Nuova XXVIII, XVII, XXVI, II.

(3) Gourmont Dante, Béatrice p.59 ff; Dante Inferno 2.52-126 etc.

par 83 (1) Cf. Gourmont Dante, Béatrice p.63.

(2) Ibid. pp.64-5; Dante Purgatorio 30.121.

par 84 (1) Gourmont Dante, Béatrice p.60; cf. Dante Vita Nuova XXIV.

(2) Cf. 2.6.44 ff.

par 85 (1) Confucius to Cummings p.69.

(2) Gallup A20.

(3) Cf. 2.1.5.

(4) Amdur Poetry p.34.

par 86 (1) Homage to Sextus Propertius V.2.

(2) Essayn p.145; cf. Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XVII:

mas qand m'albir cum en do preta al com
mout m'on an mala car ane l'autrui volor,
c'aras cai ieu que non corp e non aems
ni farant far, lor prat, rica conquesta.

(3) New Age 13 Jan 1921, quoted Witmeyer Poetry p.25

par 87 (1) Provences and Divertions p.203.

(2) Ibid. p.214.

par 88 (1) Spirit p.93.

(2) Dante Paradiso 1.1.

(3) Dante Vita Nuova XIX.

(4) Dante Purgatorio 26.142-4.

(5) Spirit pp.99-100.

par 89 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XVIII:

Poiu flori la soca verga
ni d'en Adam mejron nebot ni oncle,
tant fin' amors cum cella q'el cor m'intra
non cuig ane fon en cors, ni eis en arma

(2) Ibid. no. VIII:

...anc, pos Sains Paula fetz pintola
ni mills hom doius caranta,
non poo plus
neis Iocus
far do talo, car totz cascus
a.ls bos aips don en plus auta
cella c'om per pros recorda.

par 90 (1) Essayn p.181.

(2) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XVI 1.21:

mas apres Dieus lieis honors e celebres

(3) Ibid. no. XV:

...ieu non veu tant chans, vauta ni plans ni puois
q'en un sol cors trob aissi bos aips totz:
q'en lieis los volc Dieus trair et asnire.

par 91 (1) Ibid. no. X 1.35, cf. no. XVI 1.12.

(2) Ibid. no. IX 1.64, cf. nos. VIII 1.21, XIII 1.11.

(3) Ibid. no. XV 1.9.

(4) Ibid. no. XIV 11.25-7.

(5) Ibid. no. X 11.15-8.

(6) Ibid. no. XII 11.25-9.

(7) Gourmont Dante, Béatrice p.30.

par 92 (1) Dante Vita Nuova II.

(2) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XVII:

Arnautz a faita e fara lonca atena,
q'atendan fai pros hom rica conquesta.

Cf. ibid. nos. X 1.36, XVII 1.10.

(3) Ezra p.151.

(4) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. VIII:

Dieu o grazino e a mon huoilla,
que per lor conoissansa.n vend
ioia

(5) Ezra p.343.

par 94 (1) Cf. A.S. Pushkin Eugene Onegin tr. V.V. Nabokov, London 1964, Vol. 1 passim; e.g. Spirit pp.25-30.

par 96 (1) Ezra pp.115-6.

par 97 (1) Ezra pp.109 ff.

(2) Ibid. pp.191 ff.

(3) Ibid. p.116.

(4) Cf. ibid. pp.116, 139, 124.

par 93 (1) Letters to Felix Schelling 9 Jul 1922.

par 99 (1) Sordello Poesia ed. Boni no. XLIII; cf. Chaytor Troubadours of Dante p.160: 'public opinion is the standard which he sets up, and by which he measures the good and the bad...'

(2) Above, par. 44.

(3) Letters to Felix Schelling 9 Jul 1922.

(4) Cf. below, par. 112, 'Notes' (G), on the numbering of Arnaut's songs.

(5) Essays p.203.

par 100 (1) E.P. Letters to Felix Schelling 9 July 1922.

par 101 (1) Essays pp.193-4.

par 102 (1) Zukovsky Propositions p.69; cf. 1.2.17.

(2) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. V.

(3) Essays p.123.

(4) Above, par. 64 ff. and esp. 2.3.22.

par 103 (1) Essays p.194.

(2) Ibid. pp.196-7.

par 104 (1) Ibid. p.193.

par 105 (1) Zukovsky Propositions p.67.

par 107 (1) Cf. 1.1.12, 2.5.7, 2.6.36, 2.7.11, and Appendix Two par. 20 etc.

(2) Ed. J.P. Sullivan Ezra Pound p.224.

(3) See 1.2.30-2

par 108 (1) Cf. above, par. 30.

(2) Cf. onp. discussion of these poems in <u>letters</u> to Felix Scholling 8 and 9 Jul 1922.

par 109 (1) 3.1.16 ff.

par 110 (1) Cf. Appendix Two par. 20.

par 111 (1) 3.1.16 ff.

NOTES TO SECTION TWO

CHAPTER SIX: SORDELLO

par 1 (1) Cf. e.g. 2.4.95, and Stock Life pp.109, 202.

(2) Cf. Spirit pp.88-9

par 2 (1) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia 1.15; Kulchur p.108, cf. next paragraph.

(2) Spirit p.58; cf. ibid. p.56, Dante quoted below, par. 30.

(3) Essays p.97.

par 3 (1) Letters to Katue Kitasono 11 Mar 1937.

(2) Cf. Impact p.61.

(3) Kulchur p.108.

(4) Ibid.

par 4 (1) Ibid.

(2) Spirit p.25 note.

par 5 (1) Essays p.203.

(2) ABC p.55

(3) Kulchur p.103

par 6 (1) This was the period of the Rapallo concerts (cf. e.g. ABC p.23), of the championing of the American composer George Antheil (cf. e.g. Antheil and the Treatise on Harmony), of the formulation of the 'Great Bass' theory (cf. e.g. Kulchur pp.73 ff, 233 ff), and of the Cavalcanti and Villon operas (cf. ibid. p.361 ff).

(2) Essays p.9; cf. next paragraph.

(3) Cf. 'Treatise on Harmony' in Patria Mia.

(4) Cf. esp. New Age 8 Feb 1912.

par 7 (1) Zukovsky Prepositions p.15.

par 8 (1) Letters to John Lackay Brown Apr 1937.

(2) Dante De Vulgari Eloquentia 1.15: 'such a man of eloquence' that he 'abandoned his fathers' vernacular not only in writing poetry but even in all his speaking'.

par 9 (1) Stronski Folquet pp.81*-4*.

(2) Sordello Poesie ed. de Lollis pp.67-76.

(3) Sordello Poesie ed Boni no. IV:

Bel m'es ab motz leugiers a far
chanson plazen et ab guay so,
que•l molher que hom vol triar,
a cuy m'autroy e•m ren e•m do,
no vol ni•l plai chantar de manatria;
e mas no•lh plai, farai huymais non chan
leu a chantar o d'auzir agradan,
clar d'entendre o prim, qui prim lo tria.

par 10 (1) Ibid:

Cen ni caup non fin cor emblar,
al prim qu'ieu miriey en faisso,
ab un dous amoros esguar
que•n lansero oiey huelh lairo.
Ab uelh esguar m'intret en aisselh dia
Amors pels huelhs al cor d'aital semblan,
que•l cors on trayn e mes l'a non coman,
ni qu'ab lieys os, on qu'ieu an ni estia.

Ai, cum ni caup gent esgardar,
ni l'esgartz messongiers no fo,
dels huelhs que nap gent enviar
totz temps per drap lai on l'es bo;
mas a nos dirs ni par qu'aiso•s cambia;
pero l'esgar creirai; qu'ab cor forman
parl'om pro vetz, mas nulh poder non an
huelh d'esgardar gen, ni•l cor no•lh envia.

par 11 (1) Cf. 2.5.69 ff.

(2) Quoted Courcont Dante, Béatrice p.39.

par 12 (1) Cf. Gilson Christian Philosophy pp.70 ff, 261 ff, 277 ff.

(2) Cf. Essays p.191 ff, ABC pp.137-141, John Wilmot Earl of Rochester Poems ed. V. de Sola Pinto, London 1964, no.IX.

par 13 (1) Ensayn pp.114-5.

(2) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no. IV:

E quar eu do bon prets sos par,
en mals servix lleys en perdo
qu'autra qu'ab nis dejnon colgar;
mas no la sier ses guizardo,
quar fis amics no sier ges d'aital guia,
quan sier de cor en honrat los prezans
per que l'onors m'es guazardos d'aitan,
que·l sobrelus non quier, mas bo·u penria.

par 14 (1) Ibid:

Vailla·m ab vos merce/n/, dolza enemin,
no m'auzier, s'ou vos en ses enjan

(2) Ensayn p.344; cf. 2.3.28 ff.

(3) Cf. preceding paragraph.

par 15 (1) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no. V:

E ni·m fai ren desirar
amors, qe non delats fairo,
per merce von voill pregar
qe no·m fassats pauc ni gairo;
qar mals an viur' ab turmens
qe vostre proz vailla mens,
dopna, per so que·m fassatz;
q'amatz ni de vos, cui dezir,
sol qe de bon cor no suffratz
qe von pesc' amar e servir.

(Cf. ibid. no. IX 11.9 ff.)

(2) Ibid. no. IX:

Per merce·us prec, boll'amija,
qez ab una qualqe brija
del joi d'amor mi secoras breumen,
si far se pot salvan vostr'onramen

(3) Ibid. no. XLIII; cf. Chaytor Troubadours of Dante pp.174-5, Hauvette Franco p.134

(4) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no. XVI:

"Sonh'en Sordel, mandamen
si del rio conte plasen

procnnal, qu'a prots valon,
que·un donnn ni·un plairia
nain...
que nnupos voutr' nnin
voatro cor...
o que vos lo niou napchatz,
ni·un nn' o ots galiatz.
Chauzots a vostra guia,
qu'ieu nay bo qual penriatz,
qui no'us on roprendia."

"Montanhagol, por un ocn
ne neria plus plazon
que cylh per qu'ieu muer viven
naupos bo...
noa cor quy ten en turmon,
que s'ieu lo nieu nabia;
quar ni'lh montrava vertatz
cum eiy per lieym turmentatz,
penria li·n piatatz,
o totz non corn neria
durn cun peirn, freitz cun glatz..."

"Bordol, nain val verancn
napchatz lo cor o·l talon
do lieyn qu'amatz finnnen,
ni·us nn'o ni·us gualia,
quar noven nots helh parven
no roncon gran/n/ falsia;
o, ni·us trobats enniannatz,
trop nemblarotz fo/r/nenatz,
ni pueys nnats desnnatz..."

"Montanhagol, you no pron
per lieys lunh galiannn
cuy en o nierf lialnnn,
ni bo·l plai quo n'nuoia..."

par 16 (1) Trollus and Cressida 5.2.109; cf. Angrene Wisse, The Wife of Bath, etc.

(2) Essays p.344.

par 17 (1) Cf. Bird 'Canzone' passim.

par 18 (1) Kulcimr p.107.

par 19 (1) Jeanroy A. 'Dante et les Troubadours' in Dante, Mélanges de critique et d'érudition, etc, Paris 1921, pp.11-21.

(2) Jeanroy Poésie I.261 ff.

(3) Marvetto France p.132; cf. a similar approach in Parducci 'Dante e i trovatori' in e'. C. Bertoni Provenza e Italia, Firenze 1930, p.87, where he goes to Petrarch for corroboration of Dante's view that Arnaut Daniel was a lecher.

(4) Cf. below, par. 67 ff.

par 21 (1) Canto II p.10.

(2) Canto VI p.26; cf. Appendix One par. 9.

(3) Essays p.97. On the supposed Milan MS cf. Appendix Two under p.97; cf. also ibid. for remarks on the translation. For the text see Appendix One par. 9.

par 22 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.322: 'Sordels si fo de Mantoana, d'un castel que a non Got, gentils ostanis.'

(2) Peire Bremon Ricas Novas quoted Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.LXXXVI note.

(3) Cf. ibid. p.XVII.

(4) Quoted ibid. p.XVIII.

(5) Essays p.98; cf. Bertran Werke ed. Stimming no. 15, and Stimming's note.

par 23 (1) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no. XIII:

"Digatz mi s'es vers so c'on brui,
Sordel, q'us don pronetz l'altrui".
"Jonn, lo joi c'amors m'adui
de l'autrui moiller non rufui".
"Sordel, paubertatz vos condui,
so diz om, en joglaria".
"Joan, d'als joglars non sui,
mas de ben dir do m'auria."

"Pos joglars non es, com prezes,
Sordel, entan draps del marques?"
"Joan, eu non l'o proat pos
mas per creisser joglar d'armes."

par 24 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.322:

E fo avinens hom de la persona, e fo bons chantaire e bons trobaire, e grans amires...

(2) Ibid. p.26-7:

Mas do qi q'el fon fils, Dieus li dot bella persona et avinen, e gentil cor, don fo el comensamen gentilenss, e dot li sen e saber e cortesia e gen parlar; et avoia notilessa et art de trobar bon mota e gais sons.

(3) Spirit p.41.

(4) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.346.

par 25 (1) Gordello Poesie ed. Boni p.XXVII ff.

(2) G. Bertoni quot. ibid. p.XXVI.

(3) Ibid. p.XXVIII.

(4) Ibid. no. XV.

(5) Ibid. p.XXXI.

(6) There are difficulties about the insistence on Ezzelino II, Cunizza's father, as instigator, since he had retired to a monastery; cf. ibid. p.XXX.

(7) Rolandino quoted Chabaneau Biographies p.100. I have corrected the specification of the Ezzelinos concerned, following Gordello Poesie ed. Boni pp.XXVIII, XXX. For the text see Appendix One par. 11.

par 26 (1) Chabaneau Biographies p.107 note.

(2) Gordello Poesie ed. Boni p.XXXIII.

(3) Ibid. p.XXXVII note.

(4) Ugolini quoted ibid. p.XXXVII.

(5) Cf. above, par. 22.

par 27 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies pp.322-3:

E puis apres et ol s'en anet en Cenedes, ad un castel d'aqels d'Estrnx, de ner Henric o de ner Guillem o d'En Valpertin, q'eron mout siei amic; et esponet una sua seror celadamens, que avia nom Otha;

o vene s'en puois a Trevis. E qand aqel d'Entras lo saup, si li volia offendre de la persona, e.il amic del conte de Sain Bonifaci sieuamen; don el estava armats sus en la casa de sinor Alcolin; e qand el sauva por la torra, el cavalgava en bon destriers ab granda compaignia de cavalliers.

E por paor d'aicels qe.il vollon offendre, el se partic, et anet s'en en Proensa. Et entot ab lo conte de Proensa. Et anet una gentil dompna e bella de Proensa; et apellava la en los sieus chantars, que el fazia per liels, "Dousa-Ensenha"; per la cal dompna el fetz maintas bonas chansos.

'Conedon' is unknown, cf. Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.XXXIX and Students (cf. Boni ibid. p.XI note 132) do not appear to have thought of the possibility that the name is lifted from the song by Uc de Saint-Circ quoted below, par. 28.

(2) Peire Bremon R.N. Poésies ed. Boutière no. XVII.

par 28 (1) Uc Poésies ed. Jeanroy no. XXIV.

par 29 (1) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.XLV.

par 30 (1) Dante Paradiso 9.33: cf. below, par. 49.

(2) Kulchur p.107.

(3) Canto XVI p.72.

(4) Dante Purgatorio 6.50 ff.

(5) Canto VII p.28, Fenaym p.295, etc.

par 31 (1) E.g. Kulchur p.342.

par 32 (1) Spirit p.39.

(2) Cf. Appendix One par. 9.

(3) Cf. 2.7.4.

(4) Confucius/Analects 6.XIX, 12.XXIV, 19.111 (i.e. equals in awareness).

(5) Canto LXXXIX p.634; cf. 3.1.33-4.

par 33 (1) Peire Bremon R.N. Pofnien ed. Boutière no. XVIII.

(2) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.LI. Given the relationship that Pound proposes between Sordello and Cavalcanti, and given that he figures the latter as meeting the other 'last of the troubadours', Cirnut Riquier, on his way to Santiago de Compostella (cf. 1.2.20), the following lines on Cavalcanti by Salimbeni are most interesting:

Ecci venuto Guido Compostello?
O ha recato a vender cannovacci
Che va con'oca e cascagli il mantello?...
San Jacopo adogno quand'l'udio
ed egli stesso si foco malato...

(Quoted Valli Linguaggio p.65.)

(3) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.L noto.

par 34 (1) Patria Hin p.15.

(2) Dante Purgatorio 6.133.

par 35 (1) 2.4.3.

(2) Dante Purgatorio 20.43 ff.

(3) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no. 20:

Ruois no'n tene por pajat d'amor
e'n nobra raisos de saldir,
en abans qe vorna pancor
voigll faire u nerventes anair,
e luoc de ver menatge
qe'n dig'als tres deneretatg
qe puois om es deseveronatg
ten, qe dintg eon comge
non tem anir, /vlun/ deseonratg
val trop mentg qe nortg notoratg.

...e s'enten con longatgio
nostre roi/n/ d'Arapon, be'n platg
car gient es Anilhau cobratg,
q'el ac /nb/ vasalatge...

Can vos de Boloaire la tor
lo coms ben ai dos espaunir
de Tolsan, car a grant onor
a cobrat l'intrar e l'ieoir.
Pero dedintg l'entatge

dinon onoar, ai bo•l desplatç:
"Bon siro, per qo•us conortatç?"
A•l conort del salvatgio
lo coms qi gia fon duos olemas,
mas non on entier/s/ lo contatç.

Bo•n plai del comte bon senhor
car li vei la remda cuglir
del port de Marsili' a onor;
mas al comte la fos tenir
l'autr'an, al gran paratgio,
de Tolsan, per qe n'os sesatç,
e nos segnor en viu onratç.
Lou revenra•l damatge,
puois a l'egleiça n'os iratç,
ni qier perdon de nos peccatç.

par 36 (1) Ibid. no. XXVI.

(2) Spirit pp.58-9. Errors: 'tanh qu'on manj'a ronsos', 'he had better eat it secretly', translated as 'I wager he...'. 'deia', 'that he should' in line 25 taken as conn. Fr. 'déjà' and translated as 'straightway'. 'si', 'if', ignored in line 35. 'viu', 'alive' taken as a verb in line 30. 'a mon dan mot', 'I scorn', taken as an imperative in line 44.

par 37 (1) Cf. Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.LVI.

(2) Cf. above, par. 26.

(3) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no. XIX 11.51 ff.

(4) Ibid. p.LXXVII note.

(5) Ibid. p.LXXV.

(6) Cf. Appendix One par. 9.

par 38 (1) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no. XXVIII.

(2) Ibid. p.LXXI note.

(3) Ibid. pp.LXXI note, LXXXIII note, and cf. above.

par 39 (1) Ibid. p.XCIII.

par 40 (1) Cf. Sordello Poesie ed. de Lollis p.60.

(2) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.XCV.

par 41 (1) Cf. ibid. p.XCVI.

(2) Quoted Sordello Poesie ed. de Lollis p.323, ed. Boni pp.276-7. Canto XXXVI p.185-6.

(3) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.XCVIII.

par 42 (1) For all this cf. ibid. pp.XCVIII-XCIX.

(2) Ibid. no. XXXII:

...s'iou ni conorteu, qe gran bon ne faria;
...com far lo porria
bon q'o/n/ paubre d'aver et es malat/e/ tot dia
et es mal de seignor e d'amor e d'amia?...

"Sordel/n/ dis mal di ni, e far ne lo•n dezria,
q'iou l'ai tengut /e tenh/ car e onrat tot dia;
donei li fel, molin e autra manentia,
e donei li mollier aital com el volia

(3) Ibid. p.XCIX.

(4) Ibid. p.CII.

par 43 (1) Ibid. p.XCII.

par 44 (1) Canto VI p.26.

par 45 (1) Mauvetto France p.139.

(2) Cf. Gourmont Dante, Bertran p.70, cf. 2.5.84.

(3) 2.5.69 ff.

(4) Kulchur pp.107-8

(5) Ibid. p.120.

par 46 (1) 2.5.69 ff.

(2) Cf. 2.5.56.

(3) Zielinski Religion p.212.

(4) Cf. Appendix Three par. 10 ff.

(5) Quoted Ensayn p.345.

(6) Zielinski Sibylle p.14. Cf. 3.2.10, note 1.

par 47 (1) Ensayn p.347. Note that Gourmont Culture des Idées p.5 says that St Hilary of Poitiers held bad style to be a sin; Gourmont himself considered style an expression of the whole man, ibid. p.8.

par 48 (1) Canto XXIX p.146.

(2) Cf. Homage to Sextus Propertius XI. Edwards and Vasso Annotated Index s.v. Via Sacra seem unaware of this connection and give '(It) prob. a street in Verona.'

(3) Propertius Elegies IV.VI.61 (?).

(4) Canto XXIX p.146-7.

par 49 (1) Cf. above, par. 30.

(2) Dante Paradiso 9.25 ff.

par 50 (1) Mauvette Franco p.132.

par 51 (1) M. Porena La Mia Lettura Dantis, Napoli 1932, s. loc. Paradiso IX.

(2) Dante Paradiso in Divina Commedia ed. Scartazzini note to 3.9.7-36.

par 52 (1) Spirit p.146.

(2) Cf. Gourmont Dante, Béatrice p.63.

(3) Ensayn p.149.

(4) Spirit p.146.

(5) Chabaneau Biographies p.107 note.

(6) 2.5.69 ff.

par 53 (1) Canto XXIX p.147.

par 54 (1) Canto VI p.27.

(2) Cf. above, par.25.

(3) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no.III (cf. text, Appendix One par.12):

I must sing equally as well
in winter as in summer, according to reason,
because in the cold I want to make a gay song
because if I feel like singing at Easter,
since the rose looks like the lady I sing,
similarly the snow looks like her:
so that in both seasons I must sing for her love,
the rose and the snow make me think of her so much.

Cf. also below, par.56.

(4) Spirit p.97.

(5) E.C. cf. 2.5.86 ff.

(6) Canto XXIX p.149; Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no.I.

par 55 (1) Canto XXXVI p.182.

(2) Canto XXXVI p.184.

(3) Cf. further in Spirit p.97.

par 56 (1) Cf. 2.5.54 note 4.

(2) Canto VI p.27; cf. above, par.3.

(3) Sordello Poesie ed. Boni no.III:

Quan ben m'albir en non sic pensanen
de lloi quals es a qui m'autroi e.m don,
tan l'am, qar val part las plasenz que son,
qu'endreg d'amor tene chascun'en mion

par 57 (1) For all this cf. 3.2.13-31 and Appendix Three.

(2) Cf. Appendix Three par.11, 15.

(3) Cf. Appendix Three par.11.

(4) Cf. Appendix Three par.1-17.

par 58 (1) Canto XXXIX p.203.

(2) Fiedler Love and Death p.47; cf. his critique of Rougemont's L'Amour et l'Occident ibid., quoted 2.3.44, and my note ibid.

(3) Cf. previous note.

par 59 (1) Cf. 2.5.69 ff., esp. par.87.

par 60 (1) Cf. 2.5.86 ff.

(2) Canto XVI p.72.

(3) Canto XXXII p.163; cf. Dante Purgatorio 6.50 ff., quoted above, par.30.

par 61 (1) Canto XXXVI p.185-6.

par 62 (1) Above, par.41.

(2) Cf. Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.XCVIII, ed. de Lollis p.234.

(3) Above, par.42.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Cf. Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.CII.

(6) Text in Sordello Poesie ed. de Lollis p.323; names given correctly ibid. p.61; cf. Edwards and Vasse Annotated Index s.v. Dilecta...

par 63 (1) Above, par.42.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Cf. above, par.61.

(4) Above, par.39.

par 64 (1) Kulchur p.107; for ref. to Sordello in Dante cf. above, par.2.

(2) Canto VI pp.26-7.

(3) Dante Inferno 1035-6, 40-3.

(4) Davidsohn Storia di Firenze IV.III.350.

par 65 (1) Canto XXIX pp.146-7.

(2) Carducci Opere X.48-9.

(3) New Age Dec 14 1911.

(4) Kulchur p.134.

(5) Cf. ibid. pp.82-3, Imago p.77.

par 66 (1) Cf. e.g. 3.1.33-4, 2.6.32.

par 67 (1) Essays p.9.

par 68 (1) Cf. Santangelo Trovatori frontisp., and below, par.83.

par 70 (1) Ibid. pp.9 ff. (I.e. Santangelo Trovatori.)

par 71 (1) Ibid. p.10; Santangelo's parenthesis.

par 72 (1) Ibid. pp.53-5.

par 73 (1) Ibid. p.56.

par 74 (1) Brunetto Latini quoted Chaytor Script p.23.

(2) Cf. 2.5.17.

(3) Raimon Vidal quoted Chaytor Script p.23.

par 75 (1) Boutiere et Schutz Biographies p.191.

(2) 2.4.22.

par 76 (1) Moore Young King p.76.

(2) Cf. Sordello Poesie ed. Boni p.XXXVI.

(3) Santangelo Trovatori p.12.

par 77 (1) 2.5.3.

(2) Stronski Folquet pp.105*-115*.

(3) Cf. Dante Paradiso 10.137.

(4) Cf. Dante Purgatorio 20.43 ff.

(5) Cf. Maurotto Franco p.16.

par 78 (1) Cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographies p.2.

(2) Bordello Poesie ed. Boni p.CII.

par 79 (1) Santangelo Trovatori p.18, referring to Dante Vita Nuova xxv.6.

(2) Santangelo Trovatori p.19.

(3) Ibid. p.21.

(4) Ibid.

par 80 (1) Ibid. pp.20-9.

(2) Ibid. p.53.

par 81 (1) Ibid. pp.29-51.

par 82 (1) Ibid. p.57.

(2) Ibid. pp.59-70.

par 83 (1) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja p.56 note; Avalle Letteratura p.123; cf. above, par.60.

par 84 (1) Santangelo Trovatori p.70.

par 85 (1) Ibid. pp.30-51.

par 88 (1) Chaytor Script p.14.

par 90 (1) Santangelo Trovatori p.70.

par 91 (1) Chaytor Scrint p.149.

(2) Joseph Bédier quoted ibid. p.150.

(3) Ibid. p.129.

par 92 (1) Cf. above. Note that in Boutière et Schutz Biographies n.ed. p.xxxviii, Jean Boutière defends himself from Pavati's charges of improcise editing by saying that the genealogy for the prose is not at all certain:

> C'est que les transcriptions des vidas et des razos ont été, au cours du temps, si nombreuses; tant de copies intermédiaires ont été perdues, qu'il est impossible aujourd'hui de rétablir la filiation des quelque vingt chansonniers conservés, seuls survivants d'une quantité considérable.

He is driven ibid. to consider oral transmission. Yet this admitted confusion does not prevent Boutière from clinging to individual variations of spelling as evidence of MS history; cf. below; once again, we are back with an assumption of a culture whose only existence is between the pages of a few chansonniers.

par 93 (1) Ibid. p.xliii. (I.e. Boutière et Schutz Biographies n.ed.)

par 94 (1) Ibid. pp.xli ff.; cf. below, par.103.

(2) Ibid. p.xliii.

par 95. (1) Cf. ibid. p.xxviii.

(2) Ibid.

par 96 (1) Ibid. p.113.

(2) Bertran Mofler ed. Appel no.14.

par 97 (1) In fact the only examples that come to hand are also -g forms, so that this point is inconclusive; cf. Boutière et Schutz Biographien p..24, 155, 162, 251. For a historic present continuous cf. below, par.112 note 2, 'la va tota arrotenar' (cf. Schultz-Gora Elementarbuch p.126). The fact

remains that the writer is likely to have followed Bertran's form here in copying the very words of his song.

(2) Bertran Poésies ed. Thomas, notes to 'Pois Ventadorns' p.11.

(3) Moore Young King p.37.

par 93 (1) Boutière et Schutz Biographies n.ed. p.162; cf. above, par. 97 note 1.

par 100 (1) Marrotta Franco pp.137-9.

(2) Ibid. pp.119, 124-5.

(3) Ibid. p.130.

(4) Cf. Jeanroy Poésie I p.261; Dante Purgatorio 24.55 ff., 26.124 ff.

par 101 (1) (Read: 'by speed in communication') Canto XCVIII pp.715, 720; cf. Appendix Three par.23.

par 102 (1) Kulchur p.107.

(2) Marrotta Franco pp.131-6.

(3) Ibid. p.132. For the following material cf. above, par.64.

par 103 (1) Jeanroy Poésie I p.248.

(2) Quoted Bertoni Duecento p.14.

(3) Bertoni Trovatori p.60.

(4) Ibid. pp.66 ff., nos. XIX, XX.

par 104 (1) Ibid. p.68.

(2) Cf. esp. Jeanroy Poésie I p.247 ff.

(3) Aimeric de Peguilhan quoted Gordello Poesie ed. Boni p.XVII; cf. above, par.22.

par 105 (1) Cf. De Bartholomaeis in ed. Bertoni Provenza pp.30 ff.

(2) Cf. Bertoni Dioconto pp.61 ff.

par 106 (1) Ibid. p.61.

(2) Bertoni Trovatori p.125.

par 107 (1) Ibid. p.124; for the following remarks on literary fashions cf. also Jeanroy Poésie I p.260.

par 109 (1) Cf. esp. Cipolla Money, chap. devoted to books.

(2) Stronski Folquet p.44*.

par 110 (1) Cf. Chaytor Script pp.115 ff.

(2) Schütter Ovid p.9.

(3) Chaytor Script pp.10 ff.

(4) Ibid. pp.117; for the work of Lord, Parry and others cf. F.P. Magoun 'The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Poetry' in Speculum XXVIII (1953) pp.446-467.

par 111 (1) Avallo Letteratura Plato 2.

(2) Ibid. pp.47, 48.

(3) Ibid. p.56.

par 112 (1) 2.3.10.

(2) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja pp.169-701

E fon aventura qu'el fon en la cort del rey Richart d'Englaterra, et estant en la cort, us autres joglars escomes lo con el trobava en pus caras rimas que el. Arnaut/s/ tenc se ad enquera e feron rossion, cancu/n/ do con palafre, que no fora, en poder del roy. E·l roy/n/ enclaus cauc en una cambra. E·ll Arnaut/n/ do fasti que n'ac, no es poder que lensos un not ab autre. Lo joglar/n/ fos con cantar los e tost; o/t/ els non avian mas X. iorns d'espasi, e devia·s iutgar per lo roy a cap do V. iorns. Lo joglar/n/ demandet a·ll Arnaut si avia fag, e·ll Arnaut/s/ respos que oc, pascat a III. iorns; e no·n avia passat. E·l joglar/n/

cantava toth nuog sa canso, per so que bo la saubes. E•ll Arnaut/E/ passet co•l trayasson isquorn; tan que veno una nuog, e•l joglar/O/ la cantava, e•ll Arnaut/A/ la va tota arrotener, e•l so. E can foro donan lo roy, l'Arnaut/E/ dis que volia retraire sa chanso, e comensset mot bo la chanso que•l joglar/A/ avia facha. E•l joglar/A/, can l'ausic, gardet lo en la cara, e dis qu'el l'avia facha. E•l roys dis co•s podia far; e•l joglar/A/ preguet al roy qu'el no saubes lo vor; e•l roy/A/ demandee a•ll Arnaut con era ostat. E•ll Arnaut/A/ contet li tot con era ostat, e•l roy/A/ so no gran gaug e tene so tot a gran esquorn; e foro aquitiat li getso, et a ensen fon donar bels dos...

par 113 (1) Chaytor Script pp.119, 123.

par 114 (1) Cf. Avallo Letteratura p.47.

par 115 (1) Cf. 1.1.00 ff.

NOTES TO SECTION TWO

CHAPTER SEVEN: MEANINGS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF CANTO VI

par 1 (1) 2.1.1-2.

par 2 (1) C. Davenport 'Pound and Frobenius' in ed. Leary Motive p.35.

(2) For this Canto cf. this chapter passim; for development of the idea cf. 3.1.6 ff.

(3) 2.3.4 ff.

par 3 (1) Confucius/Digest IX.3 (Pound's interpolation).

(2) For Montsegur cf. 3.3.99 ff.

(3) Canto LXXXVII p.608; for the Machiavelli cf. Gaudier-Brzeska p.7.

par 4 (1) Kulchur p.217.

(2) Canto LXXXII p.560; cf. the whole passage, pp.559-60, on conversation, and note the use in the Pisan Canton of heard talk; also cmp. Kulchur p.217.

(3) Essays p.433.

(4) Kulchur p.107.

par 5 (1) Impact p.59.

(2) Ibid. p.24.

(3) Canto XXXVII p.192; 'Braintree House' is Adams' own, cf. Impact p.169.

par 6 (1) E.g. Forum p.390, Letters to Hubert Crookmore Feb 1939.

(2) Impact p.27.

(3) Ibid. p.65, cf. p.33.

par 7 (1) 3.1.33-4.

(2) 3.1 passim, and 3.3.111.

par 9 (1) Canto I p.9.

(2) Richard Comtes 1.432.

(3) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy p.111.

(4) Richard Comtes 1.402.

(5) Canto VIII p.36.

(6) Kulchur pp.100-9; ref. to music, the ribibi to Arnaut, ibid. p.152.

(7) Richard Comtes 1.442, 2.91.

par 10 (1) Cf. Appendix One par. 2.

(2) Cf. 2.4.57.

(3) Cf. 2.4.40-65.

(4) Cf. Appendix One par. 2.

(5) Frazer Adonis, Attis passim.

par 11 (1) Cf. Appendix One par. 3; the wife of Guilhem's son was not called 'Duchess of Normandy', this title only being acquired by her daughter (Eleanor of Aquitaine) when she married Henry II of England. Cf. Boutiere et Schutz Biographies p.367. The point is of course trivial, since no-one is interested in Eleanor's mother.

(2) Cf. Appendix One par. 4.

(3) Pound's translation in Hesternae Rosae of Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. XVIII:

Lo ferm voler q'el cor m'intra
no·m pot los bec escoissendre ni ongla...
aisalh a frau, lai on non aurai oncle,
iauzirai loi, en vergier o dinz cambra.

Qan mi soven de la cambra
on a mon dan nul que nuills hom non intra
anz me son tuich plus que frmire ni oncle...

Pound has 'bolts or nailing' for 'beak (i.e. tongue) or (finger-)nail'; 'by some jest' for 'at least secretly';

appears to read 'seven' both as the verb 'remember' and as the adverb 'often'; and paraphrases the last line quoted freely.

par 12 (1) Walker Eleanor p.75.

(2) Canto XX p.96.

(3) Richard Conton 1.498; cf. 2.2.23.

par 13 (1) Cf. 2.2 passim.

(2) Richard Conton 2.112-3; for the Old French cf. Appendix One, par. 5.

par 15 (1) Cf. Appendix One, par. 8.

par 16 (1) 2.4.88-90.

(2) Cf. Appendix One, par. 8.

(3) 2.5.49-69.

(4) Cf. Appendix One, par. 9.

par 17 (1) Above, par. 11.

(2) Canto XXIX p.150.

(3) Cf. o.c. 2.5.60, 73 ff.

(4) Cf. 2.2.22.

(5) Canto VII p.20; cf. also 2.5.69 and note 5.

(6) E.g. Pavannes and Divagations p.204: 'Even oneself has felt it, driving any new idea into the great passive vulva of London, a sensation analogous to the male feeling in copulation.'

(7) Essays pp.149-155; described as 'restraint' Spirit p.97.

par 18 (1) Cf. The Natural Philosophy of Love pp.41-2.

(2) 2.3.1 ff.

par 19 (1) 2.3.19-22.

(2) Cf. Appendix One, par. 8.

par 20 (1) Lines 54-73.

(2) Cf. Appendix One, par. 9.

(3) 2.5.69 ff. 2.6. passim.

(4) Cf. Appendix One, par. 10, and 2.6.43, 64-5.

(5) 2.6.54; cf. Appendix One, par. 12.

par 22 (1) Cf. Appendix One, par. 13.

(2) Cf. Impact pp.215-6.

par 23 (1) 'Arms' can also mean 'coats of arms', but since Elias was a metal-worker it may be assumed that he worked on the metal of arms. The profession of designer does not appear to have existed in the Middle Ages.

par 25 (1) New Age 4 Jan 1912.

(2) Ll. 5-6, 48.

(3) Cf. 2.6.25.

(4) Cf. 1.2.22.

(5) Cf. Appendix One, par. 5.

(6) Royal arms suppressed communes for the sake of dues, e.g. Richard Conton 2.62 ff; cf. also 2.4.5, 30.

(7) Cf. above, par. 20.

par 26 (1) 1.1.79.

par 27 (1) Ennyn p.431.

(2) Impact p.142, ABC p.46.

(3) Stock Life p.76.

(4) Cf. 1.1.67.

NOTES TO SECTION THREE: 'POUND AND THE "CATHAR" HERETICS'

CHAPTER ONE: SECRET LITERARY CODES

par 1 (1) See 3.3.3, note 5.

(2) Canto LXXIV p.456.

(3) Kulchur p.145.

(4) Pavannes and Divagations p.96.

(5) Canto XCI p.649.

par 2 (1) Kulchur pp.144-5.

(2) Par. II. 1-6.

(3) Canto CIX p.793

par 3 (1) E.g. 2.5.69 ff.

(2) E.g. Ibid. par. 76.

(3) Kulchur pp.294-5; cf. esp. Spirit p.90.

par 4 (1) Ennayn p.150.

(2) See 3.3.6 note 2.

(3) Guirnud Inquisition I. p.79.

par 5 (1) E.g. Father A. Dondaine, 'Nouvelles sources de l'histoire doctrinale du néomanichéisme au moyen âge', in Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques, XXVIII (1939).

par 6 (1) Gaudier-Brzeska p.91.

(2) E.g. Spirit p.93; New Age 21 Dec 1911.

(3) E.g. Kulchur pp.27-8; Ennayn p.76.

(4) E.g. Letters to William Carlos William 21 Oct 1903; Letters to Harriet Monroe 2[illegible] Oct 1912.

(5) Canto XCVII p.707.

(6) Cf. Kulchur p.45: 'Nothing is, without efficient cause.'

(7) Cf. Confucius: Analects 1.IV, VIII.

par. 7 (1) E.g. Stock Life p.25.

(2) Spirit p.39.

(3) Cf. 2.5.4.

(4) Cf. Confucius: Analects, 'Procedure'.

(5) Kulchur p.127.

(6) Spirit p.93 ff.

par. 8 (1) Jackson Early Poetry pp.92-3; cf. my critique of Jackson's research, 1.2.16.

(2) Philadelphia Book News Monthly XXV.I (Sept 1906), quoted in Stock Life p.31.

par. 9 (1) Visiting Card p.22.

(2) Poladan Secret p.60

(3) Gourmont, Dante, Béatrice p.55 and note.

(4) Valli's italics throughout.

(5) Valli pp.16-17 Linguaggio

par 10 (1) Cf. Valli Linguaggio p.18.

(2) E. Aroux, Clef de la Comédie anti-catholique de Dante Alighieri, Paris 1856, s.v.

par 11 (1) Valli, Linguaggio p.19:

> '...Péladan, che trattò l'argomento confondendo di ignorare l'opera del Bonnetti e che ne fece dello abbozzonccellature di terza mano così poco solido scientificamente da non aumentare certo il loro credito presso gli uomini di studio.' (Valli's italics.)

(2) Póladan Secret o.c. p.21.

(3) Ziolinski's phrase, Sibylle p.14; cf. 3.2.10, note 1.

(4) Póladan Secret p.13.

(5) Ibid. p.24.

(6) Ibid. p.26.

(7) Cf. esp. D. Davie, 'The Poet as Sculptor' in Hosso Approaches.

(8) Cf. esp. 2.5.49 ff.

(9) Póladan Secret p.23; Spirit p.99.

(10) Ennayn p.432.

(11) Póladan, Secret 'Preface'.

(12) Ibid. p.52.

(13) Ibid. p.58; cf. Spirit p.101, Kulchur pp.294-5.

par. 12 (1) Póladan Secret p.59.

(2) Ibid. p.66. Cf. discussion of Peire Vidal, 1.1.57-61.

par. 13 (1) 2.5.59, 70ff; cf. 2.4.93, 2.1.45.

(2) E. Starkie, From Gautier to Eliot, London 1960, p.142. Note however that Levi is unlikely to have 'revived the cast of Rosicrucians, and... given Póladan an important position in its hierarchy' in 1889, since he died in 1875. For the relations between all these spiritualists, and also Pound and Yeats, see esp. Robert Duncan, 'The H.D. Book Part I Chapter 5' in Aion 1, no data, and 'The H.D. Book Part II Chapter 4' in Caterpillar 7, April 1969, and V. Moore, The Unicorn, NY 1954, pp.105-112.

(3) Cf. W. Duncan, 'Secretary of Nature, John Heydon' in Hosso Approaches.

(4) See 2.5.59.

(5) See 1.2.16.

(6) Ibid.

par. 14 (1) Ennayn p.101.

par. 15 (1) Essays p.149.

(2) Ibid. p.180.

(3) Ibid. p.181.

par.16 (1) Essays p.180

par. 17 (1) See 2.5.93 ff.

(2) Essays p.180.

par. 18 (1) See 2.5.69 ff, Chap. 6 par. 64 ff.

(2) See 2.5.76 ff.

par. 19 (1) See 2.5.64 ff.

par. 20 (1) Cf. G. Davenport 'Persephone's Exit' in Heaso, Approaches p.172; also compare Hear Peri[illegible]ord:

The four round towers, four brothers—mostly fools

—with Canto CV p.774:

800 years after En Bertrans
'en gatge', had the four towers,
'Talleyrand Perigorrs!'

(2) Canto CV p.775.

(3) See 2.5.64.

(4) Footnote to Guillaume de Torrin Painted in Pound, Personae (1909), quoted in Stock Life p.63; cf. Kulchur p.77.

par. 21 (1) Canto XXXVI p.185 (April 1934); Callup C1040.

(2) See 3.2.13 ff, and Appendix Three.

(3) Canto LXXXVII p.606 (Spring 1955); Callup C1743.

(4) Kulchur p.121.

(3) 1.1.80 ff.

(6) See 3.2.34, esp. note 9.

(7) Canto LXXXV p.502.

(8) M. del Fra, Scoto Eriugena, 2nd edn. Milano 1951, p.207.

(9) Ibid. p.209.

(10) Ibid. p.210.

par 23 (1) Canto XCIX p.724.

par 24 (1) Spirit p.90.

(2) Appendix Three.

par 25 (1) Essays pp.114-5.

(2) Arnaut Canzoni ed. Toja no. X 12-14:

e si tot venta·ill freid'aura,
l'amors q'inz el cor mi plou
mi ten chaut on plus iverna.

(3) Cavalcanti Rime ed. Arnone, p.17.

(4) Cf. B. de Rachewiltz, 'Pagan and Magic Elements in Ezra Pound's Works' in Heene, Approaches pp.103-5.

(5) G. Cavalcanti, Le Rime ed. M. Arnone, Firenze 1881, p.45 (to Bernardo da Bologna).

(6) Canto XCII pp.651-2; cf. Canto XCI p.650.

par 26 (1) 2.5.116.

(2) Canto IV p.19.

(3) See 2.5.74 ff.

par 27 (1) Ibid. par. 55.

(2) Canto XX p.93.

par 28 (1) Appendix Three par. 18 ff.

(2) Confluenti Pivot XXVI 10 (Pound's interpolation).

(3) 3.3.107 ff.

par 29 (1) See 3.1.16.

(2) Essays p.100.

(3) Ibid. p.181.

(4) 2.5.122.

(5) Essays p.136.

(6) Kulchur pp.144-5; see 3.1.2.

par 30 (1) 2.5.76 ff.

(2) Visiting Card p.22.

par 31 (1) Kulchur p.225.

(2) Ibid. p.221.

(3) Ibid. p.45.

par 32 (1) Kulchur p.196

(2) Stock Life pp.199-200.

(3) Visiting Card p.7; cf. 'Addendum for Canto C.'

par 33 (1) See 2.7 passim.

(2) See 2.6.44 ff.

(3) Stock Life p.323.

(4) Canto XCV p.677; cf. H. de Bacheviltz, Discretions, London 1971, p.167:

> ...his good friend Ubaldo degli Uberti, also mentioned for his likeness with the ancestor mentioned by Dante:

....Farinata, kneeling in the cortile,
built like Ubaldo, that's race...

--a reference to Canto LXXVIII p.512. Cf. also 2.6.52.

par 34 (1) Dekker Sailing p.52; cf. Sect. 1 Chap. 2 par. 22.

NOTES TO SECTION 3

CHAPTER 2: 'A LITTLE LIGHT ALONG THE BORDERS'

par 1 (1) For the history and meaning of the Eleusinian rites cf. esp. K. Kerenyi Eleusis, London 1967, G.E. Mylonas Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, Princeton and London 1962, and Harrison Prolegomena.

par 2 (1) Harrison Prolegomena pp.261 ff.

(2) W.K.C. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion, 2nd edn. London 1952, p.155.

par 3 (1) Canto LXXX p.547.

(2) W. Baumann Rose pp.147-151.

(3) Canto LXXXII p.561.

(4) Cf. Baumann Rose p.151; Canto LXXXII p.561; Imnot p.130.

(5) Canto XLVII pp.247-8 (my interpolation).

par 4 (1) Canto LXXXI p.552.

(2) Ziolinski Sibylle, p.59. Cf. below, par. 10 note 1.

(3) Canto XLVII pp.246-7.

par 5 (1) Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, passim.

(2) F.M Cornford, The Origin of Attic Comedy, Cambridge 1914, pp.26-7.

(3) Canto XLVII p.246.

(4) Cf. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, Poems ed. V. de Sola Pinto, 2nd edn. London 1964, XVI.

(5) Povannon and Divarticonn (Postscript) p.203.

par 6 (1) Harrison Prolegomena p.551.

(2) Canto XLV p.240.

(3) Canto XXXIX p.203 (my interpolation).

par 7 (1) Harrison Prolegomena p.273.

(2) Zielinski Sibylle p.31. Cf. below, par. 10 note 1.

(3) Spirit p.60 (Found's translation).

par 8 (1) Visiting Card p.7.

par 9 (1) E.g. Spirit p.90.

(2) Spirit p.95.

(3) Ibid. p.96.

par 10 (1) Cf. 2.6.45; 3.2.4, 7, 31; 3.1.11; Appendix Three par. 20, and Stock Life p.444.

(2) 2.5.08.

(3) R. de Gourmont, 'Le Paganisme éternel' in La Culture des Idéen, 7th edn. Paris 1916, p.100.

(4) Cf. esp. Rahner Greek Myths, R.H. Bainton Early and Mediaeval Christianity, London 1965, and Davidsohn Storia di Firenze I.

par 11 (1) E.g. Kulchur pp.155, 230, 258-9.

(2) Kulchur p.109.

(3) E.g. Kulchur p.301.

(4) Canto LXXXVI p.529.

par 12 (1) E.g. San Zenono, Verona (Kulchur p.109, Cantos LXXIV p.476, XCI p.648, XCVI pp.603, 605); San Vitale, Ravenna (Canto XCVI p.605); St Trophime, Arles (Kulchur p.109, Canto XLV p.240); Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Venice (ABC p.151, Cantos LXXIV p.457, LXXXIII p.564); St Hilaire, Poitiers (Canto XLV p.240).

(2) Kulchur p.224.

(3) Ibid. p.224.

(4) Ibid. p.225.

(5) Ibid. p.225; cf. 'Platonic Inebriety', p.33.

par 13 (1) Appendix Three.

par 14 (1) Cappuyns Erigène pp.4, 59.

(2) This account of Scotus Erigena's life is taken chiefly from De Divisione ed. Sheldon-Williams, 'Introduction'.

(3) Spirit pp.98-9.

par 15 (1) The best account of Erigena's background and development is in Cappuyns Erigène.

par 16 (1) E.g. Emery Idéas pp.23-6.

(2) Stock Life p.373.

(3) Letters to T.S. Eliot 10 Jan 1940.

(4) ABC p.101.

(5) CantoXXXVI p.185.

par 17 (1) Cappuyns Erigène p.240.

(2) Ibid. p.240 note.

(3) Ibid. p.250.

par 18 (1) E.g. Spirit p.90.

(2) ABC p.101.

(3) Kulchur p.263.

(4) Kulchur p.145.

(5) Canto LXXIV p.456.

par 19 (1) Count C.F.M. de Rémusat, Abélard, Paris 1845, p.312; Cappuyns Erigène concedes that it is possible that Erigo a taught at the Palace School p.64 ff, and describes the movements of the School pp.50, 65.

(2) Aprendix Three par. 18 ff.

(3) Cantos LXXV p.502, LXXXVII p.607.

(4) Stock Life p.573.

(5) CantoLXXXIII p.563.

(6) Cappuyns Erigène p.78.

par 20 (1) Canto XCII p.654.

(2) Canto XCV p.679.

(3) Kulchur pp.294-5.

(4) Canto CV p.775.

(5) Canto LXXXIII p.563.

(6) The two instances of lux in the Cantos given by Rachewiltz seem to be the only ones (LXXX pp.531, 546).

(7) B. de Rachewiltz 'Pagan and Magic Elements in Ezra Pound's Works' in Ideas Approaches p.191.

par 21 (1) Cappuyns Erigène p.251; for Cavalcanti's use of Albertus Magnus cf. Essays pp.150, 178; also and esp. J.E. Shaw Cavalcanti's Theory of Love, Toronto 1949, passim.

(2) Essays p.150.

(3) Impact p.133.

(4) Gilson Christian Philosophy p.120.

(5) Canto LXXIV p.450.

(6) Cantos XCVIII pp.714, 720.

(7) Count C.F.M. de Rémusat, Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry, Paris 1853, pp.487-8. Cappuyns Erigène p.242 cites however J. Drăseke who 'has shown, twenty-five years ago, how illusory are the correspondences pointed out by C. de Rémusat.'

par 22 (1) Cappuyns Erigène p.245.

(2) See 3.1.21.

(3) Cappuyns Erigène p.246.

(4) Kulchur p.263.

(5) M. dal Pra, Scoto Eriugena, 2nd edn. Milano 1951, cites L'Eriugena e Bruno, Mariano, Palermo 1907, but omits the author.

(6) Cappuyns Erigene p.250; I.P. Sheldon-Williams in his edn. of Eriugena's Periphyseon (De Divisione), notes p.17 that Raymond Klibansky has identified Cusanus' handwriting on the MS.

par 23 (1) Peck 'Landscape' p.84.

(2) Canto LXXIV p.465.

(3) Canto XCIX p.729.

(4) Essays p.150.

(5) Addendum for Canto C.

par 24 (1) E.g. Canto XCVII p.707; cf. Dante Inferno VII 96.

(2) Canto LXXIV p.465; cf. Dante Inferno XXXIII 13-87.

(3) Impact p.75.

(4) Canto LXXIV p.463; cf. F. Villon Oeuvres ed. A. Longnon, Paris 1932 p.40, 'Ballade pour prier Nostre Dame'.

par 25 (1) Cf. Confucius: Analects 15.XXXVI: 'a shell and a direction'.

(2) Canto LXXX p.548.

(3) Canto LXXVI pp.488-9.

(4) Ibid. p.489.

(5) Canto LXXIV p.465.

par 26 (1) Canto LXXIV p.455.

(2) Canto LXXXIII p.560.

(3) Canto LXXXVII p.609.

(4) Cf. Stock Life p.429.

(5) Canto XCIV p.660.

par 27 (1) W. Baumann, 'Secretary of Nature, John Hoyden' in Neuse Approaches pp.303-318.

(2) Canto XCV pp.679-80.

par 28 (1) See par. 31.

(2) Canto XCV p.680.

(3) Cf. Canto XCIX p.726.

(4) Canto XCIX p.731: 'Khubi Kan by nomination.'

(5) Essays pp.149-155.

(6) Found in'Notes: Parts of which have been used in later drafts' in Agenda Vol. 8 nos. 3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1970) p.4.

par 29 (1) Found in The Exile no. 2 p.35, quoted in Stock Life p.270.

(2) E.g. Stock Life pp.84-5.

(3) Cf. Stock Exile, p.251.

(4) Canto XCV p.678.

par 30 (1) Count C.F.H. de Rémusat, Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry, Paris 1853, p.485.

(2) Real author not yet known; cf. Cappuyns Erigène p.150 notes, and Denys l'Aréopagite Hiérarchie Célaste, ed. Roques et al, p.xviii.

(3) Erigena, De Divisione ed. Sheldon-Williams, p.vii.

par 31 (1) W. Baumann, 'Secretary of Nature, John Hoyden' in Neuse Approaches p.316.

(2) Ziolinski Sibylle, p.20; cf. Harrison Prolegomena p.263. For Ziolinski cf. above, par. 19 note 1.

(3) Since I wrote this passage, Brooke-Rose ZBC p.40 note, has glossed 'Dionisio et Eleutherio' as:

> Two missionary martyrs who according to legend were decapitated in Montmartre in 273 (Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum I/31). The church of St Denis was built on the same

spot in the twelfth century. Calvin is said not to have blacked them out because the Huguenots were put to flight at the Battle of St Denis on Nov. 10th 1567.

However, these two missionary martyrs would obviously have no significance for Pound in this Canto if they did not somehow represent an anti-semiticism; and they are probably being identified with Dionysos and Liber Eleuthorius as well as Dionysius the Areopagite, after the manner of Rémy de Gourmont in 'Le Paganisme eternel' (see 3.2.3). Cf. Appendix Three par. 24 note 2.

par 32 (1) Spirit p.90.

(2) Kulchur p.263; cf. above, par. 18, and 3.3.111.

(3) Cf. below, par. 33, and e.g. Cantos XCVIII pp.715, 720, C p.748, CV pp.771, 772, 773, 775, 776.

(4) See 2.7.1. ff.

par 33 (1) 2.5.69 ff, Chap 6 par. 44 ff.

(2) 1.1.7.

(3) E.g. Ennayn pp.160-1

par 34 (1) H. Malville, La Vie des Templiers, 3rd edn. Paris 1951, p.19.

(2) E.g. T.W. Parker, The Knights Templars in England, Tucson 1963, pp.59 ff.

(3) H. Malville, La Vie des Templiers, 3rd edn. Paris 1951, pp.246 ff.

(4) Canto LXXXVII p.612.

(5) Canto XC p.639; cf. esp. Canto LXXXVII p.609. Cf. J. Gimpel, The Cathedral Builders, NY and London 1961, pp.93, 107 ff.

(6) On this building cf. Kulchur p.109.

(7) B. de Rachewiltz, 'Pagan and Magic Elements in Ezra Pound's Works' in Neese Aprroaches p.190.

(8) See 3.3.99 ff.

(9) Canto XC p.639; cf. Canto XCII p.654:

After Apollonius, denaturization
& a little light from the hoxlers
Exigena,
Avicenna, Richardus.

par 35 (1) Kulchur pp.107 ff.

(2) Ibid. p.263.

par 37 (1) See 3.1.3; also and esp. 3.3.110.

SECTION THREE : NOTES

CHAPTER THREE: THE PROVINCIAL HERETICS

par 1 (1) See 3.1.1 ff, and 3.3.99ff.

par 2 (1) Cf. the poem of this name in Pound A Lume Spento; also Spirit p.40.

(2) Spirit p.89.

(3) Ibid. pp.87 ff.

par 3 (1) Stock Life p.429.

(2) Cf. Pavannes and Divagations (Religio) p.96.

(3) Gilson, Christian Philosophy p.120.

(4) See 3.1.3.

(5) E.g. J.B. Russell, Mediaeval Civilization, Somerset, N.J., 1968, p.371; J. Madaule, Le Drame albigeois et le destin français, Paris 1962, p.71; P. Belperron, La croisade contre les Albigeois, Paris 1967, introd. bibl.

(6) Edwards and Vasse Annotated Index s.v. Albigenses.

par 4 (1) Cf. Essays p.154.

(2) Spirit p.97.

(3) Canto LXXIV p.456.

par 6 (1) See 3.3.43 ff.

(2) E.g. Runciman Manichee passim (his chapter 'The Cathars' is taken almost entirely from Guiraud Inquisition Vol. I); Nolli et al. Cathares passim (Guiraud as principal source); Thouzellier Catharisme 'Preface'; Loff Heresy pp.35-6; but cf. Dondaine 'Actes' p.332 note: 'Nous devons beaucoup à cet ouvrage, enrichi d'une abondante documentation, mais l'exactitude des citations et des références laisse beaucoup à désirer.'

par 7 (1) See e.g. 3.3.45 and 55.

(2) Runciman Manichee p.131.

(3) Ibid. p.117; Guiraud Inquisition I p.2.

(4) Runciman Manichee p.117 note.

(5) Ibid. p.117.

par 8 (1) Ibid. p.117 note.

(2) Guiraud Inquisition I p.2

(3) Ibid. p.3.

(4) Ibid. pp.3-10.

par 9 (1) Ibid. pp.10-11.

(2) Ibid. pp.11-14.

(3) Ibid. pp. 14-16.

par 10 (1) Ibid. pp.16-17.

(2) Ibid. pp.17-18.

(3) Ibid. pp.19-20.

(4) Ibid. pp.20-21.

(5) Ibid. pp.21-22.

par 11 (1) Ibid. p.23.

(2) Ibid. pp.24-25.

(3) Ibid. pp.25-26.

par 12 (1) Ibid. p.302.

(2) Ibid. p.372.

(3) Ibid. p.375.

(4) Ibid. p.380.

par 14 (1) Ibid. pp.403-4.

(2) Ibid. pp.405-7.

par 15 (1) Niel Albigeois p.76.

(2) Guiraud Inquisition I. pp.400-9.

par 16 (1) Spirit p.101.

(2) Guiraud Inquisition I. p.407.

(3) Cf. e.g. Runciman Manichee p.147.

(4) I have not found an authoritative history of this Crusade, and so for facts not generally in dispute I cite tertiary sources or none; the general picture is taken from Niel Albigeois.

par 17 (1) Chanson ed. Meyer p.50.

(2) 'Introduction' to Chanson ed. Meyer p.xxj, quoting Saint-Aubin d'Angers and Cesaire d'Heisterbach.

(3) Ibid. p.xvij.

par 19 (1) Niel Albigeois p.87.

par 20 (1) Cf. 'Introduction' to Chanson ed. Meyer p.lxxxvij.

par 22 (1) Madaule Crusade, p.145. {I am in error here; the supression was not until 1535.} (Cf. however 3.1.11).

(2) Cf. Impact p.215.

(3) Cf. Z. Oldenbourg, Massacre at Montsegur, London 1961, p.222.

par 23 (1) Guiraud Inquisition I.p.vi.

(2) Runciman Manichee p.3.

par 24 (1) Guiraud Inquisition I p.335-7.

par 25 (1) Lea Inquisition p.153.

(2) Thouzellier Catharisme p.55, quoting Bernard de Fontcaudo, writing c. 1190-92.

(3) Guiraud Inquisition I. p.22.

(4) Ibid. p.374.

(5) Guiraud Inquisition II. p.5.

(6) Ibid. pp.6-35, quoting many of the depositions.

(7) Lea Inquisition p.105.

par 26 (1) The relevant material is reprinted in one volume as The Inquisition of the Middle Ages, London 1963, to which reference is here made throughout.

par 27 (1) Lea Inquisition pp.89-94.

(2) Ibid. p.123.

(3) Guiraud Inquisition II p.7; Lea Inquisition p.202.

(4) Lea Inquisition p.162.

(5) Ibid. p.124.

(6) Ibid. p.128.

(7) Ibid. p.161, quoting Bernart Gui's 'Practica Inquisitionis' IV.

par 28 (1) Lea Inquisition pp.139-141.

(2) Ibid. p.175.

(3) Ibid. p.105.

(4) Guiraud Inquisition II. p.7.

(5) Lea Inquisition p.190.

(6) Ibid. p.150.

par 29 (1) Ibid. p.220.

(2) Ibid. p.220.

(3) Ibid. p.224.

(4) Ibid. pp.241-2.

(5) Ibid. pp.240-1.

(6) Ibid. p.173.

(7) Ibid. p.182.

(8) Ibid. pp.182, 190.

par 30 (1) Ibid. p.145.

(2) Ibid. p.310.

par 31 (1) Ibid. p.293.

(2) Guiraud Inquisition II. p.10.

(3) Lea Inquisition pp.292-4.

par 33 (1) Moneta of Cremona, Adversus Catharos et Valdenses ed. T.A. Ricchini, repr. Ridgewood 1964, pp.xiii-xiv.

par 34 (1) F. Tocco, L'Eresia nel medio evo, Firenze 1884.

(2) Runciman Manichee p.6.

(3) R.C. Zaehner The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism, London 1961, pp.19, 42-3.

(4) Ibid pp.183 ff.

(5) Runciman Manichee pp.10, 12.

(6) Ibid. pp.12-13.

(7) Ibid. pp.13-16.

par 35 (1) Ibid. p.46.

(2) Ibid. pp.46-7.

(3) Ibid. pp.50-1.

par 36 (1) Ibid. p.66.

(2) Ibid. pp.73-7.

(3) Ibid. p.101.

(4) Ibid. p.101.

(5) Ibid. pp.114-5

(6) Ibid. p.118.

(7) Ibid. p.117.

par 37 (1) Guiraud Inquisition I p.42; quoted by Runciman Manichee p.148, Nelli et al. Cathares frontispiece.

(2) Guiraud Inquisition I p.43.

(3) Ibid. pp.43-4.

(4) Ibid. p.46.

(5) Ibid. p.52.

(6) Ibid. pp.59-60.

(7) Ibid. pp.90-1.

(8) Ibid. p.61.

(9) Ibid. pp.66-7.

(10) Ibid. pp.70-72.

(11) Ibid. pp.72-4.

par 38 (1) E.g. Miel Albigeois pp.52-5; Simone Weil's letter quoted as frontispiece to Nelli Cathares.

(2) This material is taken from Guiraud Inquisition I chapter III passim.

par 40 (1) Guiraud Inquisition I. p.111.

(2) Ibid. p.137.

(3) Ibid. p.100.

(4) Ibid. p.95.

(5) Ibid.

par 41 (1) Spirit p.95.

par 42 (1) Visiting Card p.36.

(2) Kulchur p.294-5.

par 44 (1) Morghen Medioevo pp.230-40.

par 45 (1) Russell Dissent pp.196-7.

(2) Runciman Manichee p.117.

(3) Russell Dissent pp.197-8.

(4) Ibid. p.208.

par 46 (1) Cf. Russell Dissent p.208.

(2) Essays p.176.

(3) Cf. Runciman Manichee p.4.

(4) Morghen Medioevo pp.233, 227-8; cf. Guiraud Inquisition I p.10; also ed. Dondaine Liber p.53: 'Les polémistes catholiques ont bien reconnu les doctrines manichéennes dans l'hérésie cathare, mais c'est grâce à leur connaissance de saint Augustin.'

(5) Cf. Russell Dissent pp.213-4.

(6) E.g. Runciman Manichee p.110.

(7) Russell Dissent p.194.

par 47 (1) Morghen Medioevo pp.232-3.

(2) Quoted by Morghen Medioevo p.234.

par 48 (1) Russell Dissent p.192.

(2) Ibid. p.200.

par 49 (1) Ibid. pp.209-215.

par 50 (1) Ibid. pp.216-7.

(2) Ibid. pp.216-7.

(3) Thouzellier Catharisme p.27 and note.

par 51 (1) Russell Dissent pp.220-4.

(2) E.g. Dondaine 'Actes' p.354; similarly in ed. Dondaine Liber p.51, J. de Lugio is a principal theologian, but unknown by all the other supposed Cathar texts, therefore represents 'un courant particulier'.

(3) Ed. Dondaine Liber p.49.

(4) E.g. Guiraud Inquisition I pp.365-92.

par 52 (1) Russell Dissent pp.217-227.

par 53 (1) Thouzellier Catharisme pp.19-23, 33 note.

(2) A summary with references to her discussions of particular heretic manifestations during this period is given ibid. p.58.

(3) Ibid. p.21.

par 54 (1) Dondaine 'Actes' p.326.

(2) Ibid. p.334.

par 55 (1) Ibid. p.334.

(2) Ibid. pp.336, 338.

(3) Ibid. p.337.

(4) Ibid. pp.347-350.

(5) Ibid. p.351.

par 56 (1) Ibid. p.335.

par 57 (1) Russell Dissent p.305, giving bibl. for Puech and Borst; Thouzellier Catharisme pp.19-23, 33 note, but apparently changing her views in ed. Le Goff Colloque p.109; Morghen e.g. in ed. Le Goff Colloque p.127.

(2) The two witnesses who give clear doctrinal evidence are L. Nerro, Guiraud Inquisition I pp.40, 41, and P. Caraian

(already quoted, Doct. 3 Chap. 3 par. 37, and also used by e.g. Runciman and Nelli, as noted there), ibid. pp.42, 47, 61, 64, 102. C. Audibert, ibid. p.46, C. de Montgiscard, ibid. p.49, anon. of Content, ibid. p.53, and C.F. de Pech-Merser, ibid. p.60, give extremely confused and inconclusive witness, which, however, by judicious interweaving with his own deductions, Guiraud uses to great effect.

par 60 (1) Quoted in Guiraud Inquisition I p.xxiii.

(2) 3.3.33, 47.

(3) Ed. Dondaine Liber p.16.

(4) Ed. Dondaine Liber p.66 11.5, 31.

(5) Ibid. p.65 l.8; cf. Dondaine's remarks ibid. p.50 on 'les sentiments un peu excessifs d'un converti'.

par 61 (1) Ed. Dondaine Liber p.7.

par 62 (1) The best critical discussion of all this material is in ed. Dondaine Liber and 'Actes'.

(2) The Interrogatio Johannis, Vienna version, is in I. von Doellinger, Beitrage zur Sektengeschichte in Mittelalter, Munchen 1890, II pp.85 ff; both versions are translated in R. Nelli, Ecritures cathares, Paris 1959, pp.31-51, 52-66. Nelli ibid. p.32 and Runciman Manichee p.86 refer to a Bulgar version.

The Liber de Duobus Principiis is in ed. Dondaine Liber, and translated in R. Nelli, Ecritures cathares, Paris 1959.

Ed. Dondaine Liber p.50 notes of the other texts asserted for example by Nelli (Ecritures cathares, see above) to be Cathar, that the Liber seems completely unaware of them; 'il n'y a même pas trace de leur influence!' Clearly there was a chaotic mixture of sects and sub-sects.

par 63 (1) Dondaine 'Actes' p.327.

(2) Ibid. p.343.

(3) Ibid. pp.335-0.

(4) Ibid. p.339.

(5) Ibid. p.342.

(6) Ed. Dondaine Libor p.20.

(7) Ibid. pp.132-8.

(8) Cf. ibid. p.21.

(9) Dondaine 'Actes' pp.341-2.

(10) Ibid. p.341.

(11) Ed. Dondaine Libor p.76.

(12) Dondaine 'Actes' p.345 note, Runciman Manichee p.86, Nelli Ecritures p.32; cf. above, par. 62 note (2).

(13) Ed. Dondaine Liber p.76, Runciman Manichee p.124.

(14) Dondaine 'Acten' p.340.

(15) Ed. Dondaine Liber p.28.

(16) Thouzellier Catharisme p.107.

(17) Ed. Dondaine Libor p.17.

(18) Ibid. p.20; Guiraud Inquisition I pp.xxix, 190.

par 64 (1) Thouzellier Catharisme p.21 note.

(2) Guiraud Inquisition I p.44.

par 65 (1) Morghen Medioevo p.244.

par 66 (1) Loff Heresy p.14.

(2) Ibid. p.22.

(3) Ibid. p.21.

(4) Ibid. p.15.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid. p.16.

(7) Ibid. p.15.

(8) Thouzellier Catharisme pp.16-18, 24-30.

(9) D. Schon 'Keith Lecture' in The Listener 29 November 1970, p.724.

par 67 (1) Morghen Medioevo p.252.

(2) Ibid. pp.253-5.

(3) Ibid. p.254.

(4) Ibid. p.253.

(5) Ibid. p.257.

(6) Ibid. p.259; cf. Guiraud Inquisition I p.xxix.

par 68 (1) Thouzellier Catharisme pp.16-17.

(2) Ibid. p.44.

par 71 (1) Morghen Medioevo p.251.

(2) Ibid. p.251. Cf. ed. Dondaine Liber p.25 on the complete absence of any written tradition referred to by the Liber; again, ibid. p.55, 'la grosse manichéenne s'accommode difficilement de sacrements qui seraient les principes essentiels du salut.'

(3) Cf. Russell Dissent pp.201-2.

(4) Ibid. p.205.

(5) Ibid. p.220.

par 72 (1) Russell Dissent p.209.

(2) Quoted in J. Gimpel The Cathedral Builders, NY and London 1961, p.18.

par 73 (1) Cf. esp. 3.3.110.

par 74 (1) 1.1.23.

(2) The following conclusions are illustrated throughout Cohn Millennium.

par 75 (1) Cohn Millenium pp.53-6.

(2) Ibid. pp.55-6.

(3) Kulolux p.261.

(4) Cohn Millenium pp.56-60.

(5) Ibid. p.193.

(6) Ibid. pp.53 ff.

par 76 (1) Ibid. e.g. p.10.

(2) Ibid. p.44.

(3) Ibid, p.46.

(4) Ibid. p.48.

par 77 (1) See 3.3.67; also and esp. Morghen in ed. Le Goff Colloque pp.122-3.

(2) Thouzellier Catharisme ch.1.

par 78 (1) 3.3.57 note 2.

(2) 3.3.57-9.

(3) 3.3.7-9.

(4) 3.3.46.

par 79 (1) 1.1.62.

(2) Cf. Miel Montségur, temple p.139, on such disputes at Toulouse and Béziers.

(3) 2.4.48 ff.

par 80 (1) E.g. Cohn Millenium p.93.

(2) E.g. ed. Martin-Chabot Chanson de la Croisade II pp.208-9 (siege of Toulouse, 1216):

De totas parts lai vengo, corron e d'espero

Cavalor o borzes o airvent e goudo
Que cascun d'olo aporta complida garniso...
E can foro ensemblo catro·lh filh o·lh pairo
E donna o donzelas, cascus per contenso
Comensan las barreiras quec donan os naixo...

Note ibid. that while the battle-cry of the invaders is the name of their leader, Montfort, that of 'Coin do laina' (the inhabitants) is '"Tholoza! Tolcairc!" o"Avinho!"' —the name of the allied towns defending themselves.

par 81 (1) Ibid. II p.200 ff., 240 ff., 246.

(2) Miel Albigeois pp.86 (Geralda de Lavaur), 97 (Pierre de Fenouillet), 75 (Esclarmonde de Foix).

(3) Ibid. pp.83, 85.

par 83 (1) Canto LXXXV p.579, cf. pp.587, 591.

(2) Visiting Card p.14.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Spirit p.39.

(5) Cf. Gaubert de Poicibot, Boutiere et Schutz Biographies p.128.

par 84 (1) E.g. ed. Martin-Chabot Chanson de la Croisade I p.50: at Beziers the houses were 'tots d'aveir e manens o farsin'.

(2) Clédat Dortran p.26, contra Runciman Manichee p.147.

(3) 1.1.44.

par 86 (1) Cf. E. Mâle L'Art religieux du XII^e s. en France, Paris 1928, passim.

(2) R. Davidsohn Firenze ai tempi di Dante, Firenze 1929, pp.53-4.

(3) 3.2.10 ff.

(4) Cf. 3.3.64.

par 87 (1) 3.2.32.

par 88 (1) E. Mâle L'Art religieux du XII° s. en France, Paris 1920, ch.I.

(2) F. Benoit Recherches sur l'Hellenisation du Midi de la Gaule, Aix-en-P. 1965, pp.217-220, concludes that the first ceramic evidence dates from the middle of the 7th century B.C.; that Marseilles was an important Greek centre from then on; but that other centres were only trading-posts, not colonies in those early periods.

(3) Cf. A. Latreille et al. Histoire du Catholicisme en France, Paris 1957, I pp.47, 112.

(4) Ibid. p.82; cf. E. Mâle, L'Art religieux du XII° s. en France, Paris 1920, p.194.

(5) Cf. Capruyns Erigène p.17.

par 90 (1) Cf. the comprehensive discussion of sources for the Crusade in Cannon ed. Meyer, 'Introduction'.

par 91 (1) Ed. Kolli Catharen p.288.

(2) Guiraud Inquisition I p.147.

par 92 (1) Ed. Kolli Catharen p.295.

(2) Ibid. pp.314, 339, 351.

par 93 (1) Runciman Manichee p.107.

(2) Ed. Kolli Catharen p.306.

par 94 (1) Runciman Manichee p.140 note; this follows Guiraud Inquisition I p.147 note. Runciman Manichee p.107.

(2) Miel Albigeois p.117.

par 95 (1) F. Miel Le Pog de Montsegur, Toulouse 1949, 'Avant-propos'.

(2) These points are set out in e.g. Kolli ed. Catharen pp.239-377.

(3) A comment from my own observation of the building. Cf. excellent photographs in R. Kolli La Kunbe du Catharisme, Paris 1966, passim.

par 96 (1) These points are in e.g. Miel Montségur, temple pp.103-4.

par 97 (1) Ed. Nelli Cathares p.307.

(2) Ibid. p.306.

(3) Ibid. p.307.

(4) Morghen Medioevo p.251.

par 98 (1) Essays p.101.

par 99 (1) F. Miel Montségur, la montagne inspirée, Paris 1954; cf. discussion of his developing ideas in his Montségur, temple ch.I.

I have not discovered the explanation for Pound's apparent precedence in these ideas. We find him visiting the site already in 1919 (Stock Life p.224); and of course his ideas about the Greek cult in Provence are present even earlier, in 'Psychology and Troubadours' (1912) (Spirit p.90). The connection of troubadours with so-called Manichaeans, and of them both with Montségur, is made in Canto XXIII p.113, published in 1929 (Gallup A29) (see 3.3.106).

I note however that a Rosicrucian museum has existed nearby for some years, at Usseat (Ariège) (cf. e.g. R. Nelli Le Musée du Catharisme, Paris 1966, p.31), and that it concerns itself with some of the material held to be 'Cathar'. Further, Miel counts among his early fellow-visitors to Montségur, with Otto Rahn and Maurice Magre, Walter Rummel, who presumably is the same person as Pound's friend and teacher (cf. Bibliography, Hesterman Rome).

(2) Canto LXXVI p.480 (1947) (Gallup C1710).

par 100 (1) 3.2.10.

(2) In view of the argument of my whole chapter, Mithras' presence at Pound's Montségur obviously cannot mean that Pound accepted the asceticism of the Mithraic religion. Mithras is there solely for his involvement with the sun.

(3) For 'periplum' cf. 2.5.57 note 1; for 'Aquinas-map' cf. Letters to Hubert Crackmore Feb 1939.

(4) Canto LXXIV p.457.

par 101 (1) 3.3.96.

(2) Canto XCII p.652.

(3) Thus Edwards and Vasse Annotated Index, s.v., with query. The new memoir by Pound's daughter (Rachewiltz Discretions p.117), however, has this:

> In the setting sun we walked along the hill path, to the old Roman road above the new Aurelia by the sea, al Triedro and Castellaro, over to San Pantaleo, past the church to the very edge of the hill from where one looks down on the cliffs of Zoagli. All this Dabbo [= Pound] named and pointed out to me as we walked along.

—with which compare Canto LXXVI p.480. Clearly, interpretation of such parts of the Cantos is very difficult, with so many personal referents still unavailable; see par.103 below.

(4) Canto LXVII p.465.

par 102 (1) 3.3.95.

(2) For all this material see Miel Montségur, temple pp.45–51.

par 103 (1) Cf. 2.7.1 ff.

(2) Canto CI p.752.

(3) E.g. Confucius/Analects 4.17, and par.105 below.

(4) Impact p.58.

par 104 (1) Canto XLVIII p.253.

(2) R. Nelli Le phénomène cathare, Paris 1964, p.167.

(3) Canto LXXX p.531; cf. B. de Rachewiltz 'Pagan and Magic Elements in Ezra Pound's Works' in ed. Nemo Approaches p.105.

par 105 (1) Canto LXXIV p.471.

(2) Visiting Card p.37.

(3) Cf. B. de Rachewiltz 'Pagan and Magic Elements in Ezra Pound's Works' in ed. Nemo Approaches, passim.

(4) Cf. also Canto LXXX p.544, 'Mt Segur and the city of Dioco'.

(5) Miel Montségur, temple p.130.

(6) Canto CVII p.787.

(7) Confucius/Digest IX.3.

(8) Canto XCII p.651.

par 106 (1) H. Konnor 'Drafts and Fragments and the Structure of the Cantos' in Agenda Vol.8 Nos.3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1970) p.14.

(2) Canto XXIII p.113.

(3) Canto LIII p.282.

(4) Cantos XLVIII p.253, LXXIV p.465, LXXVI p.481.

par 107 (1) Canto LXXVI p.481.

(2) Cf. G. Davenport 'Persephone's Exra' in ed. Nosso Approaches pp.164-5.

(3) Spirit p.95.

par 108 (1) Cf. 2.6.44 ff.

(2) E.g. Spirit p.146, Canto XXIX p.147.

(3) Spirit p.146.

(4) This interpretation of these words, in view of the passage I have noted (par.101 note 3) in the Principessa de Rachewiltz' recent memoir, is open to challenge. If the capital letter she uses ('Triedro') indicates a place-name, it is however strange that Pound never uses a capital, and yet like her uses the definite article ('al triedro'). John Peck's recent article 'Landscape' p.36 refers to 'what seems to be a personal vision; one stands in the prisoner's corner or triedro; she is Cunizza...' He also refers to vanished temples -- "castellari" -- of Jupiter, Hermes, and Athena'. Both of these interpretations are in conflict with the passage from the Principessa de Rachewiltz. I would suggest that all these ('clivo', 'triedro' and 'castellaro') are places sacred in Pound's personal mythology, both in Provence and Italy; just as there seems to be a sacred road between St-Bertrand-de-Comminges (connected with Montségur at Cantos XLVIII p.253 and LXXXVII p.610) and Valcabrère, which is paralleled with the Via Aurelia (as 'la vecchia'), which we have seen in the passage from the Principessa de

Rachewiltz, at o.c. Canto XLVIII p.253, LXXIV p.465, LXXVI pp.480-1, LXXXVII p.610 and XCV p.677.

(5) Canto LXXVI p.480.

(6) Canto IV p.20.

(7) Canto XCII p.652.

par 109 (1) Canto LXXIV p.462. It is also clear that Pound makes Arnaut Daniel a hierophant of the Mysteries. Arnaut is associated with Excideuil first at Canto XXIX p.150, though Excideuil is not mentioned:

> So Arnaut turned there
> Above him the wave pattern cut in the stone
> Spire-top alevel the well-curb

The connection is clear in passages like Canto LXXX p.544:

> and the wave pattern runs in the stone
> on the high parapet (Excideuil)
> Mt Segur and the city of Dioce

I have mentioned Boris de Rachewiltz' apparently-authoritative assertion that Excideuil was a 'main Albigensian site' (1.2.36). The status of Excideuil and Montségur as 'celestial cities' is also clear from the above passage of Canto LXXX. Excideuil is clearly a tower ('high parapet'), and we observe the continuation in Canto XXIX p.150 from the 'spire-top alevel the well-curb' to the tower which is also a phallus and where the sun is present:

> The tower, ivory, the clear sky
> Ivory rigid in sunlight...
> by Helios
> Lord of the light's edge

Now the city of Dioce is Ecbatan, centre (in the Canton) of a rite of Frazerian sympathetic magic, as at Canto IV p.20:

> upon the gilded tower in Ecbatan
> Lay the god's bride, lay over, waiting the golden
> rain

It is clear that Excideuil, like Montségur, is a sun-temple for Pound, with Arnaut an priest acting out the ritual part of the sun|of.priest, as phallus, at 2.4.112 note 1.

(2) Canto LXXVI pp.483-4.

(3) Guillaume IX Chansons ed. Jeanroy no.X ll.41-2.

par 110 (1) Cf. note 4 below.

(2) E.g. the rise of Bernart de Ventadorn and of Sordello, cf. 2.3 passim, 2.6.26-32.

(3) E.g. the esotericism of Arnaut, 2.5.8 ff.

(4) 'Terra Italica' in New Review Winter 1931-2, quoted Stock Exile p.23. The two other essential statements of the connection between Greece and Provence are Spirit p.90 (cf. 3.3.32) and Kulchur p.263 (cf. 3.2.18).

NOTES TO APPENDIX THREE: SCOTUS ERIGENA

par 1 (1) Canto LIII p.283.

(2) Impact p.116.

(3) Kulchur pp.342-3.

par 2 (1) Cappuyns Erigène p.7.

par 3 (1) Kulchur p.75.

par 4 (1) Canto XXXVI p.185.

(2) Erigena De Divisione ed. Sheldon-Williams I p.190.

par 5 (1) Cappuyns Erigène p.204.

par 6 (1) Cf. Gilson Christian Philosophy p.241.

(2) Erigena De Divisione 5.38 (Migne 1010 B-C).

(3) Cappuyns Erigène p.292 quoting De Divisione 1.64, 2.29 (Migne 509 A, 706 A-B).

(4) Erigena Expos. 2.1. (Migne 145 B).

par 7 (1) Cappuyns Erigène pp.200-1.

(2) Erigena De Divisione ed. Sheldon-Williams I p.193.

(3) Ibid. p.193.

par 8 (1) Kulchur p.164; cf. Callup A45.

par 9 (1) A.C. Crombie Robert Grosseteste and the origins of experimental science, Oxford 1953, p.7.

par 10 (1) Kulchur p.165.

par 11 (1) Ibid.

(2) Cf. Stock Life p.342.

(3) Canto XXXVI p.185.

(4) Canto C p.748 (sic); i.e. (?) 'They want to persuade you not only of the basic intuitions of religion but also of their own rationalistic superstructures'; cf. the distinctions made in Pavannes and Divagations pp.143-4.

par 12 (1) Cf. Gilson Christian Philosophy pp.361 ff.

(2) A.C. Crombie Robert Grosseteste and the origins of experimental science, Oxford 1953, p.29.

(3) Erigena De Divisione 4.2. (Migne 744 D).

(4) Canto LXXXV p.582.

(5) Confucius/Analects 'Procedure'.

par 13 (1) 'Wang Tsze' in Impact p.124.

(2) Confucius/Analects 15.XXXVI note.

(3) Canto XXXVI p.185.

(4) 'Wang Tsze' in Impact p.126; cf. 'The Jefferson-Adams Letters' ibid. pp.166 ff., passim.

par 14 (1) Rool Makin The Nature of Concepts, M.A. Thesis for the University of Nottingham, Nov. 1970, pp.39-40, referring to J.L. Austin.

(2) Kulchur p.318; cf. Pound's remark about Confucius' statements: 'a number of them should be taken rather as lexicography...' (Confucius/Analects 'Note to this new version').

par 15 (1) 'Wang Tsze' in Impact p.126.

(2) Canto LXXXVII p.606.

(3) Cf. however Pound's attempt to define an acceptable type of 'authority' in Kulchur p.165: 'We have trust in a man because we have come to regard him (in his entirety) as sapient and well-balanced.' The use of 'intuition' in this context and in Pound's expression 'faith (intuition)' implies a definition of faith and of authority. But 'this is not what

Erigena meant, and in any case it does not act in contradiction to his statement, but only as an extension of it' (ibid.). Pound seems after the war to have regarded the authority of an ecclesiastical institution as more important; in 1959 he wrote the following footnote (Impact p.200 note):

> Mr Eliot's "Prince of Heresy" (After Strange Gods) was not examined with sufficient care, nor did the present author chew on it sufficiently, especially with regard to the distinction between A Church, an orthodoxy, and a collection of intelligent observations by individual theologians, however brilliant...
>
> This may limit Pound's earlier statement that 'Our only measure of truth is, however, our own perception of truth' (Essays p.431).

(4) Li Ki tr. S. Couvreur, Ho Kien Fou 1913, 'Introduction'.

par 16 (1) Confucius/Analects 2.V and note; Confucius Doctrine tr. M.G. Pauthier, Paris 1929, p.80.

(2) Confucius/Analects 9.X.

(3) Ibid. 19.VII.

(4) Kulchur p.144; note reference to 'catechumens' ibid. and cf. esp. Spirit p.95; cf. quotations from Kulchur p.144-5 at 3.1.1 ff.

par 17 (1) W.H.V. Readc in Cambridge Mediaeval History, Cambridge 1957, V p.787.

par 18 (1) Canto CXIII p.20.

(2) Canto LXXIV p.456.

(3) Canto LXXXIII p.563.

(4) Denys l'Aréopagite Hiérarchie Céleste ed. Roques p.70.

(5) Erigena Comm. in Ier. Cael. Migne 120 D; cf. Jones I.17.

(6) Canto CV p.775.

(7) Cf. below, par.19.

(8) Erigena De Divisione Migne 637 A:

> The things other than God which are said to exist, are theophanies of Him, which also subsist in Him. God is therefore everything that truly is, since He makes everything and is made in everything, as

> St Dionysius Areopagite says. For everything which is understood and felt is nothing other than the appearance of what is manifest, the manifestation of what is secret, the affirmation of what is denied...'

(9) Ibid. 517 A.

(10) Gilson Christian Philosophy p.120.

par 19 (1) W.H.V. Readc in Cambridge Mediaeval History, Cambridge 1957, V p.787.

par 20 (1) Zielinski Sibylle pp.17-19; cf. esp. Pavannes and Divagations pp.143-4: 'Gods no longer walked in men's gardens.' Cf. also 2.6.46; 3.1.11; 3.2.4, 7, 10, 31, and Stock Life p.444.

par 21 (1) Confucius p.20.

(2) Essays p.160, quoting with approval E. Gilson.

par 22 (1) Canto XCVIII p.723, where ning is linked with hsien (the 'tensile light'), and with non si disuna from Dante Paradiso 13.56, which emphasises the continuity:

> That which does not and cannot die
> Is not other than the brightness of that Idea
> That our Lord, in loving, gave birth to;
> For that living light which moves
> From his shining, which does not dis-unify itself
> /non si disuna, cf. Canto XCVIII p.722/
> From him, nor from the love that is three in them,
> Through his goodness unites its shining,
> As if mirrored, in new subsistences,
> Eternally remaining one.

The passage is strongly reminiscent of Erigena on the Trinity, cf. below; cf. also and esp. Canto LXXIV pp.455-6.

(2) Canto CVII p.787:

> So that Dante's view is quite natural:
> this light
> as a river
> in Kung; in Ocollun, Coko, Agassiz
> hsi the flowing
> this persistent awareness

(3) Erigena De Divisione Migne 632 C.

(4) Cf. Cantos XCVIII p.715 and CV p.775 quoting St Anselm, though perhaps the emphasis is more on distinctions outside the Trinity: CV p.771 'non pares, not equal in dignity/ rerum naturae' (the natures of things). But the basis of the theology he uses is still that the Trinity comprises the first three of the steps.

(5) Erigena Comm. in Ier. Cael. Migne 129 B.

(6) Essays p.185.

(7) Impact p.177.

(8) Canto LXXXIV p.575, altering Arnaut Daniel's remarks at Dante Purgatorio 26.146 to 'When you reach the top of the stair'.

(9) Canto C 743; I don't find letizia in Paradiso XVIII, but there is dilettanza (= hilaritas), by which, Dante says, a man becomes aware that his virtute is daily advancing (Paradiso 18.58-60). The other two quotations are from Paradiso 19.86 and 64, both highly relevant. Cf. also and esp. Canto LXXIV, where ping = Erigena's philosophy = virtù

par 23 (1) Canto XCV p.677. For the wave in the stone cf. 2.5.49 ff.

(2) Erigena Comm. in Ier. Cael. Migne (? I have not been able to identify the source); Canto LXXXVIII p.616, cf. Canto XXXVI p.185.

(3) Kulchur p.141; cf. Spirit pp.101-3.

(4) Canto XCVIII p.720; cf. p.715, and also 2.6.101.

(5) (Read: 'A man's paradise is his good nature') Cantos XCIII p.656 and XCIX p.720.

(6) Cf. 3.2.23 ff.

(7) Canto LXXVII p.496, cf. Kocheviltz, E. de Fenon and Kwo-ts Elements in Ezra Pound in ed. Hesse Approaches p.194.

(8) Canto LXXXVII p.611.

(9) W.F.V. Reade in Cambridge Mediaeval History, Cambridge 1957, V p.784.

(10) Cf. Canto LXXIV p.456:

"cunt lumina" said the Oirishman to King Carolus,
"OMNIA,
all things that are are lights"

(11) Canto LXXXIII p.563; cf. LXXIV p.477:

This liquid is certainly a property
property of the mind
noc accidcns cst but an element
in the mind's make-up

par 24 (1) Cf. 3.2.27-31.

(2) I am uncertain as to the function of 'Eleutherio'. Liber (= Dionysos), Zeus and Demeter, at least, all sometimes bore the epithet 'Eleutherios', 'Liberator'. The 'Eleutheria' were specifically 'the festival of Junitor Eleutherius, feast of liberty, celebrated in honor of the victory at Plataea' (C.T. Lewis and C. Short A Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1879, s.v.). Emory Idoan p.159 takes the reference to be concerning Zeus here, as representing order; the earlier version of Emory's book was voted by Pound (cf. p.viii); however, I do not think Pound saw order as a particularly French virtue. Cf. 3.2.31 note 3.

(3) Canto LXXX p.539.

(4) Ibid.